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OF
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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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Peaceful Change

Address by Secretary Herter¹

Introduction

This, my first appearance before the General Assembly, gives me a welcome opportunity to express my strong belief and firm faith in the United Nations.

There is a special personal satisfaction to me in being here for this purpose today. A little over 40 years ago I served on the staff of a distinguished American President, Woodrow Wilson, when he went to France to negotiate what we then hoped would be an enduring peace. President Wilson held strong convictions concerning the need for an effective international organization to provide means for nations of the world to work together to solve their common problems.

Twenty years ago this month the structure of peace that he had helped to build collapsed in war.

In the backwash of World War II, however, man continued his quest for peace through international organization. The states subscribing to the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in 1945 sought to build a new and more effective instrument for this purpose.

This meeting is one more step in our continuing effort to strengthen that Organization and to fulfill its goals.

If all of us devote ourselves faithfully to this task, and thus carry out the obligations of the charter, I believe that we can achieve the peaceful world which people everywhere earnestly desire.

Peaceful Change

To do this, we must deal with a major problem that the League of Nations did not master

and that the United Nations has not yet been able fully to resolve: that of preventing change through the use of aggressive force, while devising processes to accomplish needed and constructive change through peaceful means.

The United States accepts the principle of change. Our history, as evidenced by the recent admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union, proves the capacity of our system of government to meet and adjust to change.

But the way in which change comes about is of overriding importance in the nuclear age. Attempts to change the international situation through force could destroy us all. Total nuclear war has now become, quite literally, a suicidal enterprise. Peaceful progress, on the other hand, could open up new vistas for all mankind.

The United Nations itself is one of the major instruments both for deterring force and for accomplishing peaceful change.

The United Nations helped to resist force when aggression threatened the Republic of Korea. It helps to deter force through its effort to create standby arrangements, which could enable national contingents to be brought together quickly in meeting any future need for a United Nations force. We hope that members will respond positively to the Secretary-General's efforts in this regard.

The United Nations assists peaceful change through factfinding and conciliation processes, which can help to prevent disputes from exploding into wider conflict.

The United States stands ready to work peacefully, within the framework of the charter, with all states which share our objectives of insuring peaceful progress.

¹ Made before the 14th session of the U.N. General Assembly at New York, N.Y., on Sept. 17 (press release 656).

The Past Year

The past year has seen continued movement toward this goal of peaceful change, on the one hand, and renewed threats of violence which would impede its fulfillment, on the other.

Progress has been encouraging, in comparison with the situation existing at this time a year ago, in five major areas.

In the Middle East a period of relative quiet prevails. This is in sharp contrast to the crisis of a year ago, when the Assembly had to take important emergency measures. The enlightened actions of the states in the area during the past year have helped to improve the situation. The agencies of the United Nations and the outstanding leadership and diplomacy of the Secretary-General have also contributed significantly to the lessening of tensions and the development of greater stability.

We regard these trends as a hopeful portent that further progress can be made on the problems which still confront this area.

The future welfare of the Palestine refugees is one such problem. It will be an important item for consideration at this Assembly. Progress toward a satisfactory solution of this tragic problem is important not only to the human beings directly involved but also to continued peace and stability in the area as a whole.

Another problem in this area has arisen with regard to passage through the Suez Canal. The United States continues to support the principle of freedom of passage, as endorsed by the United Nations. We are confident that, if those immediately concerned seek to reconcile their differences in a spirit of mutual accommodation, progress can be made toward a solution.

Africa is an area where there has also been steady forward movement. Four new African states are to achieve independence in the coming year. Progress toward self-government is a development which the United States welcomes, in accordance with its historic policy that all peoples should have independence who desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities.

Political advancement in the non-self-governing and trust territories of Africa is a tribute to the imagination, good will, and skill of the peoples of those territories and of the powers that administer them. It is also a tribute to the encouragement and assistance given by the United

Nations and the specialized agencies to the advancement of these territories.

In Europe the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has continued to grow in peaceful power during the last year. It now represents an even more formidable bulwark of peace in support of the principles of the charter. President Eisenhower's recent visit to the NATO area² has produced new evidence of the unity, strength, and purpose of the Atlantic Community.

We welcome particularly the progress that has been made during the past year toward a just solution of the Cyprus problem, which directly concerns three of the NATO countries. These countries and the people of Cyprus are to be congratulated on this progress.

In Latin America important steps have been taken in the last year to strengthen the peace machinery of the Organization of American States. The recent conference of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics in Santiago³ is an encouraging example of how a regional organization can complement the work of the United Nations. It clearly demonstrated the determination of the American Republics to maintain peace in the hemisphere through common action on problems creating international tensions.

The Far East has also seen continued progress during the past year in promoting domestic welfare and in strengthening security. War-torn economies have been, for the most part, rebuilt and the foundations laid for further progress.

We regret that the Republics of Korea and Vietnam are still excluded by the veto of one power from United Nations membership, although both have been found fully qualified by the General Assembly.

The member countries of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization have carried forward their programs for economic, social, and cultural advancement. SEATO also plays a vital role in the collective defense of the area and is now carefully watching events in Laos.

Side by side with these encouraging developments, which augur well for peaceful and constructive change, events in the past year have underlined the continuing danger posed by attempts

² For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 371; Sept. 21, 1959, p. 403; and Sept. 28, 1959, p. 435.

³ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1959, p. 299, and Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

to mold the international situation through the threat or use of force.

Most recently the freedom and independence of Laos have been threatened by forces from outside its borders. The Security Council subcommittee is now in Laos. We hope that it will not only succeed in collecting the facts but also by its presence contribute to easing a potentially dangerous situation.

In this circumstance there is no need for a conference as proposed by the U.S.S.R. Such a conference would be disruptive and would ignore the authority of the United Nations.⁴

This recent action of the Security Council demonstrates the ability of the United Nations to act quickly in a case involving possible efforts to subvert the freedom and undermine the security of member states.

The United States is pledged under the charter to resist aggression. It will fulfill this pledge without equivocation. We will support the Royal Lao Government in its own efforts to preserve independence.

In Tibet we are confronted by the revolting spectacle of the brutal Chinese Communist repression of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetans. The Dalai Lama under threat of force was driven from his country. From his exile in India, he has told the world a tragic story of persecution, of forced labor, of deportation, of executions in such numbers as to threaten the survival of the Tibetan race. Yet the Tibetans' only crime was their desire to live in peace and freedom. This is a matter which is of deep concern to the United Nations. Certainly this Organization must speak out in clear terms in the face of such events.

In the Taiwan Strait area, where last year at this time we were seriously concerned by the military action of the Chinese Communists, Communist China has continued its sporadic campaign of military harassment. Despite months of negotiations, it refuses to renounce the use of force.

In Korea the Chinese Communist regime continues to reject the principles for unification that would assure the freedom and independence of a united Korea. It has flouted the terms of the armistice in Korea. It still stands condemned as an aggressor.

⁴ For a U.S. statement, see p. 475; for background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

In supporting efforts to subvert the will of the free people of Laos, in attempting to exterminate the people of Tibet, and in its incursions into India, the Chinese Communist regime has demonstrated more clearly in the past year than at any time since its aggression in Korea its complete unfitness to be admitted to this Organization. We are confident that the members of this Assembly will continue to resist efforts to obtain China's seat in the United Nations for the Communist regime.

That seat is honorably occupied by the representative of the Republic of China, a charter member of this Organization. That Republic has given renewed evidence of its continuing dedication to the principles of this Organization in the past year by its historic declaration that it would rely primarily upon peaceful principles and not upon force to secure the freeing of the mainland.

Hungary is another area where the effects of the threat and use of violence are manifest. The tyrannical rule which was imposed on that unhappy country by the ruthless use of outside force still obtains. Every effort of Sir Leslie Munro, the Assembly's Special Representative, to investigate the situation firsthand has been rebuffed by the puppet Hungarian regime, which Soviet troops imposed and now maintain.⁵ The continued, deliberate defiance by Hungary of this Organization augurs ill for our continuing efforts to secure international peace and security.

These events of the past year must be viewed in perspective. The progress that has been achieved testifies to the opportunities which lie ahead. Continuing threats of force and violence underline the dangers which still confront us.

To avert these dangers and fulfill those opportunities, we must seek to promote peaceful change which will lay the basis for a just and lasting peace. We must seek such change in political, military, economic, and other fields.

Political Change: Germany and Berlin

We will always negotiate with other states to achieve peaceful political change which derives from the freely given consent of the peoples concerned. Our approach to the Geneva negotiations

⁵ For a statement of July 9, 1959, by Sir Leslie Munro on steps taken on the question of Hungary, see U.N. press release GA/1807.

on Germany and Berlin reflected this philosophy in concrete terms.

I spent 10 long weeks in Geneva with the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. in seeking agreement on the problem of a divided Germany and a divided Berlin.

The Geneva conference met against the backdrop of a potential crisis over Berlin. This had been artificially precipitated by a Soviet threat to take unilateral action against West Berlin. It was only after this threat had been withdrawn that the Western Powers agreed to negotiate in the interests of peaceful change.

The Governments of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States had as their purpose at Geneva to secure the reunification of Germany in freedom. Such peaceful change would have solved the Berlin question on a lasting basis by restoring Berlin to its rightful place as the capital of a united Germany.

To this end the Western Powers put forward a comprehensive Western peace plan.⁶ That plan was designed to achieve the reunification of Germany according to the will of the German people and on a basis which took into account the expressed concerns of the Soviet Union.

The Western peace plan was a phased plan which provided time for a mixed German committee to draft an electoral law and to work out proposals for increased technical contacts between the two parts of Germany and for freedom of movement and respect for human rights throughout all of Germany. While this process went on, there would be related preliminary steps for the exchange of military information, for the limitation of overall strength of the forces of the Four Powers, and for measures of inspection against surprise attack.

In the next phase safeguarded elections for an all-German assembly would be held. This all-German assembly would draft a constitution on the basis of which an all-German government would be formed. That government would then be responsible for negotiating an all-German peace treaty.

In this phase further disarmament and security measures were contemplated, including the establishment of a zone on either side of a line to be

mutually determined in which there would be agreed ceilings for the indigenous and nonindigenous forces.

Moreover, if the all-German government decided to adhere either to NATO or the Warsaw Pact, additional security arrangements were to be made. These would contemplate special measures regulating the disposition of forces in the area closest to the eastern frontier of a united Germany. They would provide for agreements between the Four Powers and other European countries about joint reaction against aggression.

Unhappily—and I use the word advisedly—the Soviet Foreign Minister [Andrei A. Gromyko] rejected the Western peace plan out of hand. He seemed disinterested in studying this carefully devised program, to which the Western Governments had devoted many months of preparation.

The conference then turned to the question of how to arrive at a *modus vivendi* on Berlin which would ease the tensions that the Soviet Union itself had created.

For this purpose the Western Powers made many proposals. All of them seemed to meet aspects of the problem concerning which the Soviets complained. None jeopardized the freedom and the security of the people of West Berlin.

What we must never forget is that the problem of West Berlin is not really a legal problem or an abstract case history in political science. It is the matter of the lives and freedom and happiness of these more than 2 million people who live in West Berlin, people who have shown by their courage and the fruits of their labor the blessings that freedom brings.

These people are surrounded by territory and forces under the control of an unfriendly regime. They rely on the presence of the token contingents of American, British, and French troops for their security.

The long-drawn-out discussion of this problem of Berlin resulted in no agreement. The negotiations did, however, usefully isolate the areas of possible agreement. That is why the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States have some hope that a resumed foreign ministers conference can agree on arrangements for Berlin which would safeguard the future of the West Berliners.

Through their dedication to this continuing negotiation, the Western Powers evidence their sup-

⁶ For text, see BULLETIN of June 1, 1959, p. 779.

port for the process of peaceful change in the political field.

Military Change: Arms Limitation and Control

Acceptance of this process would be of at least equal importance in the military field.

Perhaps the greatest contribution that could be made to peaceful change would be for the powers to move from reliance on unlimited arms competition to reliance on safeguarded agreements as a means of preserving national security.

During the past year there have been both promising and disappointing developments with respect to our efforts in this field, which are of such critical importance to the future of all mankind.

The United States took the initiative in proposing a technical conference on measures to guard against surprise attack. While the problems are understood more clearly as a result, we regret that little progress was made.

The United States and United Kingdom continued the negotiations begun a year ago with the U.S.S.R. for an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons testing. There is some progress to report. The Three Powers have agreed on a number of details which would have to be a part of a full accord, and technical agreement has been recently reached on the means of detecting and identifying nuclear explosives at high altitudes and in outer space.

However, there are still three central issues on which agreement has not been achieved. They all relate to effective inspection, which remains the key to agreement.

First, there is the problem of staffing control posts—"the listening posts" that would be established to register data which might indicate an unauthorized nuclear explosion.

The Soviet Union has insisted that a major portion of the personnel at each control post must be from the host country, a form of "self-inspection" which we cannot accept.

The United States and the United Kingdom have proposed that all technical and supervisory positions at each post be staffed on the basis of one-third U.S. or U.K. specialists, one-third Soviet specialists, and one-third specialists from countries other than these three. This would allow for reasonable host-country representation. It would be a genuinely international staffing pattern

in which all countries could have confidence. Finally, it would provide a role for other members of the United Nations who have a deep interest in assuring a successfully operating system.

The *second* key control issue is the matter of on-site inspections required to identify suspected underground explosions.

While the United States does not object to placing a limit on these inspections, we believe that the number should be based on a scientific judgment, not on political arguments.

To assist in making this judgment we have submitted scientific data bearing on the complex problem of detecting underground explosions and determining whether they are nuclear explosions or earthquakes.⁷ We remain convinced that this information should be considered, although the Soviet Union has thus far refused to do so.

The *third* key issue in the negotiations is the veto.

The Soviet Union wants the veto in one form or another. The United States firmly believes that any control system which could be frustrated in its day-to-day operations by the veto power would be worse than useless. It would create the illusion and not the reality of control.

These are the principal issues. It is clear that the points at issue are real. They cannot be ignored.

We hope that these three issues can be resolved and that an agreement can be achieved for a comprehensive test ban. We will pursue this approach with vigor, but there *is* another approach if the Soviets are not willing to agree to the necessary means of verification.

On April 13 of this year President Eisenhower offered to Chairman Khrushchev to enter immediately into an agreement to ban tests within the atmosphere and under water, if the Soviet Union remained unwilling to accept effective safeguards for a complete discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.⁸

This would be only a first step toward the ultimate objective of a total ban. However, it would represent a very good start. It would also ease concern over levels of radioactivity. This offer still stands.

⁷ For background, see *ibid.*, July 6, 1959, p. 16.

⁸ For text of the President's letter, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, p. 704.

In the meantime, President Eisenhower recently announced that the 1-year unilateral ban on tests which the United States voluntarily undertook last October would be continued to the end of this year.⁹ Our hope is that, if we allow a reasonable extension of time for the negotiations to proceed, significant progress can be made.

These are the principal developments regarding a possible agreement on a comprehensive test ban.

But the question of disarmament is much broader than suspension of nuclear testing. What we earnestly seek is the general limitation and control of armaments and armed forces. The degree to which we succeed may determine man's future. There would be growing danger in an indefinite continuation of the arms race. We must use all of our imagination and ingenuity to devise a way of controlling this race, to prevent it from exploding into nuclear conflict.

In an effort to renew disarmament negotiations, the United States and the United Kingdom and France have agreed with the Soviet Union, with which they share a major responsibility for reaching a solution on this problem, to resume discussions on disarmament early next year.¹⁰ These four powers have invited a small group of other states to join them.

The United States regards the coming negotiations as a major opportunity. We hope that the Soviet Government will view them with equal seriousness. Successful negotiations could not only open new avenues of progress toward limitation and control of armaments but also pave the way for settlement of other outstanding problems.

Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Recognizing that progress in disarmament might be slow, however, the United States has urged that peaceful uses of outer space be considered as a separate step toward constructive change.

Last year my distinguished predecessor, John Foster Dulles, proposed that the General Assembly take the first step toward establishing a framework for international cooperation in this

field.¹¹ The United States hoped then that it would prove possible for all members to share in the benefits that seem certain to emerge from this challenging new frontier of human activity.

Recent events have demonstrated how rapidly this frontier is being crossed. The American "paddlewheel," Explorer VI, still circles the earth 6 weeks after its launching, sending messages back to earth with energy from the sun. We believe this development advances the day when nations of the world will be linked by a communications network extending to the heavens.

The Soviet moon probe—certainly a great accomplishment—foreshadows the early extension of terrestrial problems out into the universe. It also warns us to speed up our efforts to obtain peace on earth. And it signals the pressing need to get on with international arrangements to make a start on the regulation of man's activities away from his earthly home.

In the early years after the development of atomic energy the United States tried long and hard to interest the U.S.S.R. in an international approach to harnessing this natural force of such great danger and promise to humanity. The U.S.S.R. refused to cooperate, apparently believing that its late start in the atomic energy field would prejudice its national interests if an international approach were adopted. The deadly arms race of the past decade stands as an ugly witness to the human tragedy of that Soviet non-cooperation.

Now humanity is on the threshold of another and perhaps more fateful technological development—the penetration of outer space. Again the United States has called for an international approach. This time surely the U.S.S.R. cannot plead a lack of Soviet advancement in this technology. But we see little sign of any Soviet disposition to cooperate as yet. The Soviets have declined to participate in the work of the United Nations committee this past year.¹²

Arguing that only the U.S.S.R. and the United States were carrying on activities in the field of outer space, the Soviet Union contended that the committee should be made up of an equal number

¹¹ For an address by Secretary Dulles before the 13th General Assembly, see *ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1958, p. 525.

¹² For U.S. statements in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1959, p. 883; June 29, 1959, p. 972; and July 27, 1959, p. 138.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

¹⁰ For text of a Four Power communique on disarmament, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

of states from these "two sides." This concept was rejected by the Assembly. The world is not divided into two "hostile camps," as the Soviet Union maintains. The world is diverse. This concept is inherent in the United Nations.

The United States believes that major committees of the United Nations should continue to reflect the principle of fair geographical representation. This principle derogates in no way from the relative contribution which those states with superior technical capacity can make.

We hope that the Soviet Union will join in the cooperative efforts of the United Nations. There could be no more dramatic illustration of a spirit of cooperation in the world today as we stand at the threshold of the space age than for this Assembly to act unanimously in this field. This would be a major step forward in the process of peaceful change.

Economic and Social Change

Peaceful change in the economic and social field is also of key importance if our purposes are to be fulfilled.

The United Nations is contributing to social progress through its activities in such fields as health, refugee assistance, narcotics, and the Children's Fund.

Economic improvement can be promoted by healthy competitive trade, which helps assure greater enjoyment of the fruits of economic activity, and by continuing economic development.

Last year Mr. Dulles proposed that the nations dedicate the year 1959 to taking stock of their current accomplishments in the field of economic development and to charting long-term courses of action. The United States has now taken the major steps which Secretary Dulles said that we would take in this field.

First, the United States has vigorously pressed its development financing programs. The Congress has appropriated additional funds for the Development Loan Fund. The flexibility possible in the administration of this Fund enhances its importance as a source of loans for less developed countries.

Second, the United States and other nations have doubled their subscriptions to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and have increased their subscriptions to

the International Monetary Fund by 50 percent in the past year.

Third, the United States will propose to the forthcoming meeting of the Governors of the International Bank a resolution calling for definite steps toward the prompt establishment of an international development association. Such an organization will provide a new and effective means of financing in less developed countries sound high-priority projects which cannot be adequately aided under existing criteria of the International Bank.

Fourth, United States acceptance of the agreement for the establishment of the Inter-American Development Bank has been approved by our Congress. Establishment of this institution will help to hasten the development of the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Fifth, the United States continues and will continue, in cooperation with other member states, to give full support to existing organizations devoted to the extension of technical assistance. We are gratified that the newly established Special Fund has taken hold so quickly and begun its important operations. It is my strong hope that other member governments will find it possible to increase their contribution to both the Expanded Program and the Special Fund in order that the initial goal of \$100 million for both programs can be reached as soon as possible.

In these and other ways the United States dedicates its resources and energies to the only kind of world war that any of us can hope to win: war on poverty, on disease, and on illiteracy.

The fact that more than a billion and a half people of this world live in dire want poses a challenge to which we must respond. To try to escape this challenge would deny the common bond that joins all human beings regardless of race, sex, language, or religion.

Make no mistake about it: Wherever men despair of being able to meet their needs through peaceful means, there will be found the seeds of tyranny and conflict. If peaceful change is to be accomplished in the political and military field, it must also go forward at an increasing pace in the economic field.

The Need for "Open Societies"

There is one other avenue to peace and peaceful change which I would like to mention before

I close, Mr. President. This avenue is to achieve that "world community of open societies" which President Eisenhower stressed at the 1958 emergency session.¹³ This "openness" has long been a fundamental characteristic of American society and of many other free societies. The achievement of "open societies" could make an important contribution to peace.

But it must be recognized that this goal cannot be fully achieved as long as governments and regimes disregard the basic principles of international conduct. Realizing this, we regret the need for maintaining safeguards in the interest of peace and stability. For example, the concept of "open societies" cannot be fully achieved as long as the Chinese Communist regime uses increased contacts to subvert and to undermine neighboring peoples and countries.

Within a number of other countries, artificial barriers still exist to free, open, and friendly communications.

There are barriers of secrecy and of artificial restrictions.

There is censorship of the printed and broadcast word.

There is jamming of radio broadcasts from without, jamming based on fear that uncensored information may incidentally enter. Let me say right here, however, how heartened we have been to note that Soviet jamming of the Voice of America ceased on September 15. We profoundly hope that this beneficial change may prove of long duration.

There are rules which severely limit contact of nationals with foreign visitors or travel from one part of the country to another.

Behind such barriers are bred images, false reports, and false fears of imaginary enemies. These conditions feed upon themselves. They contribute to needless arming and counterarming. They can give a powerful impetus to the spiral that leads toward war. So long as such barriers exist to the flow of news and information into a country, we cannot even begin to weave the fabric of lasting peace.

Openness is particularly important in those countries possessing great destructive power and which bear a great responsibility for peace.

Today, when we take stock of the situation, two impressions stand out.

First, encouraging beginnings in breaking through these barriers have been made.

Second, there are additional areas in which further removal of restrictions would be helpful to the cause of peace.

Recent developments within the Soviet Union, despite their limited scope, provide a glimmer of hope that the Soviet Government may be willing to permit a freer exchange of ideas and information between its own people and other peoples. These developments permit the hope that the Soviet Government may now be prepared to go even further. They prompt me to make a proposal comparable to the one the United States put forward during a Security Council session last year¹⁴—that the Soviet radio transmitters suspend their jamming sufficiently to permit the Soviet people to hear in full the proceedings of the 14th session of the General Assembly now beginning.

The debates in the Assembly are extremely useful in indicating the numerous and diverse viewpoints which are held on a variety of international issues. Public knowledge of these viewpoints cannot be regarded as subversive to any government regardless of its structure or policies.

Conclusion

We have thus sought and continue to seek peaceful change through many approaches.

These efforts draw force and inspiration from the work of the United Nations. Under its charter the United Nations is pledged to resist aggressive force. It can be the real catalyst in the process of constructive change.

In assisting this process all members of the United Nations, large and small, have a voice. Bringing diverse viewpoints to bear, while respecting each other's interests and viewpoints, the members of the United Nations are united in a common effort, in the words of the preamble of the charter, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind" and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

The principles of the charter directly reflect the precepts of all the great religions. Let us then proceed to the task of fulfilling these prin-

¹⁴ For a statement by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in the Security Council on Aug. 7, 1958, see U.S./U.N. press release 2979.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1958, p. 337.

ciples. In the words of Abraham Lincoln "... with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace. . . ."

The United States here rededicates itself to this noble effort to achieve peace and justice for all mankind.

Secretary Herter and Advisers Depart for 14th General Assembly

Press release 657 dated September 17

Secretary of State Christian A. Herter departed from Washington on September 17 in order to attend the 14th General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City. The following officers of the Department are in the Secretary's party:

Senior Advisers

Livingston T. Merchant, Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs

Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs

Andrew H. Berding, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs

J. Graham Parsons, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs

Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs

Advisers

William W. Scranton, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

Max V. Krebs, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

Joseph J. Sisco, Deputy Director, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs

U.S. Rejects Soviet Proposal for Conference on Laos

*Department Statement*¹

Press release 651 dated September 15

The Department of State's attention has been directed to a statement by the Soviet Government on the situation in Laos, as issued by TASS on

¹ For previous Department statements on the situation in Laos, see BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1959, p. 278; Sept. 7, 1959, p. 344; Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374; and Sept. 21, 1959, p. 414.

September 14, 1959. The statement proposed a "conference to be called without delay by the countries which attended the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina to consider the Laos situation."

The Geneva conference of 1954 was called to deal with the means of ending hostilities in Indochina brought about, on the one hand, by the demands for independence by the three former Indochinese states and, on the other, by a general Communist effort to extend control in southeast Asia. Although the United States was not a party, it has respected the Geneva agreements.

During the 5 years since the Geneva agreements were signed, the free countries of southeast Asia have made remarkable progress toward stability and security, as well as economic and social advancement. Even the small Kingdom of Laos, despite the many handicaps it faced, was beginning by the end of last year to achieve the degree of stability and security necessary for economic and social advancement.

It has become clearer during recent months that this stabilization process did not comport with the plans of those who had expansionist designs in southeast Asia. The trouble in Laos has been caused by those who would disrupt that nation and reverse the forward trend.

Laos would be a quiet spot today were it not for elements within the country and abroad which are trying to undermine its government. The solution of this situation is not to be found in international conferences but in the cessation of intervention and subversion of the Kingdom of Laos.

The Government of Laos, as the Soviet Government is well aware, has strongly opposed the reconvening of the International Control Commission in Laos. The Royal Lao Government has consistently and justifiably held that it has fulfilled the provisions of the Geneva agreements of 1954 and understandably resents any suggestion that it is not a fully sovereign government and that it is not entitled to the same rights of full independence and self-protection that are the inherent rights of all nations. The holding of a new Geneva conference would inevitably suggest to the Royal Lao Government the imposition of new disabilities and new external interferences. Laos, like every nation, seeks to control its own destiny.

The fact that the Lao Communists and their

outside supporters are today creating disorder in Laos is surely no reason why they should further profit through the disruptive influences of a new Geneva conference. We believe that the recent action of the Security Council² opens the best avenue to tranquilizing the situation in Laos, and, though the Soviet Union opposed the Security

Council's action, we believe all U.N. nations will come to see the merits of this approach to peace in Laos. Since the United Nations has already taken action on the Laos issue, the proposal for a second Geneva conference would also seem to be unnecessary and disruptive. Moreover, it would ignore the authority of the United Nations.

Chairman Nikita S. Khrushchev of the Soviet Union Arrives for U.S. Visit

Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, arrived in the United States for a 13-day visit on September 15.³ Following are texts of a joint statement released at Washington, D.C., on September 15 at the conclusion of preliminary talks between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev, the exchange of greetings at Andrews Air Force Base, and the toasts exchanged at the state dinner at the White House on September 15, together with a Department statement concerning a meeting on September 16 between Secretary Herter and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.

JOINT STATEMENT

White House press release dated September 15

President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Nikita S. Khrushchev, met for nearly two hours this afternoon. They were accompanied by the Vice President, the Foreign Ministers and other advisers. The President and the Chairman reviewed the relationship between the two countries and exchanged views in general terms on international problems. They agreed on the general line of their further discussions, which will take place on all these subjects following the Chairman's return from his visit throughout the coun-

² For U.S. statements made in the Security Council and text of the resolution, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

³ For names of members of the official party, see *BULLETIN* of Sept. 21, 1959, p. 413; for the itinerary, see *ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 373.

try. They plan to meet for this purpose at Camp David⁴ from Friday evening, September 25th, until noon on September 27th.

The atmosphere of the talk was friendly and frank with agreement that the discussions should continue in this spirit to seek ways to achieve a better understanding.

The following were present:

The President
The Vice President
The Secretary of State
The United States Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.
Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.
Foy Kohler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State
Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.
Andrei Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.
The U.S.S.R. Ambassador to the United States, Mikhail Menshikov
A. Soldatov, Chief, American Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS

President Eisenhower

White House press release dated September 15

Mr. Chairman, I welcome you, your family, and party to the United States. I am especially happy that Mrs. Khrushchev and other members of your family are accompanying you. On behalf of the Government and of the people of America, I express the hope that you and they

⁴ The President's retreat in the Catoctin Mountains in Maryland.

will find your stay among us interesting and useful.

I am looking forward to the talks we will have together. Although we shall not be negotiating any issues affecting the interests of other countries, I trust that a full and frank exchange of views on many subjects may contribute to better understanding, on both sides, of unresolved international problems.

During your stay here you will have an opportunity to see something of our country, our institutions, our customs, and our people. You will have a chance to speak with individuals and groups from all walks of life.

The political and social systems of our two countries differ greatly. In our system the people themselves establish and control the Government. You will find, I am sure, that they, like your people, want to live in peace with justice. Although they have built and maintain strong security forces, it is clear that because our people do want peace and because they are the decisive influence in basic actions of our Government, aggression by this Nation is an impossibility.

Just as I hope that I may later visit and learn more about your people, I know that you seek better understanding of our system, of our people, and of the principles which guide and motivate them. I assure you that they have no ill will toward any other people, that they covet no territory, no additional power. Nor do they seek to interfere in the internal affairs of any other nation.

I most sincerely hope that as you come to see and believe these truths about our people there will develop an improved basis on which we can together consider the problems that divide us.

After all, our common purpose should be, always, a just, universal, and enduring peace. It is in this spirit, Mr. Chairman, that I greet you and welcome you to Washington and the United States.

Chairman Khrushchev

Unofficial translation

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: Permit me at this moment, on first setting foot on American soil, to thank Mr. Eisenhower for the invitation to visit your country and everyone present for the warm welcome accorded us, representatives of the Soviet Union.

Russians say: "Every good job should be started in the morning." Our flight began in Moscow this morning, and we are glad that our first meeting with you on American soil is taking place on the morning of the same day. As you see, our countries are not so distant from each other.

I accepted the invitation of the President of the United States to make an official visit to your country with great pleasure and gratitude, and I will be glad to talk with statesmen, representatives of the business world, intellectuals, workers, and farmers and to become familiar with the life of the industrious and enterprising American people.

For our part, we will be glad to receive Mr. Eisenhower, his family, and those who will accompany him in the Soviet Union shortly. We will give the President a most cordial welcome and every opportunity to become familiar with the life of the Soviet people.

We have always considered reciprocal visits and meetings of representatives of states useful. Meetings and conversations between the statesmen of our two great countries, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, are especially important.

All the peoples are profoundly interested in the maintenance and consolidation of peace, in peaceful coexistence. War does not promise anyone any good; peace is advantageous to all the nations. This is the basic principle which, we believe, the statesmen of all countries should be guided by in order to realize the aspirations of the peoples.

We have come to you with an open heart and good intentions. The Soviet people want to live in friendship with the American people. There are no obstacles to having the relations between our countries develop as relations between good neighbors. The Soviet and the American people, like other peoples, fought well together in the Second World War against the common enemy and broke his backbone. In peaceful conditions we have even more reason and more possibilities for friendship and for cooperation between the peoples of our countries.

Shortly before our meeting you, Mr. President, the Soviet scientists, engineers, technicians, and workers filled our hearts with joy by launching the rocket to the moon. Thus has been blazed

a road from the earth to the moon; and a container of 390 kilograms with a pennant bearing the national emblem of the Soviet Union is now on the moon. Our earth lost several hundred kilograms in weight, and the moon gained in her weight the same amount of kilograms. I am sure that in this historic achievement of peaceful science rejoice not the Soviet people alone but also all those to whom peace and friendship among nations are dear.

Recently an atomic icebreaker has been completed in the Soviet Union. This practical embodiment of the desire of all peoples to see the nuclear energy put solely to peaceful use makes us happy. We are aware, Mr. President, that the idea of peaceful use of atomic energy is dear to you, and we note with gratification that your aims in this field coincide with ours.

We entertain no doubt that the splendid scientists, engineers, and workers of the United States of America, who are engaged in the field of conquering the cosmos, will also carry their pennant to the moon. The Soviet pennant, as an old resident of the moon, will welcome your pennant and they will live there together in peace and friendship, as we both should live together on the earth, in peace and friendship, as should live in peace and friendship all peoples who inhabit our common mother earth, who so generously gives us her gifts.

During these first few minutes of my stay in the United States permit me to extend hearty greetings and best wishes to the American people.

STATE DINNER AT THE WHITE HOUSE

White House press release dated September 15

President Eisenhower

Mr. Chairman, the ladies and gentlemen gathered at this board are here to greet you as the head of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and to greet Mrs. Khrushchev, your family, and the members of your party. We trust that you will find your trip, your tour of America, both instructive and interesting and enjoyable.

It was 150 years ago that diplomatic relations between your country and ours were opened. On November 5, 1809, John Quincy Adams, later Secretary of State and later President of the

United States, presented his credentials to Alexander I. And since that date there has been a history of many incidents of collaboration between your country and mine and certainly a long history of friendship. In two world wars we have been allies.

And now today it seems to me that our two countries have a very special obligation to the entire world. Because of our strength, because of our importance in the world, it is vital that we understand each other better. You and I have agreed on this point.

I think that skillful debate is not now enough. We must depend upon fact and truth. And we must make it our common purpose, as I see it, that we develop for each other the maximum of fact and truth, so that we may better lead, between us, this world into a better opportunity for peace and prosperity.

And it is in that hope, sir, in that effort, in the hope that that effort will be successful, that I ask this company to join me in a toast to you, Mr. Chairman, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Madame Khrushcheva, and to the people of the Soviet Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, Chairman Khrushchev.

Chairman Khrushchev

Unofficial translation

Mr. President, Mrs. Eisenhower, ladies and gentlemen: I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for the good wishes that you voiced and to state on my part that we have come here on the invitation of the President with our intentions based on the need to come to an agreement on the improvement of our relations, because our countries are much too strong and we cannot quarrel with each other. If we were weak countries, then it would be another matter, because, when the weak quarrel, they are just scratching each other's faces and it takes just a couple of days for a cosmetician and everything comes out right again. But, if we quarrel, then not only our countries can suffer colossal damage but the other countries of the world will also be involved in a world shambles.

But I am sure that we can live in peace and progress together for peace.

You mentioned the fact that 150 years have passed since diplomatic relations were established

between the United States and Russia. I also want to say a few words on that example. I want to say that, when your Ambassador was presenting his credentials to the Emperor, Alexander the First, I don't think the Emperor trusted your Ambassador too much, because after all the United States was a Republic and Alexander was a czar, but all the same there did exist mutual understanding between the two countries, and contacts between them strengthened.

And our countries not only never fought with each other, but I don't think there were ever even any major quarrels between them. I don't pretend that I have too profound a knowledge of history, but I am sure that this was so.

Our countries have different social systems. We believe our system to be better, and you believe yours to be better. But surely we should not bring quarrels out onto the arena of open struggle. Let history judge which of us is right. If we agree to accept this principle, then we can build our relations on the basis of peace and friendship.

You are a very rich and strong country. I read very many speeches made by many of the Senators and Representatives present here today, and so, although I have made their acquaintance here for the first time today, in actual fact they are my old acquaintances by their speeches.

What we should now do is to strive together to improve our relations. We need nothing from the United States, and you require nothing that we have. It is true that you are richer than we are at present. But then tomorrow we will be as rich as you are, and the day after tomorrow we will be even richer.

But is there anything bad in this? After all, we are going to do this by our own forces, by our own strength.

I must say that the meeting I had today heartened me. When some of our journalists approached me after the meeting and asked me my impressions, I said that there was an agreed communique that was to be published and they should abide by what was said in that communique. But I could not help mentioning that I would inform my Government that a good beginning had been made and one could only hope that the final outcome would be even better.

And so I would like to raise my glass and propose a toast to the President, to his wife, to all of you esteemed ladies and gentlemen.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT, SEPTEMBER 16⁵

Secretary Herter and Foreign Minister Gromyko met for 45 minutes this morning [September 16] in the Secretary's office and reached preliminary agreement on the order of the subjects to be discussed by President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev at Camp David on September 25 to 27. The order of discussion was decided upon so that the various advisers and specialists, Soviet and American, might be on hand when the matter of particular concern to them is brought up. There was no discussion on any substantive matter. The conversation was in the same friendly and frank atmosphere of the White House meeting yesterday afternoon.

Mr. Gromyko was accompanied by Mr. A. A. Soldatov, chief of the American Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. N. M. Lunikov and Mr. A. F. Kovalev, Counselor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Herter was accompanied by Mr. Livingston Merchant, Deputy Under Secretary of State, Mr. Foy Kohler, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and Mr. Richard Davis, who recently returned from Moscow, where he served as Counselor at the American Embassy.

Role of the Teacher in Promoting Peace and Understanding

Remarks by President Eisenhower¹

Ladies and gentlemen: First of all, welcome to Washington, our Nation's capital. Now ordinarily, with such a group like this meeting in the rose garden, I should content myself with a few words of greeting and a few off-the-cuff remarks. But because of the importance of this group—representing as you do the teaching profession in so many different countries—and because of your tremendous interest in promoting understanding by coming to this country to see what you can bring to us and what you can take away from

⁵ Read to news correspondents by Robert J. McCloskey, press officer.

¹ Made before a group of foreign educators participating in the international teacher development program, which is administered by the International Educational Exchange Service of the Department of State, at Washington, D.C., on Sept. 16 (White House press release).

here, I decided to put my few simple thoughts, such as they are, on paper. So you will this morning get from me a bit of a precedent. I think never before in this rose garden have I read a speech, which is probably self-flattery. I don't mean to call it a speech; it's just an expression of some simple thoughts.

Dr. Hauck,² teachers, and school administrators: I am happy to join with Dr. Hauck and others in his group in extending to you this welcome to our country. I hope in the coming months you will all have abundant opportunity to meet and talk with Americans in every walk of life. We of course want to show you our schools and colleges and our universities, our cultural institutions, farms, factories, and playgrounds. But most of all we want you to come to know our people, and what they think, and how they live, and what their aspirations for the future are. And I speak for all Americans when I say that we are tremendously interested in you and your ideas. We want to know better what you think, how you live, and to what you aspire.

A little more than 30 years ago I made my first transatlantic crossing; it took 7 days. My latest crossing—early this month—took a little less than 7 hours. In the three decades between these trips the world has experienced awesome changes. One of these is that 25 nations, with a population of nearly 1 billion, have achieved political independence. Each is struggling for stability, for a respected place in the family of nations, and for advancement in the well-being of its people. But to me the greatest change of all is the development of an exacting interdependence between free nations—an interdependence that involves the oldest and the youngest nations, the largest and the smallest, the most prosperous and the least developed of nations.

This interdependence calls for new thinking, new institutions, new vision. Above all, it calls for greater understanding among peoples—the genuine understanding of truth, which can dispel unfounded fears and suspicions, bars to true and lasting peace. People of good will everywhere have a tremendous job of communicating such understanding—and little enough time to do it. We need to pursue every possible avenue that can bring people together as friends and coworkers

seeking solutions to their common problems.

As teachers and school administrators you enjoy an extraordinary advantage in this great task. You are the multipliers of knowledge; you serve to develop and disseminate thoughts and ideas and to stimulate critical, creative thinking and understanding in others. The educational institutions in which you work are the seedbeds of learning—and not merely of your own countries but of all mankind.

Knowledge is or should be universal; it was meant to be shared; and it has the peculiar quality about it that, when its parts are brought together, the result is a multiplication rather than a mere addition of those values.

One of the powerful effects of teacher exchange is that the benefits are multiplied a thousandfold. A good teacher, given the opportunity to comprehend other cultures, is not just a transmitter of important facts about the language, economy, politics, science of the country he has visited. He becomes far more—a sort of ambassador at large who brings to each one with whom he comes in contact greater depth of understanding and greater toleration.

All of us surely agree that the exchange of students is valuable. Indeed, I would like to see a substantial increase in the almost 50,000 foreign students now studying in the United States. But I emphasize that through teacher exchange we can open intellectual windows faster and in greater number and thus more rapidly progress toward the greater understanding so desperately needed by our quarrelsome and shrinking world. A world of understanding will be a world of true freedom.

We shall not be serving mankind well if we become obsessed with just the business of putting new satellites into orbit—so obsessed that we overlook the fact that we have some real problems left right here on earth. We need to put new ideas—and more of them—into orbit. And we must use every resource at our command to see that people everywhere achieve greater understanding of each other before it is too late.

In this respect you of the teaching profession compose one of our most precious resources. As always with sound and enthusiastic teaching, we do not look for spectacular breakthroughs. There are no easy solutions for the complexities that surround us. I confidently expect the teach-

² Charles C. Hauck, specialist in comparative education, U.S. Office of Education.

ing profession to write a new and one of the finest chapters in human history by developing the priceless commodity of genuine understanding. Only thus shall we ever achieve the kind of world we want.

I hope all of you will take home much of America in your minds and in your hearts. We certainly expect to get much from you.

Thank you very much. Goodby.

President of Liberia Expresses Sympathy for Earthquake Victims

White House press release dated September 18

The White House on September 18 made public the following exchange of messages between President Eisenhower and W. V. S. Tubman, President of the Republic of Liberia.

President Eisenhower to President Tubman

SEPTEMBER 11, 1959

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Thank you for your most gracious message expressing sympathy for the victims of the recent earthquake in the western part of the United States.

I deeply appreciate the humanitarian ideals which motivated your message and express my gratitude to you, Mr. President, and to the Government and people of the Republic of Liberia.

With warm personal regard.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President Tubman to President Eisenhower

AUGUST 19, 1959

The PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington

The distressing report of devastating experience and results of the violent earthquake that struck the Pacific Coast of the United States has been received by me and the Government and people of Liberia with deep and sincere regrets and on behalf of the Government, people of Liberia, and myself, we extend to you, the Government, and people of the United States, especially the people of the afflicted areas, our most tender feelings of sympathy for this terrible disaster. Let us look to God in prayer for deliverance.

With assurance of my highest esteem,

W. V. S. TUBMAN

Initial Validity of Passports Increased to 3 Years

Press release 659 dated September 18

The initial validity of passports issued on or after September 14, 1959, has been increased from 2 to 3 years by Public Law 86-267 approved by the President on September 14, 1959. However, the one-time renewal period will still remain 2 years. The initial 3-year period of validity plus the renewal period of 2 years will provide a total validity of 5 years for all passports issued on or after the effective date of P.L. 86-267, September 14, 1959, except in those cases where special limitations are noted upon the passport at the time of issuance.

The new act is not retroactive and does not affect the validity of passports issued prior to September 14, 1959. These passports are valid for 2 years from the date of issue, unless otherwise limited, as noted in the information contained under the caption "Expiration and Renewal" on the inside cover of all passports. The one-time 2-year renewal period for these passports is not changed by P.L. 86-267 nor is the final date of expiration of not more than 4 years from the original date of issue.

Since many Government employees and their dependents are assigned overseas for 2-year tours of duty, it has previously been necessary to renew their passports overseas. It will now be possible to eliminate in many instances the necessity for renewal until the employee and his family have returned to the United States. Nongovernmental travelers will also be affected.

U.S. To Undertake Renegotiations on Wool-Fabric Tariff Concessions

Press release 647 dated September 14

As an outgrowth of the continuing study within the U.S. Government of the operation of the tariff quota on certain wool fabrics, which the President requested in a letter to the Secretary of Commerce on March 7, 1958,¹ the U.S. Government has decided to enter into renegotiations looking toward possible modification of the tariff concessions in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 21, 1958, p. 671.

under which the quota is maintained. The renegotiation, which was requested by the United Kingdom in August, is being undertaken in an effort to find a solution to the many problems which both importing interests in the United States and exporting interests in other countries have claimed arise from the application of this quota.

In the proposed renegotiations the United States will follow the usual trade-agreement procedures, including the holding of public hearings by the interagency Committee for Reciprocity Information and an investigation for the determination of "peril points" by the U.S. Tariff Commission. Formal announcements seeking public views will be issued by the interagency committee involved and the Tariff Commission upon completion of preliminary steps now in progress.

The proposed renegotiations will be in accordance with the provisions of article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The tariff concessions which account for the major part of the trade were negotiated with the United Kingdom in 1947, and one which accounts for the minor part was negotiated with Belgium in 1950 and 1951. In accordance with provisions of the General Agreement, the United States will negotiate with these two countries and will give consideration to the trade interests of other contracting parties, either in direct negotiations with any countries that may be found to have a principal supplying interest or in consultations with any found to have a substantial interest.

The tariff quota on wool fabrics was established initially on October 1, 1956, when the President invoked the so-called Geneva reservation,² which is a part of the tariff concessions on wool fabrics which the United States negotiated with the United Kingdom in 1947 and which is included in the U.S. schedule of the General Agreement. This reservation permits the United States to increase to 45 percent the ad valorem part of the rate of duty applicable to imports of wool fabrics in any year, in excess of an amount determined to be not less than 5 percent of average annual U.S. production of similar fabrics for the preceding 3 calendar years. The tariff quota has been continued, with some modifications, each year since then.

Under this tariff quota the ad valorem part of

the rate of duty applied to most imports in excess of the tariff quota is 45 percent. For imports within the tariff quota the ad valorem rate of duty under the trade agreement concession is 20 percent or 25 percent (depending on the nature of the fabric). The specific part of the rate of duty is 30 cents or 37½ cents a pound (again depending on the nature of the fabric) for all imports whether within or in excess of the tariff quota. Special treatment has been provided in the form of a 30 percent ad valorem rate of duty, for over-quota imports of certain handwoven fabrics, fabrics for religious uses, and a limited quantity of high-priced fabrics.

In addition to the Government of the United Kingdom, which has recently requested renegotiation, importers and direct consumers of imported fabrics in the United States have made representations to the U.S. Government concerning the difficulties of operating under the present arrangements. Similar representations have been made by other governments and by export interests in other countries. A solution of these problems satisfactory to the various interests involved has not been found within the framework of the existing concessions. It is in an effort to arrive at a solution equitable to all that renegotiations will be undertaken.

Development Loans

Pakistan.

The U.S. Development Loan Fund announced on September 8 basic approval and commitment of funds for a new \$10 million loan to the Pakistan Industrial Credit and Investment Corp., Ltd., a privately owned and managed development bank in Karachi. The new funds will enable the bank to assist further in the development of private-enterprise projects in Pakistan. For details, see Department of State press release 638 dated September 8.

The Development Loan Fund and Pakistan signed a loan agreement at Dacca, East Pakistan, on September 12, whereby the DLF will lend \$1,750,000 to the East Pakistan Inland Water Transport Authority to assist in financing the installation of improved navigational aids on East Pakistan's inland waterways. For details, see Department of State press release 645 dated September 11.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1956, p. 555.

1959 Pacific Festival

A P R O C L A M A T I O N ¹

WHEREAS there is to be held at San Francisco, California, from September 18, 1959, to September 27, 1959, inclusive, an event known as "Pacific Festival Days"; and

WHEREAS the purpose of this festival is to focus attention on the growth and development of cities, States, and nations bordering the Pacific Ocean and thereby to foster mutual understanding and cordial relations among the peoples of these areas; and

WHEREAS the Congress, by a joint resolution approved September 14, 1959, has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation inviting foreign nations to participate in the 1959 Pacific Festival; and

WHEREAS participation by both American citizens and foreign nationals in this event is in keeping with our objective of cultivating better relationships among the nations and the peoples of the world; and it may be expected to contribute to the welfare and benefit of all concerned;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of State to invite, on my behalf, such foreign nations as he may consider appropriate to participate in the 1959 Pacific Festival at San Francisco, California, from September 18 to September 27, 1959.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this fourteenth day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.

By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Briefing on Africa. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. March 5-July 21, 1959. 20 pp.

Passport Security—Part 2. Hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee. April 22-June 5, 1959. 894 pp.

Dissemination of Scientific Information. Hearings before the House Science and Astronautics Committee. May 26-June 17, 1959. 182 pp.

To Establish an Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Joint hearings before the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee and the Senate Government Operations Committee on H.R. 6901, H.R. 6905, and S. 2026. June 16-22, 1959. 206 pp.

Depressed Domestic Mining and Mineral Industries. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Mines and Mining of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. June 25-July 2, 1959. 452 pp.

The American National Exhibition, Moscow, July 1959: The Record of Certain Artists and an Appraisal of Their Works Selected for Display. Hearings before the House Un-American Activities Committee, July 1, 1959. 67 pp.

Administration of the Department of State and the Foreign Service, and the Establishment of a Foreign Service Academy. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. July 6-15, 1959. 240 pp.

North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement, Mexican Broadcasting Agreement. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. July 9, 1959. 308 pp.

Passport Legislation. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on bills on passport legislation. July 13, 1959. 176 pp.

Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean. Hearings before the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws. Testimony of Maj. Pedro L. Diaz Lanz. July 14, 1959. 32 pp.

Importation of Tourist Literature, Works of Art, Wood Moldings, and Book Bindings and Covers. Hearing before the Senate Finance Committee on H.R. 2411, an act to amend paragraph 1629 of the Tariff Act of 1930 so as to provide for the free importation of tourist literature. July 16, 1959. 97 pp.

U.S. Participation in the UN: Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1958. H. Doc. 104. July 20, 1959. 300 pp.

Current Situation in the Far East. Hearings before the Far East and Pacific Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. July 27-August 14, 1959. 338 pp.

United States Foreign Policy: Worldwide and Domestic Economic Problems and Their Impact on the Foreign Policy of the United States. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Corporation for Economic and Industrial Research, Inc., August 1959. 92 pp.

Providing Standards for the Issuance of Passports and for Other Purposes. Hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. August 5-19, 1959. 186 pp.

Extension and Amendment of Public Law 480. Report to accompany H.R. 8609. H. Rept. 908. August 15, 1959. 70 pp.

Operation of Article VII, NATO Status of Forces Treaty. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee to review for the period December 1, 1957, through November 30, 1958, the operation of article VII of the agreement between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty, together with the other criminal jurisdictional arrangements throughout the world. August 18, 1959. 27 pp.

Fortieth Report to Congress on Lend-Lease Operations. Message from the President transmitting the report for the year ending December 31, 1958. H. Doc. 160. August 19, 1959. 37 pp.

Tariff Commission To Make Additional Investigation Under Section 332 of Tariff Act of 1930 of Domestic Lead and Zinc Industries. Report to accompany S. Res. 162. S. Rept. 733. August 19, 1959. 4 pp.

Tariff Commission To Make Additional Investigation Under Section 332 of Tariff Act of 1930 of Domestic Fluorspar Industry. Report to accompany S. Res. 163. S. Rept. 734. August 19, 1959. 2 pp.

¹ No. 3313; 24 Fed. Reg. 7517.

- Printing for the Use of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy Additional Copies of Hearings on "Fallout From Nuclear Weapons Testing." Report to accompany S. Con. Res. 53. S. Rept. 737. August 19, 1959. 2 pp.
- Foreign Agents Registration Act. Report to accompany H.R. 6817. H. Rept. 949. August 19, 1959. 4 pp.
- Conclusions Concerning the Mutual Security Program. Communication from the President transmitting the final report of the President's Committee To Study the United States Military Assistance Program, with the several studies which are annexes thereto. H. Doc. 215 parts 1 and 2. August 20, 1959. 411 pp.
- Agricultural Attaché Rotation. Report to accompany H.R. 8074. H. Rept. 978. August 24, 1959. 4 pp.
- The Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Materials. Message from the President of the United States transmitting a certified copy of the agreement. S. Ex. 1. August 25, 1959. 15 pp.
- Three-Year Suspension of Import Duties on Certain Spun-Silk Yarn. Report to accompany H.R. 2886. S. Rept. 811. August 25, 1959. 2 pp.
- Transfer of Certain Pumice Stone to Free List. Report to accompany H.R. 6368. S. Rept. 812. August 25, 1959. 3 pp.
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- Twenty-second Semiannual Report on Educational Exchange Activities. Letter from the Chairman, U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange transmitting the 22d semiannual report, January 1-June 30, 1959. H. Doc. 216. August 25, 1959. 15 pp.
- Authorizing the Secretary of Commerce To Resell Four C1-SAY-1 Vessels to the Government of the Republic of China. Report to accompany H.R. 8042. H. Rept. 1050. August 26, 1959. 11 pp.
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- Study of International Activities of Federal Executive Branch Departments and Agencies in the Field of Health and Medical Research. Report to accompany S. Res. 176. S. Rept. 819. August 26, 1959. 2 pp.
- United States Participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency. Message from the President transmitting the second annual report for the year 1958. H. Doc. 221. August 27, 1959. 58 pp.
- Promoting Peace Through the Reduction of Armaments. Report to accompany H. Con. Res. 393. August 31, 1959. 2 pp.
- Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. Report to accompany S. 1502. S. Rept. 837. August 31, 1959. 3 pp.
- Extending the Life of the Commission and Advisory Committee on International Rules of Judicial Procedure. Report to accompany H.R. 8461. S. Rept. 856. September 1, 1959. 5 pp.
- Century 21 Exposition. Conference report to accompany H.R. 8374. H.R. Rept. 1104 September 1, 1959. 3 pp.
- Authorizing the President To Invite Foreign Countries To Participate in a World's Fair, New York, 1964. Report to accompany H.J. Res. 496. September 1, 1959. 2 pp.
- Providing for the Presentation by the United States of a Statue of Gen. George Washington to the People of Uruguay. Report to accompany H.R. 8911. H.R. Rept. 1118. September 1, 1959. 2 pp.
- Amending the Joint Resolution Providing for Membership and Participation by the United States in the Inter-American Children's Institute. Report to accompany H.J. Res. 511. H.R. Rept. 1119. September 1, 1959. 4 pp.
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- Free Importation of Ground, Powdered, or Granulated Seaweeds. Report to accompany H.R. 5887. H. Rept. 1144. September 3, 1959. 2 pp.
- Observance of an International Public Health and Medical Research Year. Report to accompany S. Res. 129. S. Rept. 905. September 4, 1959. 1 p.
- Establishing a National Minerals Policy. Report, together with individual views, to accompany S. 1537. S. Rept. 967. September 8, 1959. 8 pp.
- Establishing a National Minerals Policy. Report, together with individual views, to accompany H. Con. Res. 177. S. Rept. 968. September 8, 1959. 15 pp.
- Authorizing Construction, Maintenance, and Operation of Toll Bridge Across St. Marys River, and the Rio Grande. Report, together with minority views, to accompany H.R. 3180, S. 2531, and S. 2590. S. Rept. 980. September 8, 1959. 10 pp.
- Mutual Security and Related Agencies Appropriation Bill, 1960. Report to accompany H.R. 8385. S. Rept. 981. September 8, 1959. 24 pp.
- Statue to Uruguay. Report to accompany H.R. 8911. S. Rept. 984. September 9, 1959. 2 pp.
- Inter-American Children's Institute. Report to accompany S. 2231. S. Rept. 990. September 9, 1959. 2 pp.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of International Conferences ¹

Adjourned During September 1959

ICAO Legal Committee: 12th Session	Munich	Aug. 18-Sept. 4
13th Annual Edinburgh Film Festival	Edinburgh	Aug. 23-Sept. 12
17th International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry	Munich	Aug. 30-Sept. 6
GATT Working Party on Relations with Poland	Geneva	Aug. 31-Sept. 4
IAEA Panel on Reactor Physics Data of Heavy-Water Lattices	Vienna	Aug. 31-Sept. 4
GATT Committee I on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Aug. 31-Sept. 9
U.N. Seminar on Judicial and Other Remedies Against Abuse of Administrative Authority	Buenos Aires	Aug. 31-Sept. 11
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Sept. 1-15
U.N. Committee on Arrangements for Purpose of Charter Review	New York	Sept. 2 (1 day)
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: Working Party on Earthmoving Operations	New Delhi	Sept. 7-14
Meeting of Countries Producing Extra Long Staple Cotton	Alexandria, Egypt	Sept. 7-17
IAEA Conference on the Application of Large Radiation Sources in Industry	Warsaw	Sept. 8-12
GATT Committee II on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Sept. 14-25
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: Working Group of Experts on Sampling Methods	Bangkok	Sept. 14-25
ITU International Telephone and Telegraph Consultative Committee (CCITT): Study Group 2/1 on Telegraph Operations and Tariffs	Munich	Sept. 15-25
U.N. ECAFE Working Party on Economic Development and Planning: 5th Session	Bangkok	Sept. 15-26
WHO Regional Committee for Western Pacific: 10th Session	Taipei	Sept. 16-22
U.N. ECE Coal Committee and Working Parties	Geneva	Sept. 21-25
3d FAO Technical Meeting on Control of Sunn Pest	Morocco	Sept. 21-26
PAHO Directing Council: 11th Meeting	Washington	Sept. 21-30
PAHO Executive Committee: 38th Meeting	Washington	Sept. 21-30
International Rubber Study Group: Management Committee	London	Sept. 24 (1 day)

In Session as of September 30, 1959

Political Discussions on Suspension of Nuclear Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
PAHO Subcommittee To Study the Constitution and Rules of Procedure	Washington	Apr. 13-
ITU Administrative Radio Conference	Geneva	Aug. 17-
ICAO Meteorological Division: 5th Session (joint session with WMO Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology)	Montreal	Sept. 1-
IAEA Board of Governors: 13th Session	Vienna	Sept. 14-
U.N. General Assembly: 14th Session	New York	Sept. 15-
11th International Road Congress	Rio de Janeiro	Sept. 21-
IAEA General Conference: 3d Regular Session	Vienna	Sept. 22-
FAO Experts on Fisheries Statistics in North Atlantic Area	Edinburgh	Sept. 22-
FAO International Poplar Commission: 10th Session; 7th International Poplar Congress	Rome	Sept. 23-
ICAO Jet Operations Requirements Panel: 4th Meeting	Montreal	Sept. 28-
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Monetary Fund, International Finance Corporation: Annual Meetings of Boards of Governors	Washington	Sept. 28-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Sept. 18, 1959. Following is a list of abbreviations: CCITT, Comité consultatif international télégraphique et téléphonique; CENTO, Central Treaty Organization (formerly the Baghdad Pact); ECA, Economic Commission for Africa; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ICIM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; PAHO, Pan American Health Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund; WHO, World Health Organization; WMO, World Meteorological Organization.

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings—Continued

In Session as of September 30, 1959—Continued

Conference of Experts for the Revision of The Hague Arrangements for the International Deposit of Designs and Models.	The Hague	Sept. 28-
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade . . .	Geneva	Sept. 28-
U.N. ECA Conference of African Statisticians: 1st Session . . .	Addis Ababa	Sept. 28-
U.N. ECAFE Subcommittee on Electric Power: 7th Session . . .	Tokyo	Sept. 29-

Scheduled October 1 Through December 31, 1959

PAHO Executive Committee: 39th Meeting	Washington	Oct. 1-
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea: 47th Annual Meeting.	Copenhagen	Oct. 5-
Executive Committee of the Program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees: 2d Regular Session.	Geneva	Oct. 6-
CENTO Ministerial Council: 7th Meeting	Washington	Oct. 7-
ILO Meeting of Panel of Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers.	Geneva	Oct. 12-
South Pacific Commission: 20th Session	Nouméa, New Caledonia . . .	Oct. 12-
UNESCO Intergovernmental Copyright Committee: 4th Session.	Munich	Oct. 12-
GATT Committee on Balance-of-Payments Restrictions	undetermined	Oct. 12-
U.N. ECE Timber Committee: 17th Session	Geneva	Oct. 12-
Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission: 1st Meeting	Washington	Oct. 13-
IAEA Symposium on the Meteorology of Radionuclides	Vienna	Oct. 14-
ITU Plenipotentiary Conference	Geneva	Oct. 14-
Conference on Antarctica	Washington	Oct. 15-
FAO/ILO Technical Meeting on Cooperatives for the Near East .	Cairo	Oct. 17-
ILO Building, Civil Engineering, and Public Works Committee: 6th Session.	Geneva	Oct. 19-
U.N. ECE Conference of European Statisticians: Working Group on Statistics of Private Consumption Expenditure.	Geneva	Oct. 19-
International Wheat Council: 28th Session	London	Oct. 19-
FAO Committee on Commodity Problems: 32d Session	Rome	Oct. 22-
FAO Experts on Standardization of Time Reference in Agricultural Statistics.	Rome	Oct. 22-
FAO Group on Cocoa: 5th Meeting of Committee on Statistics .	Rome	Oct. 23-
Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia ("Colombo Plan"): 11th Meeting		
Officials Meeting	Jogjakarta	Oct. 26-
Ministerial Meeting	Jogjakarta	Nov. 10-
GATT Working Party on Commodities	Tokyo	Oct. 26-
GATT Contracting Parties: 15th Session	Tokyo	Oct. 26-
U.N. ECE Committee on Development of Trade and East-West Trade Consultations.	Geneva	Oct. 26-
U.N. ECAFE Zonal Meeting of Experts on International Highways.	Bangkok	Oct. 27-
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport and Communications Committee: 2d Meeting of Experts on International Highways.	Bangkok	Oct. 27-
U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy	New York	Oct. 28-
FAO Council: 32d Session	Rome	Oct. 29-
FAO Conference: 10th Session	Rome	Oct. 31-
International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: Committee on Biology and Research.	Seattle	October
International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: 6th Meeting . .	Seattle	Nov. 2-
ILO Experts on Statistics of Industrial Injuries	Geneva	Nov. 3-
WMO Regional Association for Asia: 2d Session	Rangoon	Nov. 3-
ICEM Executive Committee: 13th Session	Geneva	Nov. 3-
U.N. ECAFE Inland Waterways Subcommittee: 5th Session . . .	Bangkok	Nov. 4-
ILO Governing Body: 143d Session (and Committees)	Geneva	Nov. 9-
UNESCO Executive Board: 55th Session	Paris	Nov. 9-
ICEM Council: 11th Session	Geneva	Nov. 12-
IAEA Conference on Radioactive Waste Disposal	Monaco	Nov. 16-
NATO Parliamentary Conference	Washington	Nov. 16-
South Pacific Commission: Regional Seminar on Education . . .	Brisbane	Nov. 16-
U.N. ECAFE Working Group of Experts on Capital Formation . . .	Bangkok	Nov. 16-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Inland Transport and Communications: 8th Session.	Bangkok	Nov. 18-
Inter-American Child Institute: 40th Meeting of Directing Council.	Bogotá	Nov. 20-
International Union of Travel Organizations: 14th General Assembly.	Manila	Nov. 20-
FAO Council: 33d Session	Rome	Nov. 21-
11th Pan American Child Congress	Bogotá	Nov. 22-

Inter-American Cultural Council: 3d Meeting	San Juan	Nov. 22-
ILO Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers: 5th Session.	Cologne	Nov. 23-
International Sugar Council: 4th Session	Tangier	Nov. 23-
International Sugar Council: Executive and Statistical Committees.	Tangier	Nov. 23-
FAO Meeting on Hemorrhagic Septicemia in Livestock	Manila	Nov. 30-
ILO African Advisory Committee: 1st Session	Luanda, Angola	Nov. 30-
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems	Geneva	Nov. 30-
U.N. Seminar on the Evaluation and Utilization of Population Census Results.	Santiago	Nov. 30-
5th Inter-American Conference on Agriculture	México, D.F.	November
U.N. Trusteeship Council: Special Session	New York	November
IMCO Maritime Safety Committee: 2d Session	London	November
ICAO Facilitation Division: 5th Session	Rome	Dec. 1-
U.N. ECAFE Zonal Meeting of Experts on International Highways.	New Delhi	Dec. 1-
1st FAO International Meeting on Date Production and Processing.	Tripoli	Dec. 5-
U.N. ECAFE Zonal Meeting of Experts on International Highways.	Lahore	Dec. 7-
U.N. ECE Housing Committee and Working Parties	Geneva	Dec. 7-
U.N. ECAFE Technical Administration Seminar on Administrative and Financial Aspects of Industrial and Commercial Enterprises in Public Sector.	India	Dec. 8-
ILO Technical Meeting Concerning Certain Aspects of Industrial Relations Inside Undertakings.	Geneva	Dec. 10-
FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Production and Protection.	Peradeniya, Ceylon	Dec. 14-
FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Soil, Water, and Fertilizer Practices.	Peradeniya, Ceylon	Dec. 14-
U.N. ECAFE Railway Subcommittee: 6th Session; and Working Party on Railway Mechanical Engineers.	Lahore	Dec. 14-
U.N. ECE Coal Trade Subcommittee	Geneva	Dec. 14-
U.N. ECE Coal Committee	Geneva	Dec. 15-
NATO Council: Ministerial Session	Paris	December
Caribbean Commission: 29th Meeting	Cayenne, French Guiana	December
South Pacific Commission: Study Group on Filariasis and Elephantiasis.	Nouméa, New Caledonia	December
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 28th Session (resumed)	New York	December

U.S. Reaffirms Economic Support for Regional Members of CENTO

Statement by Donald D. Kennedy¹

Permit me to say first that it gives me very great satisfaction and pleasure to be here in Ankara and to attend this session of the Economic Committee, the first under the new name of CENTO. The varied opportunities that such a meeting affords—exchanging ideas, meeting old friends and making new ones, developing recommendations for further activity, associating in a common endeavor—make profitable and worth while any ef-

fort that is involved in attending. For me it is most pleasant and helpful because otherwise I would not be able to come at this time to this fine capital city of a strong and free nation.

It has been said many times, and I would like to repeat, that reliable independence rests in large part on economic health and progress. And I would like to reaffirm that the United States favors and will support, within its capabilities, those economic activities which have a regional character, carry forward a regional concept, and meet the test of economic and technical feasibility.

We continue to believe that the Organization is well adapted for developing economic activities that cannot be effectively carried out by each country acting alone and that such activities deserve to be pushed with vigor. We wish to play our part in doing so. It was with this in mind that we established the position of Economic Coordinator, which is filled by Mr. John McDonald. As

¹Made on Sept. 1 at the opening session of the seventh meeting of the Economic Committee of the Central Treaty Organization (formerly the Baghdad Pact), held at Ankara, Turkey, Sept. 1-3. Mr. Kennedy, who is Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic and Regional Affairs, Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, was head of the U.S. delegation to the meeting.

judged from where I sit in Washington, it is my belief that he has contributed a great deal to the economic work of the Organization, and I am happy to have him as a member of this delegation.

Reports from Mr. McDonald and a review of the work of the economic experts indicate that the past 7 months have been a period of high activity. We will be reviewing this work during these next few days, and hence I will not make any specific comment now. But I do believe that an examination of work completed and in active progress shows that there has been an excellent level of accomplishment.

In London I referred to our interest in helping individually the regional members of this Organization improve their economic health as an essential part in establishing a continuing and sound independence, and said that it was my view that increased economic health arising out of our bilateral economic aid programs improved the strength of the group as a whole.²

It is within this context that I would like to give you a statistic: At the time of the London meeting I stated that the total United States economic aid in all forms to the pact members under our bilateral programs for the year ending June 30, 1958, amounted to around \$300 million. The total for the year ending June 30, 1959, comes to around \$470 million—up over 50 percent. I mention this only to provide factual support to general statements as to our interest in and strong desire to help those associated in this Organization. American taxpayers, like taxpayers everywhere, are prone to complain. It is particularly gratifying to this delegation that the American people have been able and willing to come forth with aid in such magnitude to the individual members of this Organization.

At the same time it should be recognized that limited annual appropriations and worldwide commitments place a tight and restricted ceiling on what the United States can do. It is United States policy, I should add, to put aid for economic development projects on a loan basis; and you are all familiar with and have had practical experience with the Development Loan Fund, established by Congress for this purpose.

² Mr. Kennedy was head of the U.S. delegation to the fifth meeting of the Economic Committee, held at London July 28–31, 1958.

In closing permit me to express this delegation's great appreciation of the work done by the economic experts. Their activity and the reports of the many working groups show free and productive cooperation by all, an essential element in achieving progress under an international grouping of this character.

Bank and Fund Announce Increases in Resources

World Bank

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development announced on September 16 that a major increase in the capital of the Bank became effective on September 15, 1959.¹ Authorized capital has been increased from \$10 billion to \$21 billion and increased capital subscriptions from member governments amounting to \$8,801.4 million had been received by the Bank up to September 15. Of this total, \$62.52 million will be paid in, and the remainder will be subject to call to meet the Bank's obligations.

Forty member governments have acted to increase their subscriptions to the Bank's capital, and further increases are expected from other members. By far the larger part of the increases consist of a doubling by member governments of their subscriptions. Some members have also made special additional subscriptions, over and above their 100 percent increases, as a means of making their capital participations in the Bank more proportionate to their economic growth in recent years. Seventeen governments, including Canada, Germany, and Japan, have made or indicated their intention to make such special additional subscriptions.

The principal objective in enlarging the Bank's capital is to strengthen its ability to borrow funds for financing loans for economic development by increasing the portion of members' subscriptions remaining on call.

Prior to the current action by the members, subscribed capital of the Bank amounted to \$9,556

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Feb. 23, 1959, p. 279; for President Eisenhower's message to Congress requesting legislation to increase the U.S. capital subscription in the World Bank and quota in the Monetary Fund, see *ibid.*, Mar. 9, 1959, p. 347.

million, of which \$1,911 million was paid in and \$7,645 million was subject to call to meet the Bank's own obligations in the event it could not do so from its other resources. With the increase in subscriptions received to date, subscribed capital will rise to \$18,357.9 million, of which \$1,973.82 million will be paid in and is usable in the ordinary operations of the Bank and \$16,384.08 million will be on call and serving as a guarantee fund for the Bank's bonds and other obligations.

Monetary Fund

The International Monetary Fund announced on September 16 that 40 members, representing 82.77 percent of its quotas as of January 31, 1959, have consented to increases in their quotas in the Fund by amounts ranging from 50 percent to 100 percent.

The Fund extended the period within which the rest of its 68-nation membership may accept increases in quotas to July 31, 1960. Some of these countries have already communicated consents to the Fund which will become effective on the completion of certain formalities.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Letter Dated 30 July 1959 From the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States Addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Transmitting a Resolution Adopted on 29 July by the Council of the Organization of American States in Connexion With the Case Submitted by the Government of Nicaragua. S/4208. August 20, 1959. 55 pp.

Letter Dated 31 August From the Acting Permanent Representative of Israel Addressed to the President of the Security Council Relating to Passage Through the Suez Canal. S/4211. August 31, 1959. 3 pp.

Note of 4 September 1959 to the Secretary-General From the Permanent Mission of the Kingdom of Laos to the United Nations Alleging Communist Violation of Lao Territory. S/4212. September 5, 1959. 2 pp.

Letter Dated 9 September 1959 From the Acting Permanent Representative of Pakistan Addressed to the President of the Security Council Regarding Kashmir. S/4217. September 9, 1959. 2 pp.

Letter Dated 11 September 1959 From the Chairman of

the Disarmament Commission Addressed to the Secretary-General. S/4218. September 11, 1959. 2 pp.

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General Assembly

Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities. Note by the Secretary-General with an annex containing comments by Governments concerning the draft articles on diplomatic intercourse and immunities adopted by the International Law Commission at its 10th session in 1958. A/4164. July 28, 1959. 60 pp.

Progress Achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories in Pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter: General Economic Developments. Report prepared by the Secretariat. A/4166. July 30, 1959. 84 pp.

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Supplementary List of Items for the Agenda of the Four-

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

teenth Regular Session of the General Assembly. A/4189. August 25, 1959. 1 p.

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TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and Liberia Sign Agreement of Cooperation

Department Announcement

Press release 643 dated September 10

An agreement of cooperation between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Liberia was signed at Washington on July 8, 1959, by the Liberian Ambassador, George A. Padmore, and by Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State. The agreement reaffirms the cordial and unique relationship which has long obtained between the United States and Liberia, provides for mutual determination of appropriate action in the event of aggression or threat of aggression against Liberia, and reaffirms the intention of the U.S. Government to continue to assist in the promotion of Liberia's economic development and in the preservation of Liberia's independence and integrity.

Text of Agreement

Press release 642 dated September 10

AGREEMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA

The Government of the United States of America and the Government of Liberia,

Desiring to strengthen peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

Affirming their right to cooperate for their security and defense in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations;

Recalling the unique relationship which has obtained between the peoples of the United States of America and Liberia for more than one hundred years;

Considering that the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Liberia are founded upon similar constitutional principles;

Considering further that the peoples of the United States of America and Liberia share a common democratic heritage;

Recalling that the Government of the United States of America has traditionally regarded itself as the next friend of the Government of Liberia; and

Reaffirming the historic interest of the Government of the United States of America in the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of Liberia;

Have agreed as follows:

Article I

In the event of aggression or threat of aggression against Liberia, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Liberia will immediately determine what action may be appropriate for the defense of Liberia.

Article II

The Government of the United States of America, in accordance with applicable laws of the United States of America and with applicable agreements heretofore or hereafter entered into between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Liberia, reaffirms that it will continue to furnish the Government of Liberia such assistance as may be mutually agreed upon between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Liberia, in order to assist the Government of Liberia in the effective promotion of its economic development and in the preservation of its national independence and integrity.

Article III

This Agreement shall enter into force upon the date of its signature and shall continue in force until one year after the receipt by either Government of written notice of the intention of the other Government to terminate it.

DONE in duplicate at Washington, this eighth day of July, 1959.

For the Government of the United States of America

C. DOUGLAS DILLON

For the Government of Liberia

GEORGE A. PADMORE

October 5, 1959

U.S. and Argentina Begin Air Transport Negotiations

Press release 652 dated September 16

Delegations of the United States and Argentina met on September 15 to begin negotiations for the conclusion of a bilateral air transport agreement regulating air transportation between the two countries. At the present time the operation of international flights between the United States and Argentina is on the basis of individual permits issued to the airlines by the respective Governments.

The Argentine delegation is headed by Vice Commodore José Luis Valls, Director General of Commercial Aviation. The other members are Minister Horacio Alberto Portela, Nestor Heriberto Errecart, and Antonio Pandolfo. Henry T. Snowden, chief of the Aviation Division of the Department of State, is the chairman of the U.S. delegation, which includes Bradley D. Nash, Deputy Under Secretary of the Department of Commerce, Joseph C. Watson and Dorothy Thomas of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and Gerald W. Russell and Elizabeth Simmons of the Department of State.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹

Ratified by the President: August 20, 1959.

Telecommunication

International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.

Ratification deposited: Bolivia, August 14, 1959.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. *Proclaimed by the President:* September 9, 1959.

BILATERAL

France

Agreement continuing in force, with modifications, the 1946 air transport agreement, as amended (TIAS 1679,

¹ Not in force.

2106, 2257, and 2258). Effected by exchange of notes at Paris August 27, 1959. Entered into force August 27, 1959.

Mexico

Agreement extending for 2 months, through October 31, 1959, the migrant labor agreement of August 11, 1951 (TIAS 2331), as amended and extended. Effected by exchange of notes at México August 31, 1959. Entered into force August 31, 1959.

Turkey

Agreement amending the agreement of February 16 and July 1, 1954, relating to the loan of two U.S. submarines to Turkey (TIAS 3042). Effected by exchange of notes at Ankara August 28, 1959. Entered into force August 28, 1959.

United Arab Republic

Parcel post agreement and detailed regulations for the execution of the agreement. Signed at Cairo December 30, 1958, and at Washington January 13, 1959. Enters into force October 1, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Department of State Celebrates 170th Anniversary

Statement by Secretary Herter

Press release 654 dated September 16

The year 1959 marks the 170th anniversary of the founding of the Department of State, the first executive department to be created under our Constitution. On July 27, 1789, President Washington signed the act of Congress, often called "the organic law of the present Department of State," which set up a Department of Foreign Affairs and designated its head as Secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs. By an act of Congress of September 15, 1789, those names were changed to Department of State and Secretary of State, with the addition of two new functions, custody of the records and Seal of the United States and publication of the acts of Congress.

When Thomas Jefferson became the first Secretary of State,¹ his entire staff consisted of five

¹ For an article on the numbering of the Secretaries of State, see BULLETIN of July 20, 1959, p. 80.

clerks and the Foreign Service was virtually nonexistent. Only four foreign governments—Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Spain—were represented in the United States.

Today the Department maintains relations with 84 foreign governments and the United Nations. It has a staff of almost 7,000 employees at home and about 15,500 overseas. This growth parallels the rise of the United States from a small Republic struggling to maintain its independence to the strongest and most influential member of the community of free nations. It sprang from the expansion and increasing complexity of foreign relations as our country developed its manifold resources in a climate of freedom and private enterprise and found itself holding an ever more important place in international political and economic life.

Behind this growth lies the devoted service of thousands of members of the Department and Foreign Service at home and abroad who, through the years, have given their best effort to carrying out the foreign policies of our Government. The 170th birthday of the Department is a fitting occasion for us to recall their contributions to the promotion of our Nation's welfare.

Department's Third-Ranking Officer To Serve on Coordinating Board

White House press release dated September 16

White House Announcement

The President on September 16 signed an Executive order which relates to the membership of the Operations Coordinating Board. The effect of this Executive order will be to replace the Under Secretary of State, the Secretary of State's present representative on the Operations Coordinating Board, with the new third-ranking officer of the Department of State, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. The issuance of this Executive order was necessitated by the enactment of P.L. 86-117 of July 30, 1959, which made provision for an alternate title for the third-ranking officer of the Department of State, and the desire of the Secretary of State to have a greater flexibility in the assignment of

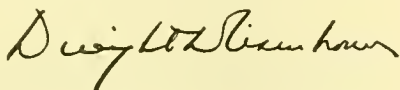
duties to the second- and third-ranking officers of the Department of State.¹

Executive Order 10838²

FURTHER AMENDMENT OF EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10700, AS AMENDED, PROVIDING FOR THE OPERATIONS COORDINATING BOARD

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes, and as President of the United States, it is ordered that section 1(b)(1) of Executive Order No. 10700 of February 25, 1957,³ as amended by Executive Order No. 10773 of July 1, 1958, be, and it is hereby amended to read as follows:

"(1) the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, who shall represent the Secretary of State,".



THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 16, 1959.

FSI Begins Second Course for Senior Officers

The Department of State announced on September 14 (press release 650) that Deputy Under Secretary Loy Henderson on that day had officially convoked the second session of the senior officer course at the Foreign Service Institute. A year ago Secretary Dulles inaugurated the first senior officer course, which, upon the completion of its work, was addressed by President Eisenhower at graduation ceremonies held on June 12, 1959.⁴

Benefiting from the experiences gained in the first year's course, the second session of the course will have 19 participants comprising carefully selected officers of the Foreign Service, of the Departments of Agriculture and of State, and from the U.S. Information Agency, the International Cooperation Administration, and the Central Intelligence Agency. Also attending the course are a Navy captain and colonels of the Army, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

Harold B. Hoskins, director of the Foreign Service Institute, defined the purpose of the course to be the preparation of career officers for the highest positions of responsibility in policy recommendation and execution

within the Washington offices of the agencies represented, in diplomatic and consular posts abroad, and in inter-agency and international organizations. The course is under the supervision of Willard F. Barber, assisted by John P. Hoover, both career Foreign Service officers, who together organized the curriculum and program for the year's work.

The 1959-60 course of study includes the following subjects: (1) administrative management and leadership; (2) recent developments in the arts and the natural, physical, and social sciences; (3) domestic influences affecting U.S. foreign policy; (4) outer space and arms control; (5) area studies; (6) examination of the means of foreign policy determination and implementation; and (7) current foreign policy problems.

Foreign Service Examination To Be Held December 5, 1959

In response to thousands of inquiries received from all areas of the country concerning a career with the Foreign Service Officer Corps, the Department of State on September 8 (press release 639) again announced that the next written Foreign Service officer examination will be held on December 5, 1959, in approximately 65 centers throughout the United States and at Foreign Service posts abroad.⁵

In recruiting officers in the past the Foreign Service has sought young men and women with broad and general backgrounds. The need for such "generalist" officers has not lessened, but with the more varied types of positions now being filled by Foreign Service officers there is an increased need also for persons with specialized training. The Foreign Service requires officers who will specialize in such fields as public and business administration and economics, as well as in language and area studies, international labor affairs, and political science.

Within the next few weeks Foreign Service officers will visit a large number of colleges and universities throughout the continental United States and Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico to explain fully the opportunities in the Foreign Service which await qualified young men and women.

Application forms and other information may be obtained immediately by writing to the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. All applications to take the written examination must be received by the close of business October 19, 1959.

Closing of Consular Agency at Málaga, Spain

The American consular agency at Málaga, Spain, was closed to the public effective August 14.

¹ For an earlier announcement, see BULLETIN of May 18, 1959, p. 729.

¹ For a White House announcement of the Secretary's request for such legislation, see BULLETIN of May 18, 1959, p. 730.

² 24 Fed. Reg. 7519.

³ For text, see BULLETIN of Mar. 25, 1957, p. 505.

⁴ For text of remarks made by President Eisenhower and Acting Secretary Dillon, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1959, p. 35.

Designations

Raymond B. Allen as director of the U.S. Operations Mission, Indonesia, effective August 30. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 649 dated September 14.)

Alvin Roseman as ICA regional director for the Far East, effective September 18. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 658 dated September 18.)

John H. Tobler as director of the U.S. Operations Missions, Laos, effective August 28. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 628 dated September 2.)

John W. Tutill as director, Office of European Regional Affairs, effective September 9.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4236. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Switzerland, amending agreement of June 21, 1956. Signed at Washington April 24, 1959. Entered into force June 8, 1959.

Mutual Aid Under Article 3 of the North Atlantic Treaty—Costs for Maintenance of United States Forces. TIAS 4237. 12 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany. Exchanges of notes—Signed at Bonn June 7, 1957. Extension arrangement effected by exchange of notes—Dated at Bonn and Bad Godesberg July 9 and 23, 1958. Entered into force May 12, 1959.

Special Technical Assistance—Detail of Tax Experts. TIAS 4240. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Malaya. Exchange of notes—Dated at Kuala Lumpur May 19 and 22, 1959. Entered into force May 22, 1959.

United States Educational Foundation in Finland. TIAS 4241. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Finland, amending agreement of July 2, 1952, as amended.

Exchange of notes—Signed at Helsinki May 30, 1959. Entered into force May 30, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4242. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Ceylon, amending agreement of March 3, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Colombo May 28, 1959. Entered into force May 28, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4243. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Poland, agreement amending agreements of June 7, 1957, as amended, and February 15, 1958, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington May 26 and 29, 1959. Entered into force May 29, 1959.

Defense—Loan of Floating Dry Dock to Peru. TIAS 4244. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Peru. Exchange of notes—signed at Washington June 15, 1959. Entered into force June 15, 1959.

Special Technical Assistance—Cooperative Cholera Research Program. TIAS 4247. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Exchange of notes—Signed at Bangkok May 29, 1959. Entered into force May 29, 1959.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: September 14–20

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to September 14 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 638 and 639 of September 8, 642 and 643 of September 10, and 645 of September 11.

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†648	9/14	Israel credentials (rewrite).
*649	9/14	Allen designated USOM director, Indonesia (biographic details).
†650	9/14	FSI senior officer course (rewrite).
651	9/15	Soviet proposal on Laos.
652	9/16	Air transport talks with Argentina.
†653	9/16	Herter: message to Chancellor Adenauer.
654	9/16	Herter: 170th anniversary of State Department.
*655	9/16	Palmer sworn in as USOM director, Japan.
656	9/17	Herter: "Peaceful Change."
657	9/17	Secretary Herter and party leave for General Assembly.
*658	9/18	Roseman sworn in as ICA regional director, Far East (biographic details).
659	9/18	Validity of passports increased.

*Not printed.

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TOWARD
BETTER UNDERSTANDING

*Vice President Nixon's Visit to
the Soviet Union and Poland*

On July 24 Vice President Richard M. Nixon officially opened the American National Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, Moscow. After a series of talks with Soviet officials at Moscow, the Vice President made a 4,448-mile tour of the Soviet Union, stopping at Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and Sverdlovsk. Mr. Nixon left Moscow on August 2 for a 3-day visit at Warsaw, Poland.

This 50-page pamphlet contains the record of what Mr. Nixon said on the various occasions when he spoke to the people of the Soviet Union and Poland, together with other relevant documents including some of the addresses and remarks made in response to Mr. Nixon by officials of the host governments.

Publication 6881

25 cents

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Bulletin

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Vol. XLI, No. 1059

October 12, 1959

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THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLI, No. 1059 • PUBLICATION 6891

October 12, 1959

The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

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Single copy, 25 cents

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Note: Contents of this publication are not copyrighted and items contained herein may be reprinted. Citation of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN as the source will be appreciated.

President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev Issue Communique at Conclusion of Talks at Camp David

Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., left Washington on September 27 after a 13-day visit in the United States.¹ Following is the text of a joint communique released at the conclusion of his talks with President Eisenhower at Camp David, the President's retreat in the Catoctin Mountains in Maryland, together with an exchange of toasts between Secretary Herter and Mr. Khrushchev at a luncheon given in the Chairman's honor by Mr. Herter at Anderson House, Washington, D.C., on September 25.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

White House (Gettysburg, Pa.) press release dated September 27

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N. S. Khrushchev, and President Eisenhower have had a frank exchange of opinions at Camp David. In some of these conversations United States Secretary of State Herter and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, as well as other officials from both countries, participated.

Chairman Khrushchev and the President have agreed that these discussions have been useful in clarifying each other's position on a number of subjects. The talks were not undertaken to negotiate issues. It is hoped, however, that their exchanges of views will contribute to a better understanding of the motives and position of each and thus to the achievement of a just and lasting peace.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the United States agreed that the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today. Both governments will make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem.

In the course of the conversations an exchange of views took place on the question of Germany including the question of a peace treaty with Germany, in which the positions of both sides were expounded.

With respect to the specific Berlin question, an understanding was reached, subject to the approval of the other parties directly concerned, that negotiations would be reopened with a view to achieving a solution which would be in accordance with the interests of all concerned and in the interest of the maintenance of peace.

In addition to these matters useful conversations were held on a number of questions affecting the relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States. These subjects included the question of trade between the two countries. With respect to an increase in exchanges of persons and ideas, substantial progress was made in discussions between officials and it is expected that certain agreements will be reached in the near future.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the President of the United States agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation.

Finally it was agreed that an exact date for the return visit of the President to the Soviet Union

¹ For statements made at the time of Mr. Khrushchev's arrival, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476.

next spring would be arranged through diplomatic channels.

EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

Secretary Herter

Press release 675 dated September 25

Mr. Chairman, Soviet guests. You have been in our country over a week. You have had a crowded schedule, and I can assure you we admire your stamina. In this short period you have visited some of our major cities and met a number of local government officials and private citizens. You have experienced differing situations just as persons in political life meet them daily throughout this country. We want you to see us as we are. The airing of differences in our free society is normal and actually promotes better understanding.

Beginning this evening you will have opportunities for quiet discussion with President Eisenhower at Camp David. We hope these discussions will create greater understanding between our countries and, thereby, serve the larger cause of world peace. We also hope you will take back with you a good impression of the United States, its people and way of life.

To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the people of the U.S.S.R.!

Chairman Khrushchev

Unofficial translation

I am glad to hear the Secretary's remarks and fully agree. On behalf of my friends who came with me and for myself, I was very glad to have the invitation of the President and have enjoyed my stay here.

There may have been misunderstandings when we voiced frank opinions differing from other speakers. We understand that some were displeased. But we were only voicing opinions.

Perhaps you do not understand our ways well enough. We in our country have differences as you do. But you dramatize yours more than we. We differ more calmly usually because both sides have the same basis. But there have been cases where differences assumed dramatic form. There is no need to cite specific cases—all here realize what I have in mind.

But we must not permit this to hamper improvement in our relations and in the strengthening of ties between our countries. I am glad to have met so many Americans. Our meetings confirmed our concept that we must improve relations.

We will do all we can in our talks with the President

to the advantage of both sides. After our return we will strive to improve relations. We are sure that our people will approve of our work here. They greatly desire an improvement of relations.

To your great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the American people, our host, Secretary Herter, and guests around the table!

Letters of Credence

Israel

The newly appointed Ambassador of Israel, Avraham Harman, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on September 14. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 648 dated September 14.

President and Secretary Herter Comment on Algeria Plan

Statement by President Eisenhower

White House press release dated September 17

While I have read General de Gaulle's speech,¹ I have not yet been able to give it the careful and sympathetic study it deserves. Therefore, I do not want to comment on the details.

It is a far-reaching declaration, containing explicit promises of self-determination for the Algerian peoples and as such, completely in accord with our hopes to see proclaimed a just and liberal program for Algeria which we could support. I am greatly encouraged by General de Gaulle's courageous and statesmanlike declaration. It is our hope that it will lead to an early peace. And I might add that it is a plan I think is worthy of General de Gaulle's efforts.

Statement by Secretary Herter

Press release 664 dated September 22

In the light of President Eisenhower's statement of September 17, on Algeria, the United States delegation to the present General Assembly of the United Nations naturally hopes that no

¹ Gen. Charles de Gaulle, President of the Council of Ministers of the French Republic, made a television address at Paris on Sept. 16 on the subject of Algeria.

action will be taken here which would prejudice the realization of a just and peaceful solution for Algeria such as is promised by General de Gaulle's far-reaching declaration with its provision for self-determination by the Algerian people.

President and Secretary Congratulate Mr. Adenauer on 10th Anniversary

Following are two exchanges of messages with Konrad Adenauer on his 10th anniversary as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

EXCHANGE BETWEEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND CHANCELLOR ADENAUER

President Eisenhower's Message

White House press release dated September 16

SEPTEMBER 11, 1959

His Excellency
Dr. KONRAD ADENAUER
Chancellor of the
Federal Republic of Germany,
Bonn

On the tenth anniversary of the assumption of your duties as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, I send most cordial personal greetings. On behalf of the American people I congratulate you for your historic contribution not only to the affairs of your own country but to those of the European community as a whole. Through your dedication and inspiring leadership, the Federal Republic has risen out of the chaos of war to a position of influence and responsibility in the community of free nations. Moreover, there has been developed in Germany a government guided by the principles of democracy and motivated by a sincere desire to play a positive role in the great movement toward European cooperation and integration. Your effective work in developing understanding between our two peoples has also been a contribution of major significance. It was a most valued and enjoyable opportunity to confer with you in Bonn recently,¹

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 371.

and I wish you many more productive years in the interests of your own country and those of the free world.

With assurances of my continued esteem and friendship,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Letter From Chancellor Adenauer

Bonn, September 18, 1959

DEAR FRIEND: I am deeply touched by the congratulations you sent me, also on behalf of the American people, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of my taking office, and by the complimentary words which you addressed to me.

The fact that out of the chaos of the last war the Federal Republic evolved into a healthy and vigorous nation is due to a considerable degree to the generous help given by the American people in the first years after the war. The brotherly hand extended to the vanquished nation has made possible the regeneration of the Federal Republic as a democratic and free state in the community of free nations. I remember on this day with special gratitude the human greatness of the American people and its leaders in the decisive post-war years and the feelings of brotherhood and friendship shown to the German people.

Your visit in Bonn was further proof of the growing friendship between our two nations. During the coming years in my office it will be a matter close to my heart to further strengthen and deepen the friendship which links us with your people and with the other nations in the community of free nations. May success crown our joint efforts for closer integration of Europe and an even more active cooperation among the free nations within the Atlantic Community which you have served so eminently by your journey.

With best wishes for the forthcoming discussions and with the assurance of my constant respect and friendship. As ever, yours,

ADENAUER

EXCHANGE BETWEEN SECRETARY HERTER AND CHANCELLOR ADENAUER

Secretary Herter's Message

Press release 653 dated September 16

As you complete your tenth year as Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, I wish to convey to you heartiest congratulations for a decade of fruitful endeavor for Germany and the free world. In the face of great odds you have guided the material and spiritual restoration of your nation on the path to peace and freedom. I wish you the best of health and strength. I

shall continue to rely on your close and friendly cooperation as we seek to realize our common objectives.

Letter From Chancellor Adenauer

Bonn, September 18, 1959

DEAR MR. HERTER: I wish to thank you very much for the congratulations you sent me on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of my taking office. The successes which the Federal Government under my direction was able to achieve in the reconstruction of our country were

made possible to a large degree by the help given us by our former adversaries in the war and present allies—in particular the U.S.A.

On this day I remember with special gratitude my friend, the late John Foster Dulles, whose efforts towards formulating our common policy and making the community of free nations unified and inseparable will not be forgotten. You may rest assured that I shall always be at your side in your efforts for the accomplishment of our common goals.

With best personal regards, I am,
Sincerely,

ADENAUER

The U.N. as a Peace Mechanism

Press release 667 dated September 23

REMARKS BY SECRETARY HERTER¹

I thank you for the very kind introduction and also for this privilege of meeting a group that is translating to the world events related to an institution that is coming to have a universal meaning as one of the leading mechanisms that humanity has devised for trying to adjust the many illnesses of the world.

If I seem to speak with overenthusiasm about the United Nations, it is due to the fact that I happen to be one of those who had the utmost faith in the effort which was made in connection with the League of Nations after World War I. Very frankly, I left the Department of State, with which I had been serving, when the Senate of the United States and Woodrow Wilson between them in their entanglement over amendments refused to bring the United States into that body.

The United Nations is a second effort. I hope it will last. I hope that as a peace mechanism it will be able to adjust itself to the inevitable change that we must look forward to in a constantly changing world, so that it will become a constant factor and a continuing factor in the adjustment of those matters that unfortunately through the mechanisms of war can become of tremendous danger to all of mankind.

Today I do not pretend to be making a speech. I just want to say a few words, first, with regard to my own convictions with respect to the United Nations, with all of the very obvious difficulties that any of us can point out from the point of view of the difficulties which the Security Council has had in functioning over the years and the character of representation in the Assembly, where size, influence, and importance are not the criteria but where the independence of a group of people is one of the criteria.

As of this moment, there are two matters that I would like to refer to before getting to the matters which you yourselves would like to talk about, which I hope will be brought out in questions. One is the question of disarmament. The second is the question of Algeria.

Disarmament

The speech made by Mr. Khrushchev, in which he advanced a program for complete disarmament down to the limit of forces required for internal security, is a speech that requires very close attention and the very closest study.² It deals with a subject in which all of us must be interested. It deals with a subject to which all of us should be turning a very large part of our attention. It is a subject of vital interest not only to the nations that are heavily armed and that are very powerful

¹ Made before the United Nations Correspondents Association at New York, N.Y., on Sept. 22.

² Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., addressed the 14th session of the U.N. General Assembly on Sept. 18.

but to all the smaller nations who see in armaments not alone the danger of their being engulfed against their will in worldwide war but also in the extravagance that the human race cannot afford at a time when capital is required so badly to lift the standard of living of so many nations and so many peoples.

On the other hand, the speech did not contain any very novel proposals. It was detailed. It followed very much the line of Litvinov's of some 35 years ago, a little over that. But it did echo sentiments that are very widely held, that, if it were practical and if it could safely be done, the type of disarmament that Mr. Khrushchev has spoken about is a highly desirable thing for mankind. From that point of view it must be taken very seriously. As I indicated in the very brief statement I made just after the conclusion of his speech,³ the great stumbling block to any disarmament scheme of the ambitious size of Mr. Khrushchev's is the question of controls. Having sat very close to conferences in which even minor matters—and I call them minor compared to this—such as the cessation of nuclear tests are concerned, controls seem to be the vital element in making a quick agreement at least very, very difficult. That matter of controls is going to require a very careful study.

The second matter that is going to require very careful study—one which wasn't mentioned in his speech at all—is this: Assuming one can reach the state in all of the nations of the world that he had pointed out, namely, that of having only such levels of forces and such armament as are required for internal security, then what, if any, force will there be other than moral force with which to maintain the peace as between nations which, disregarding armaments, insist on going to war with each other even if it is with knives. Are we going to come to a point where we are going to develop some form of international police force of sufficient strength and subject to a controlled direction on which the nations of the world can agree, which can be effective in maintaining the peace for all the world?

These are matters, I say, that cannot be treated with skepticism or treated lightly. I have become a little impatient at those who merely waved off Mr. Khrushchev's suggestions as propaganda.

It is propaganda. It is in its details something that can be looked at with skepticism, but it represents an effort of mankind to reach the solution of one, at least, of the major problems of the world which is a great threat to the world itself.

Question of Algeria

The second matter that I wanted to speak of very briefly was the question of Algeria. Since De Gaulle's declaration with regard to Algeria, the President has commented on it and commented on it with considerable clarity.⁴ At the same time, at that press conference of his, he was asked what the attitude of the United States would be with respect to its vote and actions at the United Nations bearing on Algeria, and he stated that this was a matter on which he did not wish to commit himself before having consulted with his foreign policy advisers. We have been asked that question a number of times by interested nations and nations who are observers and have no direct interest in that problem. And I have here in written form the answer to that question as of now. I am going to read it because the wording is very carefully thought through—and I think Mr. Berding has copies of it, which he will be glad to distribute to you. It reads as follows:

In the light of President Eisenhower's statement of September 17 on Algeria, the United States delegation to the present General Assembly of the United Nations naturally hopes that no action will be taken here which would prejudice the realization of a just and peaceful solution for Algeria such as is promised by General de Gaulle's far-reaching declaration with its provision for self-determination by the Algerian people.

Now, obviously on this Algerian matter, as in a number of other matters before the United Nations at this session, it is too early as of now to know just what form any contemplated or suggested action might take. The Arab states are discussing the matter among themselves. I think that there are meetings going on in Tunisia and perhaps elsewhere of those who have a very great interest in the solution of this problem, and as yet they have not expressed themselves on General de Gaulle's proclamation.

In this statement that I have just made, there is no effort to go into the details of General de Gaulle's declaration. Some of them are still

³ See p. 508.

⁴ See p. 500.

somewhat obscure. Whether they will be clarified in time, we of course don't know. And so there is no pretense to say that we believe that in General de Gaulle's declaration every last detail of what he has suggested is the right thing, because we just don't know. But from the point of view of his having gone a long way—a way which he only, I think, in France could have gone—toward the solution of this problem, we feel that a great stride has been taken, and we hope that this very quarrelsome and very bothersome and potentially dangerous problem with which the United Nations has had to deal for some years and which as of now has engendered war for a period of 5 years can be adjusted.

With respect to other matters now pending before the United Nations, I would be delighted to answer questions to the extent of my knowledge. I served for many years in the Legislature of Massachusetts and was once for a time of 4 years chairman of its Rules Committee and the Speaker. I likewise served on the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives in Washington, and I thought I had gotten to know the rules of those two bodies very well. But, having come face to face directly with United Nations problems of procedure, I have a feeling that it is going to take me a long time to learn what all of you probably know instinctively with regard to the procedures at the United Nations. As of now, they strike me as quite complicated, but complicated procedures are always an essential part of a deliberative body such as the United Nations is. And so, if I find myself stuck on a question that you may ask as to where things are going to move and how they are going to move there, I hope you will forgive me.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Pauline Frederick, president, United Nations Correspondents Association; National Broadcasting Co.: So that we may save as much time as possible, getting as many questions in as possible, when you are called on, please stand and identify yourself, as usual, your name and your affiliation. Please state your question in stentorian tones so they won't have to be repeated, which will take up time, and please make them as brief as possible. If you are ready, Mr. Secretary, we will welcome questions.

Otto Leichter, Deutsche Presse Agentur, Hamburg: Mr. Secretary, in your speech before the General Assembly,⁵ you touched on the German question. May I ask you, if you were to evaluate the situation of West Berlin today, would you think that the tension has tapered off, or do you still look with the same concern and apprehension on the situation of West Berlin as you looked at it before the Geneva conference and before recent events?

SECRETARY HERTER: I don't think that the West Berlin situation presents as active a crisis as it did after the November 10 speech of Mr. Khrushchev's and the note that he sent to the three occupying powers.⁶ That is one thing that is very difficult to gage if you are speaking in terms of the West Berliners themselves. I went to Berlin in July and found that the industrial activity and productivity of the city of West Berlin had increased very considerably between November 10 and that particular day in July. In other words, the people of Berlin had shown a fortitude, had shown an effort to move ahead with their ordinary industrial lives, which to me was quite extraordinary, considering the anxieties that we all had with respect to what might develop in that city.

Insofar as reaching a solution of the problem is concerned, I don't think any progress has been made since the end of the Geneva talks. Perhaps I will know a little more if Mr. Khrushchev has something to say on the subject in the forthcoming talks with the President. But, as the President made very clear, this is a matter in which other nations are concerned besides ourselves, and certainly those talks would not take the guise of negotiations in any way whatsoever.

V. Arnold Vas Dias, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant: Must we understand from what you said about Mr. Khrushchev's disarmament proposals that you agree with Mr. Gaitskell, the leader of the Labor Party in England, that we should take him up on it?

MR. HERTER: Well, "take him up on this" can be interpreted a good many different ways. Take him up on it objectively, yes. Take him up on the details? From what I have seen of them to date,

⁵ BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 467.

⁶ For text of Soviet note on Berlin and U.S. reply, see *ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1959, p. 79.

I would say no. But that obviously is a question of ascertaining a good deal more about the details. The objective is not alone Mr. Gaitskell's objective, but Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on the afternoon before Mr. Khrushchev's speech advanced a program just as far-reaching in successive stages, which differed rather considerably, certainly insofar as the element of control was concerned, from the proposals made by Mr. Khrushchev.

David Horowitz, World Union Press and American Association of English-Jewish Newspapers: Mr. Secretary, a two-point question. One, the United States and the Soviet Union found a common basis originally on the Palestine partition resolution of the U.N. I was wondering whether the United States would welcome today a common basis, that is, an agreement on the general Middle East question. Two, do you have any knowledge as to the possibility of Mr. Khrushchev's meeting some of the Jewish leaders of the United States?

MR. HERTER: Well, may I say this: In the State Department we had requests from a number of different organizations to try to arrange appointments for them with Mr. Khrushchev. The Jewish organizations did it individually—asked for an appointment with him—then joined together and asked if they might send a representative to represent all of them to see Mr. Khrushchev. We endorsed strongly that request and sent it, as we had to, to Mr. Menshikov [Mikhail A. Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador to the United States], who was in official charge of Mr. Khrushchev's engagements. I might add that our suggestions as to what Mr. Khrushchev's engagements might be during the course of his trip were not always viewed with great favor—in fact, with a feeling that his trip should be arranged entirely by himself and by the Russian Embassy and that our suggestions were rather extraneous. So that I cannot tell you of the success of our efforts in that respect.

On your first question, sir, I missed the very first part of it; I'm sorry.

Mr. Horowitz: I mentioned the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union originally joined hands in the resolution on partition of Palestine. They agreed on the question of partition. I was wondering whether today the United States and the Soviet Union could find now, because of Mr. Khrushchev's visit here, a common under-

standing and an agreement on the general Middle East question.

MR. HERTER: I don't know. I don't know that it will even be discussed. There are matters of very considerable priority among the items to be discussed, particularly on a bilateral basis. On the questions of international interest which we may discuss, they are particularly to be quite limited, and on an issue of this kind I have a feeling that, without consulting Israel and without consulting the neighbors of Israel, it would be a little presumptuous of the Russians and ourselves to decide what the policy in the Middle East should be.

The Camp David Talks

Joseph Lash, New York Post: Sir, could you tell us something about your plans, when you will be leaving for Washington in the next few days, and do you have an idea now, sir, as to what in the realm of specifics as contrasted with atmospherics is most likely to be productive at Camp David in the talks?

MR. HERTER: So far as my own plans are concerned, I can tell you those very exactly. I am leaving this afternoon, flying back to Washington late this afternoon. I shall be at Camp David over the weekend.

I am not going to, at this stage of the game, even begin to speculate on what the line of conversation will be. I think it is a known fact that Mr. Gromyko and I spent about an hour together drawing up an agenda outline of what might be discussed.⁷ But in a very intimate discussion of the kind that is likely to take place, any agenda that we might draw up or any timetable we might draw up is likely to go by the board entirely. So that I would rather not discuss what even was considered for that agenda.

The Situation in Laos

A. G. Mezerik, International Review Service: You have mentioned only a few moments ago that the crisis in Berlin is not as active as it was in November. I would like to ask you how active is the crisis in Laos? We can't seem to get any news of a crisis being—taking place there.

⁷ For a Department statement on the meeting, see *ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 479.

Mr. HERTER: Well, I am no greater authority on this than are some of the correspondents who have been there. And certainly we are hoping that *the* authority on the subject will be the U.N. committee that is there at the present time, the subcommittee of the Security Council.⁸ They are apparently examining all the information being submitted to them by the Government of Laos. Whether they plan to travel to the borders or not, I don't yet know, but I assume that they will. The mere presence of that committee in Laos has, in my opinion, already done a great deal to subdue what looked like it might be a very ugly situation. The degree to which that situation has been brought about entirely by the Pathet Lao, who were Communist sympathizers and who at the time of the independence of Laos went into north Viet-Nam and organized there and then came across the border, I don't know. I don't know that anybody knows at the present time the degree of complicity of the Viet Minh; again this is a questionable thing. There is no doubt, I think, in anyone's mind that from the logistic point of view they have been very effective in supplying these individuals across the border. Once again the question of identification and so forth is a very difficult problem, because the peoples in that border area, both Viet Minh on one side and Laos on the other, are of various races. And so an infiltration from the point of view of being able to identify racial stock is almost impossible. It is, from that point of view, a very difficult and a very confused situation. I doubt whether we will get very much more of a clarification unless either active warfare breaks out or this commission can come in with very accurate findings.

Miss Frederick: May I remind you that time is passing, and make your questions brief because there are a lot of questions remaining.

Mary Frances Harvey, Quincy Patriot Ledger: Sir, Mr. Vasily V. Kuznetsov in his speech the other day in the General Assembly on Red China's membership made the statement, if I interpret it correctly, that the Red Chinese regime could not accept obligations in disarmament to which it had not been a party. I wondered if there were a possibility that at some stage Communist China could take part in the discussions of the present

Disarmament Commission, which is outside the U.N. on the matter of controls?

Mr. HERTER: That is, of course, wholly possible. I don't see the necessity of bringing Red China in until the nations that are going to be sitting at that table come nearer to agreement than they seem to have been in discussing this matter in the past. Red China is obviously a very big factor in any very ambitious disarmament program such as Mr. Khrushchev has suggested and would obviously have to be a party to a worldwide disarmament scheme if other nations were to consider it.

Criteria for a Summit Conference

Alexander Gabrielle, Transradio News Agency: In light of the softer situation which you indicated now exists in regard to the Berlin issue, what now are the criteria for the holding of a full-fledged summit talk, and, given those criteria, what in your opinion now are the prospects of one's taking place shortly after the duet in Washington?

Mr. HERTER: Well, once again I can't look into the crystal ball. But from the point of view of the President's own feelings with respect to a summit conference, I think he has felt that, unless there is more give and the absence of threat in the negotiating position of the Russians with respect to Berlin and the German question, it is futile to submit the thing to a summit conference. More work inevitably has to be done at a foreign-ministers level or through some general assurances which might make a summit meeting profitable.

The weakest issue of all is, as you know, still the question of a separate peace treaty with East Germany, which in the view of the Russians would automatically wipe out all of our rights with respect to Berlin and our obligations with respect to Berlin and would leave us immediately at the mercy of having to negotiate with the East German government. That is the threat that has been held over us for a long period of time, a threat which was made very specifically by Mr. Khrushchev in the first instance when he said that, after having turned over the accesses of Berlin to the East Germans, if any nation—meaning ourselves or the British or the French—tried to violate the sovereignty of East Germany without the East Germans' consent, the Russians would

⁸ For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

go to their assistance militarily. That is still a major sticking point in these negotiations. And there is no sense in putting this whole matter up to a summit conference with that particular problem still unresolved. I am hopeful that some of the discussions may help to resolve that which are going to take place during the week.

Mr. Gabrielle: Is the criterion then that they should disavow their intent or threat to make a separate treaty with East Germany?

MR. HERTER: No, not necessarily. We have no objections to their making a treaty with East Germany, but in the making of that treaty with East Germany they have got to reserve the rights which are ours which they have no right to give over to the East Germans.

Problems of Hungary and Tibet

Louis Halasz, Radio Free Europe: Sir, in your speech to the General Assembly, you said that the U.N. must speak out in clear terms on the events of Tibet. You also said that the continued deliberate offense by Hungary of the U.N. augurs ill to secure international peace and security. None of those two issues are on the agenda of the U.N. I wonder, sir, how do you think the U.N. should deal with these two problems?

MR. HERTER: Well, I think the two topics are very different from the point of view again of procedures in the U.N. The matter of Hungary must obviously await the report of Sir Leslie Munro, who has the responsibility of making a report on that subject. After he has made his report to the U.N., then I think that the membership can determine what procedural steps it will take next.

On the matter of Tibet, the matter has not yet been inscribed. That is a matter which is being discussed by various nations at the present time. As to whether it will be inscribed or not, I cannot tell you. I think the chances are fairly good that it will be inscribed, but until those matters are worked out I wouldn't want to venture a prediction nor mention any specific nations in connection with it.

Irving deWitt Talmadge, Scholastic Magazine: Mr. Secretary, if nothing fruitful comes out of the President's talks with Khrushchev at Camp

David, will the President still go through with his plans to visit Moscow?

MR. HERTER: That's a question that I cannot answer. That only the President himself will decide.

Miss Frederick: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

The United Nations, a Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy

Statement by Secretary Herter¹

The United States was one of the principal architects of the United Nations. From the time it was established we have continuously given the Organization our wholehearted support as a positive force for peace. It is a cornerstone of United States foreign policy.

Peace with justice is the paramount goal of peoples everywhere. However, if nations are to achieve this goal they must work together to build its foundations. This effort, to succeed, requires that nations live by a code of international law and order. They must be willing to resolve their differences through peaceful methods, not through force. Finally, they must assist all peoples to enjoy a decent standard of living.

The United Nations, together with its various organs and councils, serves as the most effective mechanism for mobilizing this cooperative effort. It is by no means perfect. However, during its 14-year history it has built up a record of solid progress. Its very existence has encouraged its members to resolve their differences through peaceful negotiations.

It is a prime support of peace because it furnishes processes to achieve needed and constructive change through peaceful means rather than aggressive force. Although the chasm of suspicion between the free world and the Communist world remains deep, the United Nations has served as a bridge to greater understanding. It has helped to harmonize relations between nations by providing means by which member states can talk out their problems rather than fight them out.

The United Nations has fought hunger, pov-

¹ Made on the "College News Conference" television program carried by the American Broadcasting Company on Sept. 20 (U.S. delegation press release 3226).

erty, disease, and ignorance in order to promote better living standards and remove some of the basic causes of war.

One of the principal weaknesses of the United Nations, of course, is that it does not have available a permanent force to assist it in preserving the peace. Despite this limitation the United Nations has faced up to a series of crises. By swift and effective action it has prevented them from mushrooming into conflicts of untold consequences. It repelled Communist aggression in Korea and kept the fighting localized. In 1956 it halted military action in the Suez Canal area and channeled the conflict into peaceful negotiations. Out of this crisis developed the United Nations Emergency Force, a truly international peace force which has maintained peace along the Israeli-Egyptian border. The United States remains hopeful that the achievements of the U.N. Emergency Force will encourage the members of the United Nations to make permanent arrangements for a standby United Nations peace force.

Recently we have witnessed a vivid demonstration of the United Nations' capacity to move swiftly in the face of a threat to the peace. I refer to the action of the Security Council in response to the appeal of one of the newer and smaller U.N. members, Laos.² A subcommittee has already arrived on the scene to inquire into the charges of outside aggression. It is our sincere hope that the work of this team will help restore tranquillity to the area.

The United Nations has also moved forward in other areas of human endeavor in its endless quest for peace. The establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency marks a new era in international cooperation in the important field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. Similarly, it has begun to explore the opportunities for advancing internationally its knowledge which will accrue from the conquest of outer space. Indeed, the United Nations has demonstrated remarkable flexibility in the face of changing technology. We hope the U.S.S.R. will cast aside its political prejudices and join in the good work already begun by the United Nations Outer Space Committee.

Let me conclude by noting that, perhaps apart from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, no document

strikes a more sympathetic chord in American hearts than the charter of the United Nations. The goals outlined in the charter are also the goals of the United States. Therefore the United States will continue to work with and through the United Nations for peace with justice and a better life for all mankind. It has become a truism that, if we would preserve our own freedom and well-being, we must be alive to the preservation of freedom and well-being everywhere. The United Nations is the best instrument yet devised to achieve this. It therefore deserves our unstinted support. We intend to give it just that.

Secretary Herter Comments on Soviet Disarmament Proposal

Statement by Secretary Herter¹

Obviously the disarmament proposal made by Chairman Khrushchev² is one which will require very careful examination even though it seems to repeat proposals for total disarmament made by the Soviet Union in 1932 and more specific proposals made on May 10, 1955.³ Speaking in general terms, I think I can say that the United States will go as far on the path toward controlled disarmament as any other country.

I stress the word "controlled" because up to now the previous proposals have foundered on the Soviet Government's refusal to agree to effective controls.

Japanese Foreign Minister Meets With Secretary Herter

Joint Statement

Press release 671 dated September 24

The Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister of Japan [Aiichiro Fujiyama] met at the De-

¹ Released to the press on Sept. 18 (U.S. delegation press release 3224).

² Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., addressed the 14th session of the U.N. General Assembly on Sept. 18. For text of the "Declaration of the Soviet Government on general and complete disarmament" submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly by Mr. Khrushchev, see U.N. doc. A/4218.

³ For text, see BULLETIN of May 30, 1955, p. 900.

² BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

partment of State this afternoon and had a cordial discussion devoted principally to a review of the current international situation. Others present at the meeting were Ambassador Koichiro Asakai, Under Secretary Douglas Dillon, Assistant Secretary J. Graham Parsons and Assistant Secretary (Defense) John Irwin.

In the discussion of the international situation, Secretary Herter reviewed the recent trip President Eisenhower took through Europe¹ and the visit of Chairman Khrushchev to the United States.² He pointed out that, while it is hoped that the exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev may reveal opportunities for progress toward a reduction of world tensions, it is essential for the free nations of the world at this time to maintain their vigilance and unity. Foreign Minister Fujiyama agreed that it was premature to assume that an immediate solution of important international issues will result from these visits but said that the Japanese Government hopes they may create an international atmosphere favorable for negotiations. The two Ministers also discussed the situation in the Far East today noting that Communist efforts to undermine the free world nations in the area have not subsided.

Relations between the United States and Japan were discussed and Foreign Minister Fujiyama and Secretary Herter agreed that over the past year they have continued to improve as the two countries work closely together in a spirit of equality and mutuality. Foreign Minister Fujiyama expressed satisfaction with the considerable progress already made in the negotiations of new security arrangements between the two countries, initiated at the request of the Japanese Government. The two Ministers also discussed other problems in U.S.-Japanese relations. They noted

the steady expansion of trade between the two countries and expressed confidence that problems arising from this trade would be resolved to the mutual satisfaction of both countries.

Secretary Herter in addition mentioned the United States interest in settling the United States claim regarding the GARIOA (Government and Relief in Occupied Areas) Account and the Foreign Minister stated that the Japanese Government would shortly be prepared to put forward a proposal for settlement.

SEATO Council of Ministers To Hold Informal Meeting

The Department of State announced on September 24 (press release 670) that the Council of Ministers of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization will hold an informal meeting at Washington September 28 for an exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to the member countries.

The meeting will be attended by Richard G. Casey, Minister of External Affairs for Australia, Maurice Couve de Murville, Minister of External Affairs for France, Manzur Qadir, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Pakistan, Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Thailand, SEATO Secretary General Pote Sarasin, and Secretary of State Christian A. Herter. The Foreign Ministers of New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom will be unable to attend, and these countries will be represented by the heads of their diplomatic missions in the United States.

The last regular annual meeting of the SEATO Council of Ministers was held at Wellington, New Zealand, in April 1959,¹ and the next regular annual meeting is planned for May 1960 at Washington.

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 371, and Sept. 21, 1959, p. 403.

² See p. 499.

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Apr. 27, 1959, p. 602.

Role of the Humanities in International Relations

*by Robert H. Thayer*¹

I bring you the greetings of the Secretary of State and his best wishes for a successful conference. Secretary Herter has a very strong interest in the humanities. He personally founded what is now the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. I join with him in the hope that the discussions of this conference on the role of the humanities in an urbanized and technological world will include the problem of the role of the humanities in international relations. This is a subject of increasing importance to those of us who are engaged in the implementation of our foreign policy, and, needless to say, it is of paramount interest to me, since my share of the implementation of our foreign policy is in the field of international educational and cultural relations.

I have been roundly criticized by some of my friends in the educational community for referring to this work of mine in the Department of State as cultural diplomacy. They are shocked, they say, at the implication that anything as purely intellectual as culture should be mentioned in the same breath with anything as mundane and allegedly wicked as diplomacy. They raise their hands in horror at the thought that the intellectual pursuits of mankind are to be dragged into the sordid international political arena.

I am sorely tempted to challenge this point of view. It would be amusing to speculate on Machiavelli's knowledge and use of the humanities and to develop the question of how much diplomacy Frederick the Great learned from Voltaire. All

of the most successful diplomats of history were well versed in the humanities and used them with consummate skill in their international negotiations. Among our earlier diplomats were Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and James Russell Lowell—all great American scholars. Furthermore, I am not averse to shocking my friends in the educational community. I think that in this urbanized and technological world which is creating new situations, new relationships, new nations, and new concepts there is need for every community to be shocked into a realization that a very thorough review should be made of every phase of our life, not with the idea of changing our basic philosophy, nor our standards, nor our social or political systems, but with the idea of making sure that we have not drifted into habits of thought and action which have not only lost their validity today but, if persisted in, will indeed lead to possible unfortunate changes in our standards and in our social and political systems. That is why I believe that the review which you are to make in this conference of the role of the humanities is indeed timely and of vital importance.

Scope of Cultural Diplomacy

However, I will not indulge myself in the intellectual exercise tonight of arguing about the term "cultural diplomacy," for let me hasten to explain that, when I refer to cultural diplomacy, I am using the word "culture" in a very broad and very simple sense. I am using it to mean every possible facet of the way people live their everyday lives: the things they do, the way they dress, what they produce, how they react, what they aspire to, as well as the way they think and express their

¹ Address made at the Fifth General Assembly of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies at Ann Arbor, Mich., on Sept. 21 (press release 661). Mr. Thayer is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations.

thoughts by words or song or story. The culture of a people in the sense I am using it is the life of a people, and cultural diplomacy is the act of successfully communicating to others a complete comprehension of the culture of a people. The objective of American cultural diplomacy is to create among the peoples of the world a perfect understanding of the life and culture of America. It should be emphasized, however, that effective communication of the culture of one people to another requires a thorough understanding of those to whom one is communicating. The requirement of mutual understanding is the basis of successful cultural diplomacy, and it is this requirement which makes cultural diplomacy so vitally important today.

And so my job is to project the image of America abroad and to encourage the receipt in this country of the projection of the image of other countries. My job is not to project the image of what America was, or what I wish it were, or what I hope it will be, but of what it is; and I wonder if one of our major problems in this country does not lie in grasping what America is today. Should we not perhaps consider developing a new image of ourselves at home—a new concept of what the United States actually is. I wonder if many of the difficulties which confront us in our relations with the rest of the world are not due to our failure to appreciate fully how far this country and its people have developed in the last 50 years. If we have failed to appreciate it here, we certainly cannot project it abroad.

I was talking the other day to a friend of mine who has been living in the heart of Europe for the last few months. I asked him how he liked it, and he said, "Of course, I like it very much, but I am terribly struck with how materialistic everyone is becoming over there in Europe. We in America have passed through the materialistic age; we have become sophisticated in materialism; we are no longer preoccupied with bathrooms and mass production and gadgets, but in Europe they are just beginning to go through it. We in America have emerged from materialism, and through it the iron has entered into our soul and we are developing an American culture which is not confined to the narrow base of the cultures of Greece and Rome but is forging ahead on broad lines which include the offering of the humanities to, and their acceptance by, the masses, not only the elite." I am sure

that my friend is right, but how successful have we been in showing the peoples of foreign countries the existence of this America?

Through our aid programs abroad we have inevitably projected the materialistic image of ourselves. We have learned here in America that to increase production and to improve living standards does not solve the social problems of how to bring up children or remove racial and religious prejudice. By the same token we know very well that merely increasing production and improving living standards in the rest of the world, including the less developed nations, will not insure conditions of peace and stability or win for us the cold war. That is why I for one am completely unconcerned with Mr. Khrushchev's threat that the Soviet Union will eventually pass us in production. Let him do it. That will not solve his difficult problem of what to do with the Pasternaks who, through education, are growing daily not only in number but also in articulateness.

Our foreign programs have been necessarily so predominantly economic in nature that the American people themselves have lost sight of the fact that side by side with economic assistance have been operating in full blast the activities of our Government in promoting international educational development and cultural relationships. It is unnecessary for me to describe to this group here tonight the work that our universities are doing to help us in this field by taking foreign students into their classes and seminars, by entering into contracts with universities abroad to develop their disciplines, releasing some of their best professors to help build the educational systems of less fortunate countries. But may I suggest that, just as there is a need for Americans to gain a new concept and understanding of their country, so is there a need for universities to look very closely at their role in the world of today and particularly their new role with respect to the relationship between the university and education abroad.

Task of Promoting Mutual Understanding

It was to be certain that there shall be concentrated high-level direction of the international educational and cultural activities of the Government that the position which I now hold in the Department of State was created. One of my first objectives was to try and solve some of these broad

problems of the relations between the intellectual community and foreign affairs. A beginning was made in a conference held at Annapolis in April of this year at which representatives of universities, Government, and private foundations discussed the problems of our objectives in the field of international educational and cultural relations and the role of the universities in this field. From this conference have grown further studies on the role of the universities in world affairs. You will hear more of that very soon. In addition, Government agencies are reviewing closely their own programs abroad in the educational and training and cultural relations field. We in Government are urging all our institutions to take a new look at the United States today, its philosophical and intellectual aspects as well as its material development and its relations with the rest of the world. Above all, we are asking these institutions to take a new look at the role which they themselves can and must play in a different modern United States. We are urging it because we in Government are aware of the crying need for mutual understandings between the peoples of the world. The oldtime diplomacy of government to government has given way to the modern diplomacy of people to people. The birth pangs of "one world" have started in earnest.

As President Eisenhower said in a speech he gave to 400 teachers from 75 countries who came to the United States last week on a teacher exchange program:²

A little more than 30 years ago I made my first transatlantic crossing; it took 7 days. My latest crossing—early this month—took a little less than 7 hours. In the three decades between these trips the world has experienced awesome changes. One of these is that 25 nations, with a population of nearly 1 billion, have achieved political independence. Each is struggling for stability, for a respected place in the family of nations, and for advancement in the well-being of its people. But to me the greatest change of all is the development of an exacting interdependence between free nations—an interdependence that involves the oldest and the youngest nations, the largest and the smallest, the most prosperous and the least developed of nations.

This interdependence calls for new thinking, new institutions, new vision. Above all, it calls for greater understanding among peoples—the genuine understanding of truth, which can dispel unfounded fears and suspicions, bars to true and lasting peace. People of good will everywhere have a tremendous job of communicating such un-

derstanding—and little enough time to do it. We need to pursue every possible avenue that can bring people together as friends and coworkers seeking solutions to their common problems.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, that is why I urge you in your discussions to examine closely the role of the humanities in contributing to the mutual understanding between peoples, the role of the humanities in international cultural relations, the role of the humanities in cultural diplomacy.

The Department of State has, in the creation of the position which I hold as head of a Bureau of International Cultural Relations, emphasized the important position which it gives to international educational and cultural relations in the implementation of its foreign policy. In carrying out my duties I need the help not only of the scholars of my own country but of every country in the world. We have, all of us in the free world, a common objective and a common duty. As the President said last week:³

We shall not be serving mankind well if we become obsessed with just the business of putting new satellites into orbit—so obsessed that we overlook the fact that we have some real problems left right here on earth. We need to put new ideas—and more of them—into orbit. And we must use every resource at our command to see that people everywhere achieve greater understanding of each other before it is too late.

To my own countrymen here tonight I say, look carefully at this country of ours and see if you have fully grasped the meaning of what America is today and help us in our attempt to project the true image of America abroad. To our visitors from other lands I say, we rejoice in your coming, for to see and hear with your own eyes and ears is the truest source of all understanding, and don't forget to give us freely of yourselves, for our need of what you can give us is very great.

To all of you here tonight, both Americans and our friends from abroad, I say, the United States Government is dedicated to a vigorous campaign to bring about mutual understanding between the peoples of the world. The role of the humanities in this effort is a vital one. The results of your conference are therefore awaited by us with eager anticipation and with confidence that your contribution to our common effort will be of the greatest value.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 479.

³ *Ibid.*

Expanding World Trade for the Benefit of All

*Remarks by Karl L. Rankin
Ambassador to Yugoslavia*¹

It is a particular pleasure to take part in these America Day ceremonies during the 50th anniversary celebration of the Zagreb International Fair. Americans welcome such an opportunity to meet and share experiences with others. I am sure you will all agree that trade fairs are increasingly significant in improving world prosperity through expanded world trade. Zagreb has understood this significance for half a century.

Most notably since the inauguration in 1954 of the United States international trade fair program, the foreign trade policy of the United States has emphasized the expansion of multilateral trade among all friendly nations. It is a policy built upon the firm base of our desire to see other nations of the world strong and independent, with rising living standards made possible by trade on a mutually advantageous basis.

By a more active role in international trade fairs the United States has become better acquainted with the problems and achievements of other peoples. By the same token we hope that, through our displays of products and production techniques, peoples in other lands can come to know us better and see what our economy has to offer.

Approximately 3,000 individual American firms have loaned or contributed millions of dollars worth of materials for exhibits at the 28 international trade fairs in which the United States has participated on a total of 75 occasions since 1954. Leaders of American trade unions and industrial management also have contributed their services. They are represented here today by the five business and Government members of the 1959 United States trade mission to Yugoslavia, the fourth group of this nature to visit this country. Since 1954, similar missions have come into contact with tens of thousands of foreign businessmen.

As a result of our trade fair program many investment and trade opportunities have been developed and reported to the American business community, thereby contributing to a rise in total

value of U.S. commodity imports from \$11 billion in 1954 to \$14 billion in 1958. During the same period, annual exports from Yugoslavia to the United States increased by 18.5 percent in value. Permit me to note that while the United States sometimes is criticized for its supposedly high tariffs and low immigration quotas, the fact remains that every year we import more goods from abroad and welcome more foreign immigrants than any other country in the world.

I am especially interested in the separate exhibition on tourism at this year's fair. We share the hope that it will help to stimulate the flow of visitors to this scenic and historic country. As you may know, the Yugoslav and U.S. Governments are working jointly on a survey of Yugoslavia's tourist possibilities. Conducted by two experts within the framework of our economic cooperation agreement, we expect steps to be recommended by which Yugoslavia can improve still further its tourist facilities and income.

Depicting as it does the dynamic development of the Yugoslav economy in recent years, the Zagreb fair is evidence of this country's capabilities for expanding participation in world trade. The people of Zagreb can be proud of their role in maintaining this long-established marketplace for the interchange of goods, ideas, and hospitality. We are glad to share in these evidences of progress and to welcome you to the United States pavilion on America Day.

This is not only America Day at the Zagreb fair; this year, September 7 is Labor Day in the United States. A traditional holiday dedicated to our Nation's working men and women, it is a time for appraising their economic and social progress and setting new goals for the future. It seems particularly fitting for us to celebrate our Labor Day here as well, amid evidences of what the labors of the American worker have meant to him and his family.

Trade union membership in the United States has passed 17 million, and trade union activities reach into every sector of American life. Today labor celebrates its status as an integral and vital part of the American community. It speaks of achievements as well as aspirations, of its contributions to the Nation's prosperity and the vast social and economic gains it has helped to win for the American worker. Labor joins with management and Government in recognizing our

¹ Made in the U.S. pavilion during America Day ceremonies at the Zagreb International Fair, Zagreb, Yugoslavia, on Sept. 7.

interdependence with the rest of the world, in expanding world trade for the benefit of all.

This fair, dedicated to the stimulation of mutual trade, contributes to the same goal. We join with you in wishing it continued success as the Zagreb International Fair enters the second half-century of its existence.

Secretary Herter Praises American Exhibition at Moscow

Press release 665 dated September 22

Following is the text of a letter from Secretary Herter to George V. Allen, Director, U.S. Information Agency, congratulating him on the success of the American National Exhibition at Moscow.¹

SEPTEMBER 16, 1959

DEAR GEORGE: The American National Exhibition in Moscow produced a wide and generally favorable impression. The attention it received is fully justified by its importance in making a singular contribution to a clearer understanding by the people of the Soviet Union of our life and character.

I would appreciate your conveying my personal commendation on this splendid achievement to those whom you brought together to develop this impressive display: Mr. [Harold C.] McClellan, the energetic General Manager; George Nelson, the designer; the building engineers; the participating American industries; the capable and hardworking American guides and demonstrators; the staff in Washington under Mr. Eugene S. Staples, and that in Moscow under Mr. Howard Messmore; and those Soviet workmen, engineers, and officials of the All-Union Chamber of Commerce who helped to clear the way for the Exhibition. The Exhibition could not have been mounted and effectively displayed without the untiring efforts of these persons, nor could these efforts have produced a complete and operating exhibition without the kind of dedicated leadership which you, Mr. Washburn, Deputy Director of USIA, and Mr. McClellan supplied.

I am pleased, therefore, to extend to you, and to those who worked with you to make the Exhibition a success, my heartiest congratulations for an outstanding contribution toward better understanding between the American people and the people of the Soviet Union.

With warmest personal regards,

Most sincerely,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

The Honorable
GEORGE V. ALLEN,
*Director,
United States Information Agency*

Private Investment Team To Assist Thai Government

Press release 673 dated September 25

At the request of the Royal Thai Government, a six-man team, made up of U.S. businessmen and U.S. Government officials, will arrive in Thailand early in October, under the sponsorship of the International Cooperation Administration, to assist the Royal Thai Government in developing measures to stimulate local private enterprise and to increase the flow of foreign investment capital to the country.

Heading the team is George B. Beitzel, former president and currently a director of Pennsalt Chemicals, Inc., of Philadelphia, and a director of the Fidelity Philadelphia Trust Co. Mr. Beitzel was largely responsible for establishing Pennsalt's foreign operations. He also has served as assistant director for production of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

Other team members are Oliver P. Wheeler, vice president, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco; Cornelius C. Bond, former president of Knox Metals Products Co., of Knoxville, Tenn.; S. H. Chafkin of the International Cooperation Administration; Robert M. Klein of the Department of Commerce; and Frank S. Wile of the Department of State.

The group will concentrate on three major tasks: (1) to analyze the current investment climate in Thailand and make recommendations on stimulating an increased rate of domestic and foreign investment which would contribute to the country's economic development; (2) to assist the Thai

¹ For a statement and addresses made by Vice President Nixon during his visit to the Soviet Union to open the exhibition, together with a message from President Eisenhower, see BULLETIN of Aug. 17, 1959, p. 227.

Government, utilizing resources already available, in developing programs to encourage local Thai investment, attract foreign investment, and foster increased association between Thai and foreign investors; (3) as opportunities arise during discussions, to identify areas of investment possibilities for followup measures, including detailed exploration.

Assignment of the team is a specific outgrowth of the announced policy of the Government of Thailand to take measures to accelerate economic development by encouraging private enterprise. The assignment is also in line with the importance attached to private investment for economic growth by the U.S. Government, as set forth in President Eisenhower's statement at the 1958 Colombo Plan meeting at Seattle.¹

National Olympic Week, 1959

A PROCLAMATION²

WHEREAS the XVIIth Olympic Games of the modern era will be held in Rome, Italy, from August 25 to September 11, 1960, and the Winter Games will be held at Squaw Valley, California, from February 18 to February 28, 1960; and

WHEREAS these games unite in friendly competition athletes from around the world, each governed by the traditional rules of sportsmanship and eager to gain honor for the country he represents; and

WHEREAS in these challenging times mankind stands in need of occasions which bring out the finest efforts of the human spirit, of physical skill and endurance, and of achievements of individuals rather than of governments; and

WHEREAS the Olympic Games uniquely provide such occasions and contribute much to the areas of common understanding and mutual respect among all peoples; and

WHEREAS the United States Olympic Association is now engaged in seeking broad popular support for the young men and women representing the United States at these athletic events; and

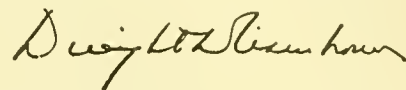
WHEREAS the Congress, by a joint resolution approved September 22, 1959, has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the period of October 17 to October 24, 1959, as National Olympic Week:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the period of October 17 to October 24, 1959, as National Olympic Week; and I ask and urge all our citizens to give full support to the planning for the XVIIth Olympic

Games and the Olympic Winter Games of 1960 so that the United States will be able to send to these games a truly representative team.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-second day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-nine and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.



By the President:

DOUGLAS DILLON,

Acting Secretary of State.

President Approves Legislation Extending P.L. 480 Program

Statement by President Eisenhower

White House press release dated September 21

I have today [September 21] approved H.R. S609, a bill "To extend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, and for other purposes."

Since 1954 this P.L. 480 program has assisted in expanding our exports to higher levels and has helped to develop the economies of recipient countries. Its extension is desirable, and I am gratified that this was accomplished without crippling barter amendments and other changes which would seriously have hampered its continued administration in the best interest of the United States and our friends abroad.

The omission from the bill of the administration's proposals for further strengthening this food-for-peace program prevents the broader use of surplus commodities for food reserves and economic development which would have been desirable.¹ Of more fundamental concern, however, are two new program authorizations in the enacted bill.

The food-stamp plan it authorizes carries the

¹For text of a joint communique released on May 6 following a food-for-peace conference of the major wheat exporting nations, see BULLETIN of June 1, 1959, p. 793; for a statement by Assistant Secretary Thomas C. Mann on the Department's views on administration of P.L. 480, see *ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1959, p. 212.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 1, 1958, p. 853.

² No. 3316; 24 *Fed. Reg.* 7891.

implication that more surplus foods would be made available to the needy people of the United States. Actually the bill would not do this. Needy people received Federal surplus foods last year by direct distribution through State and local facilities. If implemented, this authority would simply replace the existing distribution system with a Federally financed system, further increasing the already disproportionate Federal share of welfare expenses. The food-stamp administrative mechanism would be much more complex, and it is extremely doubtful that it would provide any greater benefit to needy people than the present direct method.

The new authorization for 10-year supply contracts with foreign governments implies that our agricultural surpluses will be with us for many years to come. This implication is unfortunate, and I can only urge again that the Congress act on administration proposals to deal with the surplus problem. Any contracts developed pursuant to this authorization will need to be carefully administered to assure their conformity with efforts to solve this problem as well as with our international agreements.

President To Maintain Existing Long-Staple Cotton Import Quotas

White House press release dated September 22

The President on September 22 accepted the U.S. Tariff Commission's report on long-staple cotton.¹ The President's action is based upon the Commission's investigation and determinations of fact reported on July 10, 1959. The Tariff Commission found, with two members dissenting, that no changed circumstances exist requiring the modification of existing import quotas on long-staple cotton.

Under section 22(d) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, the Tariff Commission undertook on March 25, 1959, a supplemental investigation concerning the long-staple cotton import quota which was first established in September 1939. The Commission examined current circumstances to determine the need for any

change in that quota to carry out the purposes of section 22 relating to the limitation of imports in order to prevent material interference with the Department of Agriculture's price-support programs.

Development Loans

Haiti

The U.S. Development Loan Fund announced on September 23 basic approval and commitment of funds for a \$3 million loan to the Centrale Sucrière Nord-Haiti, S.A., of Cap Haitien, Haiti, a private corporation, to help finance the completion of a sugar mill project in Haiti. For details, see Department of State press release 666 dated September 23.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Testimony of John A. McCone on Geneva Test Ban Negotiations. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. June 24, 1959. 32 pp.

Foreign-Flag Affiliations of Subsidized Operators. Hearings before the Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. June 10-July 17, 1959. 216 pp.

Report on Russia by Vice Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, USN. Hearings before House Committee on Appropriations. August 18, 1959. 82 pp.

United States Foreign Policy: Possible Nonmilitary Scientific Developments and Their Potential Impact on Foreign Policy Problems of the United States. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Stanford Research Institute. September 1959. 100 pp.

International Bridges. Hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on S. 2531, S. 2590, and H.R. 3180. September 1-4, 1959. 65 pp.

Four Conventions and an Optional Protocol Formulated at the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Message from the President transmitting the conventions and protocol. S. Ex. J to N, inclusive. September 9, 1959. 80 pp.

Operation of Article VII, NATO Status of Forces Treaty. Report of the Senate Armed Services Committee reviewing for the period December 1, 1957, through November 30, 1958, the operation of article VII. S. Rept. 1010. September 11, 1959. 15 pp.

Advisory Commission Intergovernmental Relations. Conference report to accompany H.R. 6904. H. Rept. 1184. 5 pp.

Mutual Security and Related Agencies Appropriation Act, 1960. Conference report to accompany H.R. 8385. H. Rept. 1190. September 15, 1959. 9 pp.

¹ Copies of the Commission's report may be obtained from the U.S. Tariff Commission, Washington 25, D.C.

General Assembly Again Decides Not To Consider Question of Chinese Representation

*Statement by Walter S. Robertson
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

The General Committee has recommended to the Assembly the following resolution:

The General Assembly,

1. *Decides* to reject the request of India for the inclusion in the agenda of its fourteenth regular session of the item entitled "Question of the representation of China in the United Nations";

2. *Decides* not to consider, at its fourteenth regular session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

The United States welcomes this recommendation. We are confident that the Assembly will uphold it, as it has done in the past.

We have before us also a proposed amendment to the draft resolution,² submitted by the distinguished representative of Nepal, which would have the effect of completely reversing the recommendation made by the General Committee. It also is similar to amendments which have been put forward in years past, and the United States will oppose it.

A number of delegations have made it clear to us that they would appreciate a frank restatement by the United States of the basic reasons for our position. We are glad to make such a statement.

While the item proposed by India is phrased in terms of the "representation of China," the basic purpose is to seat Communist China in China's seat in the United Nations and to expel the representatives of the Republic of China. The many shocking events in which Peiping has been the principal

actor in the past year have caused many people to hope that this question would not be pressed at all at this session of the General Assembly. However, since it is being pressed, the United States intends to proceed with complete candor.

Pertinent Charter Provisions

The United States is opposed to the seating of the Chinese Communists in the United Nations. We would be opposed even if we did not recognize the Republic of China as the legitimate government of the Chinese people. We base our objection upon the United Nations Charter, which must be our guide in all basic questions affecting the United Nations. There are certain charter provisions which so clearly apply to the present case that I quote them as a universally accepted standard by which to judge this question.

Article 1 of the charter sets forth the purposes of the United Nations. I quote section 1 of that article, which is of particular pertinence to the subject under discussion:

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace; . . .

Next I quote article 4:

Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

¹ Made in plenary session on Sept. 21 (U.S. delegation press release 3225).

² U.N. doc. A/L. 261.

Many of you here today were in San Francisco in 1945 when the United Nations was founded. You will remember that in the organizational meetings it was exhaustively debated whether membership should be based upon universality or whether there should be qualifications for membership. It was decided that, as a primary purpose of the United Nations was "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," universality was not to be the test of membership. There must be qualifications for membership. A member must be peace-loving and willing to take collective action to maintain international peace and security. The Soviet Union at that time strongly supported this view. And so article 4 was adopted.

Record of Red China

Now, is Red China a peace-loving state? Let us examine the record.

In February 1950, approximately 2 months after establishing its regime on the mainland, Peiping issued a call to the peoples of southeast Asia to overthrow their governments, denouncing their leaders as puppets of the imperialists. Before the year was out it invaded Tibet.

Also, before the year was out, it invaded Korea. Communist China sent a million soldiers to reinforce and prolong that aggression against the Republic of Korea and against the United Nations. Because of that act the General Assembly, in February 1951, voted overwhelmingly to find Peiping guilty of aggression.

That United Nations resolution is still outstanding. Red China is still defying it. The result is that the Korean war has given way only to an uneasy cease-fire in which the United Nations forces must daily patrol an armistice line 150 miles long, a line constantly threatened by half a million battle-ready Communist troops. Final settlement has been blocked by the Chinese Communist insistence at the Geneva conference of 1954, and its continuing insistence, that the United Nations committed the aggression in Korea and therefore are without moral authority or competence to supervise elections for the unification of the country.

Nor can we forget other Chinese Communist actions in Korea. They committed many atrocious acts against thousands of prisoners of war of the

United Nations Command. They visited indescribable destruction, suffering, and death on the Korean people. Through months of cruel and degrading treatment they forced dozens of our men to sign outrageous, fabricated confessions about imaginary acts of germ warfare—all in order to feed their insatiable machine of hate propaganda.

Once the armistice was signed, they immediately and continuously violated it by bringing jet aircraft and large quantities of other weapons into Korea. Moreover, for 6 years the Chinese Communists have obstinately refused to honor their obligation under the armistice agreement to provide a satisfactory accounting for those military personnel of the United Nations Command still missing and unaccounted for at the end of the hostilities. They include 2,147 men of several nations, of whom 452 are Americans. In their own press and radio the Communists once acknowledged holding many of these men. By refusing to account for them, they defy both their armistice pledge and the accepted practice of civilized nations, causing needless bitter anguish to the families concerned.

Use of Force in Taiwan Strait

In the Taiwan Strait, Communist China has been using armed force intermittently since 1950 in order to seize Taiwan and the Pescadores and the offshore islands and to destroy the Republic of China. Twice, in 1954-55 and again in 1958, it raised its acts of violence to such a pitch as to bring the specter of general war to the Far East.

Continuously since 1955 the United States, in 90 ambassadorial talks with Chinese Communist representatives, has sought to have them sign a reciprocal agreement to renounce the use of force in the Taiwan Strait. This principle is fundamental to the charter of the United Nations. The Red Chinese stubbornly refuse to make any such agreement.

In 1955 the Chinese Communist regime rejected with contempt an invitation from the United Nations Security Council to discuss the crisis it had caused in the Taiwan Strait. Last year it again asserted that it would not countenance reference of the matter to the United Nations. To this day it is continuing, on an alternate-day basis, its bombardment of the offshore islands. Its De-

fense Minister has described the philosophy of this policy in these words:

Ours is a policy of fight-fight, stop-stop—half-fight, half-stop. This is no trick but a normal thing.

In southeast Asia the record is also one of aggressive pressure. For many years the Chinese Communists have given material support and propaganda encouragement to rebellions seeking to overthrow the Governments of the Philippines and Malaya.

In north Viet-Nam, the Chinese Communists have been actively assisting the regime in reorganizing and training Viet Minh troops, greatly increasing the strength of their divisions and supplying them with arms and equipment prohibited by the armistice agreement.

In Laos, a troubled area with which the Security Council is now concerned,³ the hand of Peiping is again visible. The Communist rebellion against the Royal Lao Government is supported chiefly through Communist north Viet-Nam, a regime which owes its existence in large measure to Communist Chinese efforts. The Geneva accords of 1954 acknowledged the sovereignty of the Royal Laotian Government over all Laotian territory, including the provinces of Sam Neua and Phong Saly, then under the military control of the Communist-dominated Pathet Lao. However, the Communist puppet troops refused to turn over administration to the Royal Government and forcibly held these positions, seeking additional political concessions which they finally obtained in 1956.

The sudden attacks in Laos last month came on the heels of a lengthy visit to Communist China by Ho Chi Minh, chief of the north Vietnamese regime. All along Peiping has kept its radio propaganda machine in high gear to support the Communist rebels, issuing dire warnings against those who dare to help the Government of Laos in its time of need.

Tragic Case of Tibet

I turn now to the tragic case of Tibet. In 9 years, beginning in 1950, the Chinese Communists have destroyed Tibet's historic autonomy, enjoyed since the fall of the Manchus in 1911. It has massacred thousands of the Tibetan people and at-

tempted to stamp out their ancient Buddhist faith.

As all delegates know, the most recent act in this tragedy began last March, when the Chinese Communists summarily dissolved the Tibetan Government and established a so-called "Tibet autonomous region" in which the word "autonomous" is mere camouflage for a colonial despotism. The Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal leader of his people, in danger of his life, succeeded in escaping with his followers despite Communist attempts to hunt him down. Ever since that date the Chinese Communists have been carrying on ruthless war against the Tibetans, have done their best to seal off all escape by those seeking refuge abroad, and have even pursued refugees across international frontiers.

As a sequel to this Tibetan outrage, we learn that Chinese Communist troops are making territorial encroachments across frontiers of other states and principalities in the Himalayan region. We learn that their official maps show as Chinese large areas long regarded by other states as their territory. And, characteristically, in the midst of these encroachments the Chinese Communists make charges of aggression against the very countries whom they offend.

All along the borders between Communist China and non-Communist Asia there is trouble and discord. From Korea south and west along the 6,000-mile arc that ends in the Himalayas, we find a history of Chinese Communist complicity in military aggression, subversion, and outright seizure of territory. That history, as just noted, has been tragically extended during the past year and, indeed, the past few weeks.

Remolding the World With the Gun

By these many acts against neighboring nations the world has begun to find out what the ruler of Communist China, Mao Tse-tung, meant when he wrote in 1938:

Every Communist must grasp the truth that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. . . . In this sense we can even say that the whole world can be remolded with the gun.

And likewise we grasp the meaning of Liu Shao-chi, now the titular head of Communist China, who once wrote:

The most fundamental and common duty of Communist Party members is to establish communism and transform the present world into a Communist world.

³ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

Within mainland China itself, the Communist authorities have committed many uncivilized acts against foreign nationals and their citizens. They have arrested hundreds of foreign Christian missionaries and killed many religious leaders. They have imprisoned hundreds of foreign civilians, including 158 Americans, of whom 5 died as a result of maltreatment in prison. They today hold 5 of my fellow citizens in jail as political hostages—despite a public pledge, now 4 years old, to permit all Americans to return home expeditiously. Chinese Muslim minorities have suffered similarly, with countless numbers imprisoned for “carrying on counterrevolutionary activity under the cloak of religion.”

Hand in hand with these policies has gone a continuing and systematic hate campaign against so-called “imperialist enemies.” By massive poisonous propaganda against foreign countries, the Chinese Communists have sought to instill warlike and hostile feelings against them in the hearts of the Chinese people. My own country has been the most prominent target of this organized hatred, but many other countries represented in this body have been subjected to it as well. Thus, like many another tyranny before it, Communist China has found foreign devils to blame for the sufferings which it inflicts on its own people.

Mr. President, such are the facts of Communist China's conduct. Some of these events have occurred in the past year and have never before been faced by the General Assembly. But these new facts simply corroborate a conclusion which my country's late Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, once stated in these words:⁴

... the United Nations has a choice of whether or not to bring into its midst and to give veto power on the Security Council to a regime which has flagrantly defied the United Nations; which has fought it; which has been found to be an aggressor; and which far from being “peace-loving”—the test for membership—has persistently violated the principles contained in the charter—which is the test for expulsion.

U.S. Refutes Arguments of Red China's Supporters

And now, Mr. President, I should like to deal with certain arguments of a different kind which from time to time are made here.

We sometimes hear it said that Communist China is indeed guilty of gross violations of the

charter, but that admitting its representatives to the United Nations would tend to remedy its behavior by exposing the regime to new ideas and influences. Further, it is even urged that unless the Chinese Communists are admitted here there is a greater danger of war because—so we are told—no other place exists in which to negotiate with them.

The United States cannot accept these arguments. As to the influence of new ideas which the Chinese Communists might encounter here, I leave it to those with diplomatic missions in Peiping to judge for themselves what effect they are able to exert today on the international conduct of Communist China. I would only point out that the Chinese Communists came here to the United Nations once, in the winter of 1950–51, and displayed an attitude of arrogance and bitter hatred and that they have since been invited to take part in particular deliberations here and have declined to do so. Their vicious attacks on the United Nations in their propaganda demonstrates how they would interpret the principles of the United Nations were they seated in its councils. There is not the slightest evidence that they would abate their aggressive policies. All the evidence suggests, rather, that they would gain new influence and new opportunities to subvert the purposes of the charter and to pervert this great Organization to their lawless ends.

Now let us consider the argument that there is no place except the United Nations in which to negotiate with the Chinese Communists. My own country has negotiated with them over the past 8 years—at Panmunjom, in Geneva, and in Warsaw. We have negotiated with them about Korea, about Indochina, about the prisoners whom they unlawfully detained, and about the Taiwan Strait. The lack is not of a forum for negotiation but of a willingness on the part of the Chinese Communists to settle any important question, except by causing their opponents to surrender.

And, finally, it is often stated by Red China's supporters that refusal to seat this regime in the United Nations denies representation in this world body to 600 million mainland Chinese. In view of the long record of aggressions and threats of war by the Peiping regime, this argument would have no validity under the charter even if it were true. However, as a matter of fact, the fanatical, aggressive rulers of Peiping come no closer to

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1958, p. 561.

representing the will and aspirations of the Chinese people than they come to representing the will and aspirations of the Tibetan people—or, for that matter, than the puppet regime of Budapest comes to representing the will and aspirations of the Hungarian people. The Peiping regime was imposed by force and fraud with the volition of only a small fraction of the Chinese people. It has kept itself in power by bloody purges and by the liquidation of some 18 million mainland Chinese in 9 years.

Within the past year the Chinese Communist authorities have imposed a brutal commune system, destructive of all family life, upon 120 million families, according to their figures. I submit that no regime representative of its people would have to resort to wholesale murder and to a mass slavery unparalleled in the history of the world to keep itself in power.

The United States has carefully weighed these arguments. We find them based not on “reality,” as is sometimes alleged, but on futile hopes, groundless fears, and wishful thinking.

Peiping Regime an Outlaw

We rest our argument, instead, on the solid facts of history and the solid principles of the charter.

By every standard of national and international conduct the Red regime of Peiping is an outlaw. It has perpetrated mass murder and slavery upon its own people. It has confiscated without compensation hundreds of millions of dollars of the property of other nationals. It has thrown foreign citizens into jail without trial and subjected many of them to inhuman tortures. In 9 years it has promoted 6 foreign or civil wars—Korea, Tibet, Indochina, the Philippines, Malaya, and Laos. It has fought the United Nations. It has been found by it to be an aggressor. It continues to defy the United Nations decision to reunify Korea. It has flagrantly violated the Korea and Indochina international armistice agreements. It openly proclaims its continuing purpose, to use force in the Taiwan Strait.

We invite all delegates to compare the record of Communist China in international affairs with the standards set forth in the charter. We believe they will overwhelmingly conclude, as we do, that the Chinese Communist regime has acted—and is acting still—not to maintain but to destroy international peace and security; not to remove but to

create threats to the peace and acts of aggression; not to develop friendly relations among nations but to sow hatred of other countries. In this center for harmonizing the actions of nations we believe it would contribute only discord and dishonor.

By the same standards we hold that the Republic of China, a stalwart ally against the forces of aggression in World War II and a reliable comrade in the cause of peace, is entitled to the seat it occupies here today both under article 3 of the charter and by reason of its consistent support for the charter's principles.

The Republic of China is recognized as the legitimate Government of China by a substantial majority of the countries of the world.

It is true that the Peiping regime does now exercise physical control over a much larger area of Chinese territory than that under the control of the Republic of China. However, this situation represents a military rather than a political reality. The Republic of China has repeatedly stated its willingness to rest its claim to represent the Chinese people on the result of free elections held throughout the country. The Communist military dictatorship of Peiping does not dare to submit its claim to any such test.

U.N. Standards Must Prevail

Mr. President, I conclude. The issue here is simple. The proponents of seating Red China are not demanding that Red China change its ways. Some of them—I refer to the Soviet Union and its satellites—even have the effrontery to laud the Peiping regime on the floor of this body for its so-called contributions to peace and stability in Asia. And I must add, in all candor, that the distinguished representative of India, whose Government admits many of the indisputable facts of Red China's record, when he insists on this item is in effect insisting that the United Nations modify its standards in order to accommodate the power of lawlessness.

The question therefore is: Shall we stand fast and require conformity to United Nations standards, or shall we take the step, the truly irrevocable step, of debasing the standards of the United Nations to allow this or any other regime to shoot its way into the United Nations simply because its guns are powerful?

My Government believes that there is only one

possible answer: The standards of the United Nations must prevail. It is our belief in those standards which binds us together as a community of nations and makes the United Nations an effective force for peace.

To seat in this body, founded to maintain the peace of the world, a habitual offender against the peace would make a mockery of our charter and rob it of all the moral authority it now possesses.

Overwhelming Support of American People

The distinguished representative from Nepal referred to the opinions of a few American diplomats who favored American recognition of Red China and its admission to the United Nations. I noted that he failed to note the many who wholly approved of the policy of nonrecognition. And it would take very little research on his part to discover that the overwhelming majority of the American people support the United States policy on nonrecognition and admission of this regime to the United Nations.

The question of United Nations admission was submitted to the United States Congress in the election year of 1956. Election years, as you well know, are critical years in American political life. The vote on the resolution opposing the admission of Red China to the United Nations was 391 to 0 in the House and 86 to 0 in the Senate. In other words, in an election year there wasn't a single Congressman or Senator of either party who was willing to vote against the resolution. And that wasn't all. The two parties went on to their political conventions and both of them adopted almost identical planks, reaffirming United States opposition to the seating of Red China in this body. Mr. Eisenhower was elected on that platform. Mr. Stevenson was nominated on a platform which included that same provision. The last time that the Congress had to express its opinion on this problem was on August 17 of this year. A resolution in the House opposing U.N. membership passed by the overwhelming majority of 368 to 2.

I hope, Mr. President, that the amendment proposed by Nepal will not prevail and that the report of the General Committee will be approved.⁵

⁵ The General Assembly in plenary session on Sept. 22 adopted the resolution recommended by the General Committee by a vote of 44 to 29, with 9 abstentions (A/RES/1351 (XIV)).

Agenda of the 14th Regular Session of the U.N. General Assembly¹

U.N. doc. A/4230 dated September 23

1. Opening of the session by the Chairman of the delegation of Lebanon.
2. Minute of silent prayer or meditation.
3. Credentials of representatives to the fourteenth session of the General Assembly.
 - (a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee;
 - (b) Report of the Credentials Committee.
4. Election of the President.
5. Constitution of the Main Committees and election of officers.
6. Election of Vice-Presidents.
7. Notification by the Secretary-General under Article 12, paragraph 2, of the Charter.
8. Adoption of the agenda.
9. Opening of the general debate.
10. Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization.
11. Report of the Security Council.
12. Report of the Economic and Social Council.
13. Report of the Trusteeship Council.
14. Report of the International Atomic Energy Agency.
15. Election of three non-permanent members of the Security Council.
16. Election of six members of the Economic and Social Council.
17. Election of two members of the Trusteeship Council.
18. Election of a member of the International Court of Justice to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge José Gustavo Guerrero.
19. Question of amending the United Nations Charter, in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 108 of the Charter, to increase the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council and the number of votes required for decisions of the Council.
20. Question of amending the United Nations Charter, in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 108 of the Charter, to increase the membership of the Economic and Social Council.
21. Question of amending the Statute of the International Court of Justice, in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 108 of the Charter of the United Nations and Article 69 of the Statute of the Court, with respect to an increase in the number of judges of the International Court of Justice.
22. Report of the Committee on arrangements for a conference for the purpose of reviewing the Charter.
23. Interim report of the Secretary-General evaluating the Second United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in relation to the holding of similar conferences in the future.
24. Progress report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation.

¹ Adopted by the General Assembly on Sept. 22.

25. Report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.
26. The Korean question: report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.
27. United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East:
 - (a) Report of the Director of the Agency;
 - (b) Proposals for the continuation of United Nations assistance to Palestine refugees: document submitted by the Secretary-General.
28. United Nations Emergency Force:
 - (a) Cost estimates for the maintenance of the Force;
 - (b) Manner of financing the Force: report of the Secretary-General on consultations with the Governments of Member States;
 - (c) Progress report on the Force.
29. Progress and operations of the Special Fund.
30. Economic development of under-developed countries.
 - (a) Report by the Secretary-General on measures taken by the Governments of Member States to further the economic development of under-developed countries in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1316 (XIII);
 - (b) Progress in the field of financing the economic development of under-developed countries.
31. Programmes of technical assistance:
 - (a) Report of the Economic and Social Council;
 - (b) United Nations assistance in public administration: report of the Secretary-General;
 - (c) Confirmation of the allocation of funds under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.
32. United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency; progress report of the Administrator for Residual Affairs of the Agency.
33. Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
34. Draft International Covenants on Human Rights.
35. Draft Convention on Freedom of Information: text of the draft Convention formulated by the Committee on the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information and report of the Secretary-General on the comments of Governments thereon.
36. Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73c of the Charter: reports of the Secretary-General and of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories:
 - (a) Progress achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories in pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter;
 - (b) Information on educational conditions;
 - (c) Information on other conditions;
 - (d) General questions relating to the transmission and examination of information;
 - (e) Report of the Secretary-General on new developments connected with the association of Non-Self-Governing Territories with the European Economic Community;
 - (f) Offers of study and training facilities under resolution 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954: report of the Secretary-General.
37. Election to fill vacancies in the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories.
38. Question of South West Africa.
 - (a) Report of the Good Offices Committee on South West Africa;
 - (b) Report of the Committee on South West Africa;
 - (c) Study of legal action to ensure the fulfilment of the obligations assumed by the Union of South Africa in respect of the Territory of South West Africa;
 - (d) Election of three members of the Committee on South West Africa.
39. Offers by Member States of study and training facilities for inhabitants of Trust Territories: report of the Trusteeship Council.
40. Question of the frontier between the Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration and Ethiopia: reports of the Governments of Ethiopia and of Italy.
41. The future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration:
 - (a) Organization of the plebiscite in the southern part of the Territory: question of the two alternatives to be put to the people and the qualifications for voting;
 - (b) Report of the United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner on the plebiscite in the northern part of the Territory and report of the Trusteeship Council.
42. Financial reports and accounts, and reports of the Board of Auditors:
 - (a) United Nations (for the financial year ended 31 December 1958);
 - (b) United Nations Children's Fund (for the financial year ended 31 December 1958);
 - (c) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (for the financial year ended 31 December 1958);
 - (d) United Nations Refugee Fund (for the financial year ended 31 December 1958).
43. Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1959.
44. Budget estimates for the financial year 1960.
45. Appointments to fill vacancies in the membership of subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly:
 - (a) Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions;
 - (b) Committee on Contributions;
 - (c) Board of Auditors;
 - (d) Investments Committee: confirmation of the appointment made by the Secretary-General;
 - (e) United Nations Administrative Tribunal;
 - (f) United Nations Staff Pension Committee.
46. Report of the Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds.

47. Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the expenses of the United Nations; report of the Committee on Contributions.
48. Audit reports relating to expenditure by specialized agencies of technical assistance funds allocated from the Special Account.
49. Administrative and budgetary co-ordination between the United Nations and the specialized agencies: report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.
50. Construction of the United Nations building in Santiago, Chile: progress report of the Secretary-General.
51. United Nations International School: report of the Secretary-General.
52. Public information activities of the United Nations: report of the Secretary-General.
53. United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund:
 - (a) Annual report on the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund;
 - (b) Report on the fifth actuarial valuation of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Fund.
54. Personnel questions:
 - (a) Geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat: report of the Secretary-General;
 - (b) Proportion of fixed-term staff;
 - (c) Other personnel questions.
55. Report of the International Law Commission on the work of its eleventh session.
56. Diplomatic intercourse and immunities.
57. Question of the publication of a United Nations juridical yearbook.
58. Question of initiating a study of the juridical régime of historic waters, including historic bays.
59. Question of Algeria.
60. Treatment of people of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa.
61. Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa.
62. Question of the consistent application of the principle of equitable geographical representation in the election of the President of the General Assembly.
63. Proposed amendments to certain provisions of the Pension Scheme Regulations of the International Court of Justice.
64. Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Child.
65. Reservations to multilateral conventions: the Convention on the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization.
66. Question of disarmament:
 - (a) Report of the Disarmament Commission: letter dated 11 September 1959 from the Chairman of the Disarmament Commission to the Secretary-General.
67. Prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons.
68. Question of French nuclear tests in the Sahara.
69. Suspension of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.
70. General and complete disarmament.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

3d Session of IAEA General Conference

The Department of State announced on September 21 (press release 663) that President Eisenhower on August 25 had appointed John A. McCone, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and Paul F. Foster, U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency, as the U.S. Representative and the Alternate U.S. Representative, respectively, to the third regular session of the General Conference of the IAEA, which will convene at Vienna September 22, 1959.¹

Other members of the U.S. delegation will include:

Congressional Advisers

Wallace F. Bennett, United States Senate
 Bourke B. Hickenlooper, United States Senate
 William H. Bates, House of Representatives
 Chet Holifield, House of Representatives
 Craig Hosmer, House of Representatives
 Melvin Price, House of Representatives

Special Advisers

John F. Floberg, Commissioner, Atomic Energy Commission
 Robert E. Wilson, Member, General Advisory Committee, Atomic Energy Commission
 Edward L. Brady, U.S. Mission, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria
 John A. Hall, Assistant General Manager for International Activities, Atomic Energy Commission
 Harold C. Vedeler, U.S. Mission, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria

Advisers

Kathleen Bell, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
 Betty Gough, U.S. Mission, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria
 Charter Heslep, Atomic Energy Commission
 Myron B. Kratzer, Atomic Energy Commission
 Clyde L. McClelland, U.S. Mission, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria
 Bernard W. Menke, Atomic Energy Commission
 Alfred Puhan, Office of International Administration, Department of State
 Ernest L. Stanger, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, Department of State
 John P. Trevithick, U.S. Mission, International Atomic Energy Agency, Vienna, Austria
 Ernest G. Wiener, Deputy Public Affairs Officer, American Embassy, Vienna, Austria

¹ The Department of State announced on Sept. 24 (press release 672) that President Eisenhower had on that day designated John F. Floberg, Commissioner, Atomic Energy Commission, as Acting Alternate U.S. Representative.

Algie A. Wells, Atomic Energy Commission
Robert M. Winfree, Special Assistant to the Secretary
for Disarmament and Atomic Energy, Department of
State

Special Assistant to the U.S. Representative

Dwight A. Ink, Atomic Energy Commission

Secretary of Delegation

John R. Bartelt, Office of International Conferences, De-
partment of State

Staff Observers

Edward Bauser, Joint Committee on Atomic Energy
Comdr. Thomas Brady, USN, Department of Defense
Richard Donovan, Atomic Energy Commission
Thomas Huff, Management and Services Division, De-
partment of State
George F. Murphy, Jr., Joint Committee on Atomic
Energy

The IAEA is an outgrowth of President Eisen-
hower's atoms-for-peace proposal in his now his-
toric speech before the General Assembly of the
United Nations on December 8, 1953. It was
established in 1957 and is the international agency
primarily responsible for promoting, on a world-
wide basis, the peaceful uses of atomic energy.
The IAEA has a membership of 70 countries and
has its headquarters at Vienna.

The principal items which the third conference
will discuss include: the report of the Board of
Governors for the year 1958-59; the program, fi-
nancial affairs, and budget for 1960; assistance
to less developed countries in the production of
nuclear power; the election of members to the
Board of Governors; and relations with special-
ized agencies of the United Nations and intergov-
ernmental organizations.

The conference is expected to be in session for
about 2 weeks.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Letter Dated 15 September 1959 From the Permanent
Representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-
publics Addressed to the Secretary-General Relating

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States
from the International Documents Service, Columbia
University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.
Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents)
may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

to the Question of Laos. S/4222. September 21, 1959.
7 pp.

General Assembly

Cessation of the Transmission of Information Under Ar-
ticle 73e of the Charter: Communication From the Gov-
ernment of France. A/4096/Add. 1. July 17, 1959.
245 pp.

Progress Achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories
in Pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter: Agricul-
ture and Livestock. Report prepared by the Food and
Agriculture Organization. A/4108. July 23, 1959.
179 pp.

Supplementary List of Items for the Agenda of the Four-
teenth Regular Session of the General Assembly.
A/4189. August 25, 1959. 1 p.

Draft Convention on Freedom of Information: Comments
by Governments. Report by the Secretary-General.
A/4173/Add. 2. September 11, 1959. 3 pp.

Supplementary Estimates for the Financial Year 1959.
Report of the Secretary-General. A/4198. September
11, 1959. 34 pp.

Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the
Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Pro-
posed by the Secretary-General—Question of Disarm-
ament. Note by the Secretary-General. A/4209.
September 11, 1959. 3 pp.

Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities. Additional com-
ments by governments (Denmark) concerning the draft
articles on diplomatic intercourse and immunities
adopted by the International Law Commission at its
10th session in 1958. A/4164/Add. 2. September 14,
1959. 2 pp.

Report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapter III).
Note by the Secretary-General. A/4211. September 14,
1959. 38 pp.

Technical Assistance in Public Administration: Provision
of Operational, Executive and Administrative Personnel.
Report by the Secretary-General. A/4212. September
14, 1959. 18 pp.

Progress Achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories
in Pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter: Human
Rights. Report prepared by the Secretariat. A/4194.
September 16, 1959. 21 pp.

Collection of Contributions as at 14 September 1959. Re-
port of the Secretary-General. A/C.5/778. September
16, 1959. 7 pp.

Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities. Additional com-
ments by governments (Pakistan) concerning the draft
articles on diplomatic intercourse and immunities
adopted by the International Law Commission at its
10th session in 1958. A/4164/Add. 3. September 17,
1959. 3 pp.

Adoption of the Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Ses-
sion, Allocation of Items and Organization of the Ses-
sion. First report of the General Committee. A/4214.
September 17, 1959. 17 pp.

Notification by the Secretary-General Under Article 12,
Paragraph 2, of the Charter. Letter dated September
14, 1959, from the Secretary-General to the President of
the General Assembly. A/4216. September 17, 1959. 5
pp.

Progress and Operations of the Special Fund. Note by
the Secretary-General. A/4217. September 17, 1959.
30 pp.

Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the
Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Pro-
posed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Gen-
eral and Complete Disarmament. A/4218. September
19, 1959. 3 pp.

Declaration of the Soviet Government on General and
Complete Disarmament. A/4219. September 19, 1959.
17 pp.

EATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Aviation

Convention on the international recognition of rights in aircraft. Done at Geneva June 19, 1948. Entered into force September 17, 1953. TIAS 2847.

Ratification deposited: Netherlands (for the Kingdom in Europe), September 1, 1959.¹

Drugs

Protocol for termination of agreement for unification of pharmacopoeial formulas for potent drugs of November 29, 1906 (TS 510). Signed at Geneva May 20, 1952. Entered into force May 20, 1952. TIAS 2692.

Made applicable to: Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, July 14, 1959.

Genocide

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Done at Paris December 9, 1948. Entered into force January 12, 1951.²

Ratification deposited: India (with reservation), August 27, 1959.

BILATERAL

Canada

Agreement extending the agreement of January 16 and 17, 1957, relating to the use of the Haines cutoff road for winter maintenance of a section of the Haines-Fairbanks pipeline (TIAS 3732). Effected by exchange of notes at Ottawa August 17 and 20, 1959. Entered into force August 20, 1959.

France

Agreement amending the agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy of June 19, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3689 and 3883). Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force September 22, 1959.

Germany

Agreement amending the agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy of July 3, 1957 (TIAS 3877). Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force September 22, 1959.

Greece

Agreement relating to the loan of vessels to Greece. Effected by exchange of notes at Athens December 15, 1958, and January 15, 1959. Entered into force January 15, 1959.

Agreement relating to the loan of an additional vessel to Greece. Effected by exchange of notes at Athens August 20, 1959. Entered into force August 20, 1959.

¹ With a declaration stating that the Netherlands Government is unable to accept the reservation made by Mexico and does not regard the convention as in force between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Government of Mexico.

² Not in force for the United States.

United Kingdom

Agreement extending the agreement of June 29 and July 12, 1954 (TIAS 3152), for a technical assistance program in British Guiana. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington June 22 and 30, 1959. Entered into force June 30, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Allan Loren as director of the U.S. Operations Mission, Ethiopia, effective September 15. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 668 dated September 24.)

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: September 21-27

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to September 21 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 648 of September 14 and 653 of September 16.

No.	Date	Subject
*660	9/21	Bohlen designation (biographic details).
661	9/21	Thayer: International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.
*662	9/21	Designation of Mrs. Eleanor Dulles to INR.
663	9/21	IAEA delegation (rewrite).
664	9/22	Herter: statement on Algeria.
665	9/22	Herter: letter to George Allen on Moscow exhibition.
666	9/23	DLF loan in Haiti (rewrite).
667	9/23	Herter: remarks before U.N. Correspondents Association.
*668	9/24	Loren designation, USOM, Ethiopia (biographic details).
*669	9/24	Educational exchange (Mexico).
670	9/24	SEATO Council of Ministers meeting (rewrite).
671	9/24	Meeting of Herter and Japanese Foreign Minister.
672	9/24	Floberg designated Acting Alternate U.S. Representative, IAEA (rewrite).
673	9/25	Private Investment team visits Thailand.
†674	9/25	DLF commitments.
675	9/25	Herter: toast at luncheon for Chairman Khrushchev.
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President Eisenhower's
European Trip

August–September 1959

On August 26 President Eisenhower left the United States for a 13-day visit to Europe to confer on matters of mutual interest with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of Germany, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Great Britain, President Charles de Gaulle of France, and other European leaders. The principal statements made by the President as well as those of various European leaders with whom he met, together with joint communiques and letters relevant to the President's visit, are contained in this 36-page pamphlet.

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Geneva, May–August 1959

This documentary publication on the recent Geneva Meeting of Foreign Ministers includes all the substantive statements made in the plenary sessions, together with important statements made outside the Conference by President Eisenhower and other officials, as well as certain other important related papers. Also included are the reports made to the American people by Secretary of State Herter before and after each of the two phases of the Conference; lists of the delegations and adviser groups attending it; and a table of all East-West meetings held as part of the Conference.

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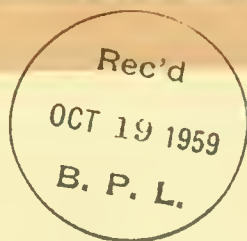
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Bulletin



Vol. XLI, No. 1060

October 19, 1959

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THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

Aiding the Less Developed Nations, a Cooperative Venture

ANNUAL MEETINGS OF BOARDS OF GOVERNORS OF WORLD BANK, INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

The Boards of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Finance Corporation held their annual meetings at Washington, D.C., September 28 to October 2. Following are texts of the remarks and statements made by President Eisenhower, Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury T. Graydon Upton, together with text of a resolution on the proposed International Development Association.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER¹

It is a real privilege and pleasure to extend again to the governors of the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Finance Corporation a hearty welcome from the Government and from the people of the United States. We are honored by your presence in our midst, and we anticipate fruitful results from your deliberations here this week.

We in the United States are fully aware that what happens in our economy can have significant effects on the well-being of the rest of the world and that many other countries attach considerable importance to developments in our economic situation.

Happily, our economy today, despite the increasingly heavy impact of the interruption in steel production, is in a healthy condition. In recent visits abroad I could see at firsthand the

heartwarming evidences of a remarkable recovery and expansion in a number of European economies. By the same token, you will see here that the United States economy has long since completed its recovery from the 1957-58 recession and is well advanced into a new period of growth. Although we have our problems, the recent growth of our economy has been of an orderly and balanced sort and we confidently expect this trend to extend at a good rate into the future. We are gratified also that, while recovery was being resumed, the overall level of consumer prices has been relatively stable and that a balanced Federal budget is in prospect for the present fiscal year. These are significant signs of the progress that can be made, if we pursue the right policies, in strengthening the financial bases of our economy and achieving inflation-free economic growth.

But the struggle to achieve these results is never over. We must use all of our forces, especially in fiscal and financial matters, to help keep the American economy sound and to avoid inflation. The same must be done, indeed, in all the world's economies. This is the one sure way to achieve truly dependable advances in human welfare.

It was only 15 years ago that many of the countries represented here today pledged themselves to the creation of cooperative international institutions to deal with basic international financial and economic problems. The result was the establishment of the International Bank and the Monetary Fund, the records of which have been impressive ones. The action recently taken by our Governments to increase the resources of these institu-

¹Made at the opening joint session of the IBRD, IMF, and IFC on Sept. 28 (White House press release).

tions² showed the great confidence there is in them and it should enable them to operate even more effectively in the future than in the past. Three years ago the International Finance Corporation was added to this family of related international financial institutions to assist in financing productive private enterprise.

We are all aware of the general desire throughout the world for economic development and the need for international capital investment. While development is of course a natural and critical concern of the less developed countries, it is important to all others as well. The improved economic position of the industrialized countries provides the means whereby they can better do their part in assisting development elsewhere, both directly and through their participation in international institutions.

Clearly, by such actions, there will result a stronger and more stable free world, to the material benefit of every participating nation, both the helper and the helped.

It is recognized, however, that there are many development projects which, though economically sound, cannot be financed by existing international institutions. To meet this situation the United States Governor of the Bank has proposed the creation of an International Development Association as an affiliate of the Bank.³ It is our belief that this new agency must be closely integrated with the Bank. Thus there will be assured the wise expenditure of its funds and the effective coordination of its activities with other institutions. In our view no other mechanism can perform this task for the free world as well as would the proposed IDA.

I congratulate the Bank, the Fund, and the IFC on their achievements and express my hope for an increasingly significant contribution on their part to the well-being of the world economy. To you, as the governors of these institutions, falls the task of wisely directing policies toward the realization of these common and noble goals.

I express my complete confidence in your readiness and in your ability so to do. Thank you very much indeed.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 488.

³ For excerpts from a report on the proposed IDA by the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems, see *ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 392.

FIRST STATEMENT BY MR. ANDERSON⁴

I wish to join, both personally and on behalf of my delegation, in the welcome extended to all of you by the President of the United States. We hope your stay here will be pleasant and that these deliberations, so notably inaugurated, Mr. Chairman [Fernando Berckemeyer, Governor of the Bank and Fund for Peru], by your thoughtful address, will be highly productive.

At last year's meeting, the governors considered the need for both the Bank and the Fund to increase their financial capacity in order to assist more effectively with the problems of economic development and financial and economic stability.⁵ The member countries have acted with dispatch to approve the proposals formulated by the Executive Directors. I am sure that not only the financial response itself but also the clear expression of confidence in the Bank and the Fund will greatly enhance the usefulness of these two institutions in their future operations.

We have seen in recent years intensified efforts in the less developed countries represented here to move ahead economically. The Fund and the Bank, in their respective roles, have done much to help, and as a result of their new resources they will be in a better position to meet appropriate demands on their funds. However, the needs of the less developed countries to attain sound and sustainable growth still further challenge the economic and financial statesmanship which this group, coming here from the many nations of the free world, has shown in the past.

Those of us from the industrial countries have seen impressive gains in our economies. New and higher levels of economic activity have been achieved. This has been reassuring to the United States, since our international activities over many years have been directed toward cooperating in the postwar reconstruction of other industrial countries as well as in helping the efforts of the less developed areas. We welcome the return of these other industrial countries to an economic position where they are capable to an increasing extent of participating, both directly and through international financial institutions, in supplement-

⁴ Made at the opening joint session of the IBRD, IMF, and IFC on Sept. 28. Mr. Anderson is U.S. Governor of the IBRD and IMF.

⁵ BULLETIN of Nov. 17, 1958, p. 793.

ing the basic efforts of the developing countries themselves.

I do not think it appropriate for me to comment on the mechanisms of carrying out direct financial relations between other countries. I would like, however, to say that the very character of development financing requires longer term lending than has been available from many existing national financial institutions.

There is a need, in addition to these direct efforts of each of us, for further joint action by those represented here to help progress of the less developed areas in a way which will not bear heavily on their external payments. I refer to the International Development Association, which is on the agenda of the Bank meeting. You will recall that at last year's meeting, at the direction of President Eisenhower, I stated the view of my Government that an International Development Association as an affiliate of the International Bank warranted serious study. I had no definite course of action to suggest at that time for such an association but expressed the hope that you would all give thought to this matter.

The subsequent informal discussions with many of you and your representatives encouraged my Government to feel that this institution would be both feasible and desirable. As a result of our further study, and greatly aided by the valuable opinions received in our consultations, we have outlined our thoughts on the basic framework of an International Development Association. These ideas were circulated by the President of the Bank to each of you early in August. In forwarding that letter to you, Mr. [Eugene R.] Black expressed his view that such an association could be a valuable supplement to the efforts of the International Bank.

We all realize that there are situations in the less developed countries where a sound project may require financing which cannot be provided under the criteria of our established international lending institutions. It would be unfortunate if we did not help in these situations, where often only a relatively small margin of capital is needed. It would be equally regrettable if, in jointly meeting this responsibility, we set up an organization which competed or conflicted with the operations of our other proven international institutions. It is, therefore, of great importance to accomplish this purpose by establishing the new institution

within the framework of the IBRD. In this manner we will not impair this existing lending institution which can meet the needs of bankable projects. We also want to be sure that we are sufficiently imaginative and resourceful to bring about effective use of two forms of credit and at the same time sufficiently discriminating so that we add to, rather than take from, the capacity of existing sound organizations.

It is equally important that an effort of this nature be made through an institution the membership of which consists of the community of free nations subscribing to the sound monetary policies represented by the IMF and adhering to the belief that the maximum accomplishment of any society can be attained within the framework of free economies. If we can accomplish these objectives, we can make a contribution of lasting benefit to the less developed countries.

We recognize that we are breaking new ground in an international undertaking of this sort. Because it is new we need to approach it with an attitude of flexibility. The Executive Directors of the IBRD have the experience and resourcefulness to develop effective policies, and we can confidently rely on them in their task of carrying out the operations of this new institution.

The proposed International Development Association provides the opportunity for member countries to join together to further economic progress in the less developed areas. The positive effort we will be making through this new institution will be an additional and effective answer to the challenge before us. The need for it is clear. Accordingly, the United States has introduced a resolution asking the Bank's Executive Directors to formulate articles of agreement for the International Development Association after full consideration of all aspects which they deem pertinent. The Executive Directors have more than adequately demonstrated their ability in the past to pursue this kind of task expeditiously. I urge your approval of this resolution when it is presented for action.

SECOND STATEMENT BY MR. ANDERSON*

It was to be expected that the annual report of the Fund would point to evidences that the past

*Made on Sept. 30 during discussion of the annual report of the International Monetary Fund.

year was one of great advance in several important phases of the economy of the free world. The first evidence is the sharp upswing of industrial production in the United States and renewed expansion in other industrial countries. Second, is the continued very substantial growth in gold and foreign exchange reserves of those other industrial countries. Third, is the move to external convertibility, which signaled the end of the postwar period of inconvertibility and its accompanying comprehensive exchange restrictions.

However, the Fund report also calls attention to the less satisfactory experience of many of the less developed countries. I agree fully with the report that the difficult problems with which these countries have had to deal make it all the more to their credit that so many of them have taken steps to introduce or maintain comprehensive stabilization programs. All of our countries, whether industrialized or underdeveloped, face common problems arising out of the pressure of demand on economic resources, and all of us, as financial officials, are engaged in an unending struggle to contain the destructive forces of inflation.

We are glad to note that the Fund has continued to play an important role. The fact that the Fund has been ready and able to assist in the maintenance of convertibility undoubtedly was an important encouragement to the countries which made formal moves during the year. At the same time the Fund has continued to give technical advice and financial support to countries which have been planning or intensifying their stabilization efforts. Use of the Fund's resources by these countries was substantial. For many of them, however, standby arrangements with the Fund were as important or even more important than the actual use of Fund resources.

There is sometimes a tendency to refer to the stabilization programs with which the Fund is associated as if they were something which the Fund devised and sought to impose on one or another member country. I am sure that this view is not held by my fellow governors. The desire to achieve and maintain stability in the economy and a sound currency as the reliable basis for economic development must arise within the country itself. If it does not, and if in consequence this objective does not have the support of all major sectors of public opinion—responsible business and labor leaders, consumers, and public officials—the efforts

of the Fund to extend either technical advice or financial support are unlikely to be successful. I have noted with interest the discussion of this subject which appears at the end of chapter II of the report. For us in the United States Government it is encouraging to observe the effective collaboration between the Fund and a number of the member countries, and I am confident that over the years this alliance between Fund and members in the effort to provide a sound financial basis for economic expansion will be one of the most important activities of the Fund.

A year ago at the meeting in New Delhi I had the pleasure of introducing a resolution looking to an increase in the resources of the Bank and the Fund and the great satisfaction of finding that the resolution met with the unanimous support of the Boards of Governors. Now, a year later, we can note with real pride that the Executive Boards have presented their reports, the governors have virtually unanimously approved the proposed resolutions, and the required percentages of actual participation in the increase in resources have been exceeded. This has been an outstandingly successful international cooperative effort to increase the pool of resources available to the Fund and to increase the capacity of the International Bank to make loans.

This year the United States is proposing consideration of the establishment of the International Development Association as a desirable additional means of providing capital for the economic development of the free world.

In his address the Managing Director of the Fund [Per Jacobsson] has commented on two aspects of Fund policy which are of very real interest to us in the United States Government. One of these, which is also mentioned in the annual report, relates to discrimination in trade and payments. During the first decade after the war, currency inconvertibility was very widespread and, for most of that period, was severe. Under those circumstances it was to be expected that countries would husband their earnings and reserves in convertible currencies. This resulted, of course, in massive discrimination against the countries having convertible currencies, discrimination which extended to imports of goods and to various so-called invisible transactions, such as tourist travel and remittances. Although these discriminatory arrangements affected the trade of

the United States, we concurred in the Fund's policy of sympathetic toleration of them pending the time when inconvertibility would give way to convertibility at least among the major currencies.

This time has come and it has been accompanied by, and in considerable part made possible by, a very substantial improvement in the balance-of-payments positions of the other industrial countries and by large increases in their reserves. In our view the countries which no longer suffer from inconvertibility in their current international receipts do not have any balance-of-payments justification for discriminatory restrictions—that is, there is no reason for these countries to favor imports from nondollar countries over those from dollar countries. We have been very much gratified by the substantial progress which countries have made in reducing and eliminating discriminatory restrictions. But it has to be said that discrimination against the trade of dollar countries is still substantial and that it applies to commodity trade and some other transactions, especially the freedom of tourists to obtain funds to travel wherever they wish. We consider that it is most important for the Fund to declare its position on this matter clearly and forcefully. This would be shown not only by the actions of individual countries but by the Fund itself in the weeks following this annual meeting. This is of particular concern to the collaboration between the Fund and the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade].

The Managing Director has mentioned that many countries have reached the point where they soon will no longer need to avail themselves of the transitional privileges of article XIV, which deals with restriction on payments and transfers in international transactions, and will accept the obligations of article VIII. We agree with this view, and we also agree with him that it is time for the Executive Board of the Fund to examine the several important questions of policy connected with article VIII which will need clarification as a guide to the many member countries still operating under article XIV.

U.S. Economic and Financial Developments

I should like now briefly to review some of the economic and financial developments in the United States during the year. The annual report gives considerable attention to the United States, and I

appreciate the objective way in which the developments in my country have been analyzed. We in the United States Government keep always in the forefront of our minds that our economy is a very large one and that what happens here, whether good or bad, is of concern for other countries of the free world. At the same time, however, I agree with the line of analysis in the annual report pointing to the steady strengthening of the European economies in recent years and to the substantial and autonomous economic power and influence of the Western European economy in world affairs.

The main purpose of the United States in the financial and economic field is to maintain a strong and expanding economy on both the domestic and international fronts. Only economic strength can support a steadily rising standard of living for the people of the United States, and only through economic strength can the United States play its proper role in the defense of the free world and in assisting the underdeveloped countries of the world, to whom economic advance is so vital.

To maintain and enlarge the economic strength of the United States we rely on a few main lines of policy. These include, first, a sound fiscal position which will both avoid inflation and meet the very large expenditures at home and abroad which the United States Government must undertake; second, firm and yet flexible monetary policies aimed at achieving and maintaining stable purchasing power for the dollar and an adequate basis for large and growing savings; third, maintenance of competitive private enterprise and high employment opportunities within the framework of sound social and economic policies; fourth, improvement of our technology and production efficiency so that we can expand our markets at home and abroad.

Turning to the balance-of-payments position of the United States, the present situation is this. The excess of exports of United States goods and services over our imports is currently running at the rate of about \$3 billion per year. This excess is not sufficient to meet three large categories of outpayments by the United States which in the aggregate amount to about \$7½ billion a year. There is a difference of roughly \$4½ billion. Some of these outpayments are directly associated with and add to our exports; others bear a much more indirect relationship to our trade. But their

overall effect is to provide foreign countries with substantial net receipts of dollars.

One of these three large outpayments by the United States consists of military expenditures abroad, which have been running over \$3 billion in recent years. The second is net U.S. Government grants, loans, and other capital outflow of about \$2½ billion a year. The third is the outflow of private capital, which amounts to \$2 billion or more per year. Despite heavy demands on our savings at home, reflected by rising interest rates, we are making substantial amounts of these savings available to underdeveloped countries. Moreover, large contributions to the defense of the free world are an important part of the international policy of the United States Government and of all of the free world.

The resulting large payments deficit or difference of about \$4½ billion is accounted for mainly by foreign gains of gold, dollar holdings, and both short- and long-term foreign investments in the United States. It is our hope that this large payments difference will be reduced by increases in our commercial exports of goods and services relative to our imports of them. But, while we will put emphasis on strengthening our capacity to export, we cannot be unmindful of other factors and therefore we will also keep our whole international financial position under review.

The U.S. dollar is a reserve currency. In our modern monetary and exchange systems, the role of a reserve currency is essential, and it is natural that foreign central banks and treasuries as well as private persons and institutions abroad should hold dollars in substantial amounts. This means that while it is, of course, in our own interest to keep the strength of the dollar beyond question, we must also be aware of the interest of other countries which rely on the dollar as a reserve currency.

It is, however, important also to look at the world payments situation as a whole and not at the position of the United States alone. In 1958 the other industrial countries of the free world had a substantial payments surplus not only with the United States but also with the less developed members of our institutions. These surpluses substantially exceeded the long-term financing made available by these countries to the rest of the world. That is to say, their net exports were substantially greater than the financing which they

provided to cover them, resulting in an unusually large addition to liquid holdings of foreign exchange, on both official and private account. A similar situation has continued in 1959. This large excess of exports over the outflow of capital does not represent a satisfactory pattern of world payments and cannot be expected to persist.

Changing World Financial Situation

The passage of time changes circumstances, and these changes continually force upon us all the need to review our policies. Following World War II, when many countries were suffering from the ravages of war and when their foreign exchange reserves were very low, the principal policies of the United States in the foreign financial and economic fields were designed to assist in rebuilding economies and to strengthen currencies. But now there has been a restoration of the relative competitive positions of the other industrial countries of the free world. No longer is the United States the dominant supplier of capital goods and other manufactures. The other industrial countries have improved their own financial positions. This means that there is no longer a justification for the discriminatory practices of the earlier period of their economic and financial weakness. Finally, the changed circumstances of the industrial countries ought to put at rest any unfounded idea that the economic problems of the free world are based either on a shortage of dollars or on a general lack of liquidity.

What we must recognize is that we are confronted today *not* with a dollar shortage but with a capital shortage. The demand for capital is high in all countries, both industrial and underdeveloped. But, on a comparative basis, there is in the underdeveloped countries a strong and pressing demand for long-term funds from countries with high savings to supplement their own savings, so as to accelerate the pace of economic development. This demand for capital need not be satisfied by any one currency but by all convertible and usable currencies. We in the United States will not shirk any part of our responsibility to help in this situation. But I believe that examination of the recent past shows that financing by the United States has exceeded the amount of its net exports of goods and services and that other industrial countries have generally financed less than their exports of goods and services.

There must be a reorientation of the policies of the earlier postwar period and a new determination by all the industrial countries to face the common obligation to share in the task of providing capital to the less developed parts of the free world.

Turning now to the domestic side, I am very glad to be able to report, as does the annual report itself, that the year since we met in New Delhi has been one of continued economic upsurge in the United States. By June, just prior to the steel strike, industrial production had reached 6 percent above the prerecession peak. Gross national product is currently running about \$485 billion per annum compared with \$442 billion in the year before the recession. Moreover, this dramatic and rapid increase in economic activity has been achieved with substantial price stability. Since the beginning of recovery in May 1958, the broad index of wholesale prices has shown no net increase, while consumer prices have risen only 1 percent.

The fiscal position of the United States, which is a major factor in our attempts to stabilize prices, has shown a notable improvement. Following the large deficit of \$12½ billion in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959, the United States Government has made great efforts to restore a balanced budget in the current fiscal year. My report to you on the state of affairs in the United States would be less optimistic were I not able to state that this objective appears to have been substantially attained. In this achievement we have faced the difficulties common to many countries in the world today, who must postpone or curtail some government expenditures in order that financial stability may be maintained.

The credit and monetary policies of the United States, including our firm policy of maintaining unchanged the present official price of gold, have also been directed toward promoting financial stability in the interest of sustainable economic growth. The present business boom, which has carried production, employment, and incomes to record high levels, has resulted in a rising tide of demand for bank credit from many sources. This has been reflected, of course, in sharp increases in market rates of interest and in appropriate increases in rediscount rates. Yet a large volume of new bank funds has been made available to finance the growing needs of business, as in-

dictated by an increase of \$9½ billion in loans and investments of all banks during the 12 months through August and an increase in the money supply during that period of \$4 billion.

In summary I can say that the outlook for the economy of the United States is good. We have contained the inflationary pressures which were running strong a year ago. Our budget position is sound. The purchasing power of the dollar has held virtually unchanged over the past year. Output and employment and incomes are at record high levels. Expanding world markets provide us an opportunity to increase our exports.

In all these vital matters of fiscal affairs, currency stability, expanding output, and a sound balance of payments, we in the United States Government support the same sound position as do the governments represented around this table. Firm policies and vigilant and energetic execution of those policies are essential. The task of achieving sustainable growth and reasonable currency stability is never completed.

STATEMENT BY MR. DILLON ⁷

This is, I believe, one of the most important meetings of the governors of the World Bank since the Bretton Woods Conference 15 years ago. We have the privilege of recording a year of outstanding progress, during which member governments have taken action to double the Bank's financial resources. And we have before us an opportunity to broaden further the lending facilities available to the Bank so that it may play its part more effectively in the historic struggle of man against poverty and disease.

In the year that has passed since we met at New Delhi, it has become clear that the period of postwar economic reconstruction has drawn to a close. As a consequence, virtually all of the industrialized part of the free world is now in a position to make resources increasingly available for the purpose of assisting the development of the less developed areas. Of equal or even greater importance is the evidence of a growing determination among the peoples of the industrialized nations to provide these resources in adequate measure. For

⁷ Made on Sept. 30 during discussion of the annual report of the World Bank. Mr. Dillon is U.S. Alternate Governor of the IBRD.

all of us recognize, as we must, that, in the imperative struggle for economic development, the preservation of civilization itself—the freedom, dignity, and well-being of the individual—is at stake.

Progress Achieved by World Bank

The notable progress achieved by the Bank over the past 12 months is reflected in the Bank's report and in President Black's remarks to us yesterday [September 29].

Early this year the governors recommended that member countries increase the authorized capital of the Bank by more than 100 percent. By September the legislatures of enough member governments had taken favorable action on this proposal to bring the recommended increase into effect. The swiftness of this response is a remarkable vote of confidence in the soundness of the Bank's operations, as well as a concrete demonstration of the willingness of member countries to assist in the development of the less developed areas.

The Bank has continued in 1959 to maintain the high rate of development lending reached in 1958—more than \$700 million annually—and has broadened the geographical scope of its operations to include three countries in which it had not previously lent—the Republic of Gabon in French Equatorial Africa, Malaya, and Sudan. The Bank's bonds have gained even wider public acceptance: public offerings made for the first time in Germany and Belgium were heavily oversubscribed. The Bank has also successfully intensified its efforts to associate private lending with its operations, both through the sale of a portion of its portfolio to private investors and through "joint operations" in which borrowers draw capital from the Bank and the private capital market at the same time and often for the same project. The Bank has increased its technical assistance to member countries. And it has cooperated with the United Nations Special Fund and the European Investment Bank in their early operations.

For all of these accomplishments, we may compliment the Bank's management and staff and express the hope that they will continue to give vigorous and inspired leadership to the chief international lending institution of the free world.

I am sure we can all join with our chairman in congratulating the Bank's members on this 10th anniversary of the presidency of Eugene Black.

The high standing of the Bank today is in no small measure a personal tribute to President Black, whose outstanding leadership over the past 10 years is a matter of universal acknowledgment.

I think we may appropriately in this forum also extend our thanks to the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, Per Jacobsson, for the good work of the Fund during his tenure of office in contributing to the basic economic health of the less developed areas and hence to their economic development.

At New Delhi last year I welcomed on behalf of the United States the efforts of the Bank's management to help arrange an equitable division of the waters of the Indus Basin between India and Pakistan. Thanks to these good offices, negotiations have progressed to the point where ultimate success now appears to be in sight. Accordingly, the Government of the United States has informed the Bank that it is prepared to consider participation in financial assistance to the Indus waters project, subject to agreement between the countries and to the availability of congressional appropriations.

Also during the past year the United States, in a further expression of the historic relations among the American Republics, has joined in drafting the charter of the Inter-American Development Bank, which we anticipate will begin operations early in the new year.⁸ It will assist the Latin American countries with their development efforts and help to provide the developmental capital they require. We look forward to cooperative working relationships between the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank, as well as with our own national lending agencies.

With few exceptions the industrialized countries have been successful in achieving financial and monetary stability. However, many of the less developed countries have continued to be faced by serious inflation. Certain of these countries have courageously attacked the problem with broad stabilization measures, in which they were aided by substantial financial support from the International Monetary Fund and from individual member countries, including the United States. It has been our observation that a very significant factor in the success of these stabiliza-

⁸ BULLETIN of June 8, 1959, p. 849.

tion programs is the degree to which domestic economic development efforts are soundly conceived and efficiently administered. Here is an area in which the World Bank can and should play an increasingly active and useful role. Accordingly, we would welcome action both by the Bank and borrowing countries so that the Bank's services would be more widely utilized than heretofore in this respect.

International Development Association

President Eisenhower and Secretary Anderson, in their welcoming addresses, have already stated on behalf of the United States our desire to see established, as an affiliate of the Bank, an International Development Association. As all of you know, the United States has provided member governments with an outline setting forth our ideas regarding the desirable structure, capitalization, and other aspects of this proposed new institution. I will not repeat these ideas here. They will in any case be discussed by the Executive Directors who, in formulating their recommendations, are being asked to take into account the views of all member governments. I would, however, like to make certain additional observations on the anticipated role of the IDA in the international lending field.

As we examine the formidable problems which face the less developed countries in overcoming the difficult economic conditions in which so many hundreds of millions of their people live today, we cannot help but be struck by this inescapable fact: If these countries are to be successful in their efforts, they must have access to capital from the industrialized countries over and above that which can be safely lent to them on normal banking terms or provided by private enterprise. The Bank itself has had to turn down many desirable development projects which could fully meet its technical requirements because, as a borrower in the private capital market, its loans must invariably meet high financial standards. The IDA is designed to assist the Bank in meeting this problem by providing funds contributed by member governments which can be lent on flexible terms, including repayment in whole or in part in the currency of the borrower. The availability of even a marginal amount of such funds may often mean the difference between success or failure of a worthwhile project.

I would like to invite special attention to one aspect of the proposal we have put forward for an IDA. This is the suggestion that the IDA might use, in conjunction with its loans of convertible currencies, a certain amount of the so-called "local currencies" which have accumulated under our Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, known popularly as P.L. 480. Any amounts of these currencies made available to the IDA would, of course, be over and above the capital subscription of the United States. Our thought is that such currencies might be used to meet the local costs of some of the projects financed by the IDA or, in appropriate cases, to pay for items related to IDA development projects which are to be imported from a country whose local currency is involved. The total amount of such local currencies which might be helpful to the IDA is difficult to estimate since there are recognized limitations on their uses. In any event deposits of local currencies would be made to the account of the IDA only after full agreement among the IDA, the United States, and the country whose local currency would be released to the IDA.

The IDA is a new concept in international lending institutions. It is important, therefore, that the charter of the IDA leave a substantial measure of discretion to the institution itself to determine how its funds can best be spent and on what terms. We would expect that the high technical standards of the World Bank would apply to loans made by the IDA. However, it may be appropriate in some circumstances for the IDA to consider, for example, financing pilot projects in some fields of social overhead of a type which contribute to productivity and development but which are not financed by the World Bank. This is an area in which expenditures in the currency of the borrower are likely to be required, and this could be one of the uses of the local currencies I mentioned earlier. In developing the pattern of its operations, we would expect the IDA to maintain the closest working relationships with the representatives of the less developed countries so as to insure that its efforts will be directed to meeting the most important development needs in the best ways possible. Finally, we look upon the IDA as a proposal to increase the total flow of development capital to the less developed areas and not as a substitute

for bilateral assistance from the industrialized countries.

It is our strong hope that the concept of the IDA will commend itself to the members of the Bank and that at our present annual meeting the governors of the Bank will take action to authorize the Executive Directors to undertake the preparation of articles of agreement. This would be accomplished by adoption of the resolution which the United States has introduced in the Procedures Committee.

In his statement to the International Monetary Fund, Secretary Anderson has commented on the international payments position of the United States. This position of large deficits during the past 18 months has, of course, been matched by large surpluses elsewhere in the world, surpluses which have been heavily concentrated in the other industrialized countries whose reserves of gold and foreign exchange have steadily increased.

An important element in this situation has been the fact that the increase in the capacity of other industrialized countries to export to the less developed areas has not as yet been accompanied by a comparable increase in their exports of capital to these areas, whereas the United States has continued to maintain a large outflow of capital to these areas for both development and assistance purposes. As a result, the United States has continued to provide financing for imports into the less developed areas from other industrialized countries which many of the latter are now in a position to finance themselves.

The logic of the situation is, I think, clear, and we would hope that other industrialized countries in a position to do so will find methods of increasing their long-term development assistance to countries in need of capital. Through efforts of this kind we should be able both to meet in larger measure the needs of the less developed areas and contribute to better balance in world trade and payments.

In closing, I wish to take note of the addition to our membership of Laos and Portugal, to which we extend a warm welcome.

STATEMENT BY MR. UPTON^a

In his annual report the President of the Corporation has succinctly stated the concept which has been central to the entire development of the

IFC, that is, the importance of private enterprise and its vital role in the economic growth of the less developed nations. The development of my own country and that of the other industrialized countries of the free world is testimony to the soundness of this age-old principle. In an era in which the continued existence of governments emphasizing the freedom and dignity of the individual may significantly depend on the vitality of individual motivation which such governments inspire, we do well to reaffirm our conviction in the dynamic concept of private enterprise. The existence of the Corporation is itself an indication of our mutual judgment that the creative forces involved in private undertakings are a vital factor in growth and development. It is therefore a reassuring confirmation of our ideas that private enterprise has participated in the Corporation's projects with an amount of risk capital more than triple the sums invested by the Corporation itself.

There is much concrete activity we can welcome in the 12-month period covered by the report before us. President [Robert L.] Garner has suggested that the best measure of IFC's usefulness should be the number of enterprises which it helps to finance and the volume of private capital participating in the financing, rather than the absolute amount of IFC funds invested. By either of these measures the year ended June 30, 1959, was one of significant activity. The number of enterprises to which commitments for financing were extended rose from 9 to 21. These enterprises were located in 11 countries around the world, more than double the number of countries in which IFC had invested a year ago. The latter fact is of special significance because of what might be called the "demonstration impact" of the Corporation's first project in a country. That is, the first investment frequently results in other projects in the country or neighboring countries being quickly brought to the Corporation.

By the more conventional criterion of total funds invested, the Corporation has also made commendable progress. The level of net commitments rose during the year from \$9.5 million to \$19.8 million, and a substantial number of new projects are under consideration. We may reasonably anticipate, therefore, that the recent accelerated rate at which

^a Made on Sept. 30 during discussion of the annual report of the International Finance Corporation. Mr. Upton is U.S. Temporary Alternate Governor of the IFC.

the Corporation is investing will continue to gain momentum. I think we can all subscribe to the hope that in the not too distant future the President will be able to inform us that the bulk of the Corporation's assets have been put to work in productive investments in member countries.

Certainly it is not too early to give serious thought to the problem of developing channels through which the Corporation's assets can be made to revolve. Some of the investments in its portfolio should, with some additional seasoning, begin to be attractive items to potential purchasers. In this connection an important development is that the Corporation has been able to secure participation by private financial institutions in several of its investments. The relationships which the Corporation is developing with these financial institutions will be of great value, not only as an additional source of funds to the borrowers from the Corporation, but also to the Corporation itself as a possible future market for sales from its portfolio.

In noting the progress of the past year let us not, however, be complacent about the magnitude of the task ahead. Additional techniques remain to be worked out which will make the resources of the Corporation available in the less developed countries to private business enterprises which might seem small by the standards of many advanced countries. An important job of explaining the functions and policies of the Corporation in countries where no IFC investments have yet been made is still to be accomplished, even though determined efforts have already been put forward in that direction.

After building a sound foundation the IFC is now moving forward with rapidly increasing momentum. I extend to the Corporation our congratulations and our best wishes for accelerated progress in its chosen field of stimulating investment in private enterprises.

RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION¹⁰

RESOLVED:

That with respect to the question of creating an International Development Association as an affiliate of the Bank, the Executive Directors, having regard to the views

expressed by the Governors and considering the broad principles on which such an Association should be established and all other aspects of the matter, are requested to formulate articles of agreement of such an Association for submission to the member Governments of the Bank.

United States and Italy Reaffirm Their Close Ties

Antonio Segni, President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, and Giuseppe Pella, Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an official visit to Washington September 30 to October 3 and then spent 2 days at New York before their departure for Italy on October 4. Following are texts of two joint communiques released after their talks with President Eisenhower and Secretary Herter, together with an exchange of greetings at the Washington National Airport upon their arrival and a list of the members of the official party.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, SEPTEMBER 30

White House press release dated September 30

The President of the United States, the President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Italian Republic and the Secretary of State met at the White House today and held two intensive discussions covering a wide range of subjects which are of mutual concern and interest to their two countries. The talks took place in a spirit of close friendship and mutual comprehension and were characterized by their frankness and their fullness.

In amplification of their meeting in Paris on September 3,¹ the President and the Prime Minister reviewed in detail the current world situation. They discussed the developments of the recent visit to the United States of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and agreed that this exchange of views has proved useful in the cause of peace.

The President and the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of State restated their belief that all possible efforts should continue to be made to achieve a reduction of armaments throughout the world, within a framework of adequate controls and safeguards.

¹⁰ Adopted by the governors of the IBRD on Oct. 1.

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 21, 1959, p. 412.

The President expressed his gratification for the inclusion of Italy in the Committee of the Ten Powers which at the beginning of next year will handle the vital problem of disarmament.² He stressed the contribution which Italy may be expected to make in this field and added that the United States Government will continue its support of Italian participation in the discussions of major world problems.

The President and the Prime Minister reaffirmed the dedication of their two countries to the United Nations, and to the principles on which it was founded. They also agreed that the present international situation does not yet permit relaxation in Western defense efforts. They reiterated their firm conviction that the combined strength and coordinated action of the free and sovereign countries in the North Atlantic Alliance are vitally necessary to assure peace and security and to protect the right of their people to live in freedom under Governments of their own choosing. They declared that the North Atlantic Alliance will remain the cornerstone of their foreign policies.

The President and the Secretary of State expressed the full recognition of the United States for the contribution which Italy is making in the development of closer political and economic association between the countries of Europe, and reaffirmed the support of the United States for such a policy.

The President and the Prime Minister also discussed the principles which guide the cooperative efforts of the free nations in their programs for assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, OCTOBER 2

Press release 695 dated October 2

Following the two meetings which were held on September 30 between the President of the United States, the President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Italian Republic and the Secretary of State of the United States, further intensive and detailed discussions have been carried on at the Department of State between the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister Pella and the Secretary of State. These talks have been conducted in an atmosphere of great cordiality and understanding.

² For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reviewed in their meetings of two days all the important issues of concern to both Italy and the United States. They reaffirmed that the relations between the United States and Italy are based on mutual respect, friendship and confidence and that at the present time there are no bilateral problems of major significance between them.

The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State considered at length the need for international cooperation to accelerate and coordinate the economic growth of the underdeveloped countries. They agreed that all appropriate ways and means should be sought to achieve this end.

The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reviewed in further detail the recent visit to the United States of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. They also discussed in detail the question of Berlin.

The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State confirmed that complete understanding exists between Italy and the United States on the vital and defensive role which the North Atlantic Alliance has played and will continue to play in assuring the peace and security of the free and independent states. They recognized that in its search for peace, the West must remain united and vigilant.

They agreed in supporting the development of ever closer economic and political association between the countries of the European Economic Community. The Secretary of State concurred in Italy's views concerning this association.

The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State reaffirmed the strong desire of their two countries to seek a reduction in the world burden of armaments. They agreed, however, that such a reduction can only be achieved with adequate safeguards and controls.

The Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State expressed full satisfaction at the results of these discussions. They reaffirmed that these personal consultations are of paramount value to their two countries.

The President and the Prime Minister noted with particular satisfaction the opportunity afforded by this visit to carry on the consultations which are a continuing and regular process in

the close relations happily existing between the United States and Italy.

The Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister will continue their discussions with the Secretary of State and other senior officials of the United States Government.

EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS

Press release 68S dated September 30

Vice President Nixon

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Foreign Minister, and members of your party, we are very honored that you have paid this visit to our country. May I say that we cannot control our weather, but I think the weather that we have gives me an opportunity to indicate the present nature of the relations between our two countries. The weather is turbulent, gloomy, and threatening, but we are happy to say that the relations between Italy and the United States are warm, friendly, and hopeful. We know that the conversations you will have with our President and with other representatives of our Government will contribute not only to closer relations between our two countries but also to the development of policies which will bring peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the world. In these critical times it is vastly important that we recognize that the solution of our problems requires the best thinking of all the leaders of the world. And for that reason we deeply appreciate your coming to us and sharing your experience and your counsel with our leaders.

Prime Minister Segni

I am very happy to return to the United States after so many years to have this opportunity to meet with the President of the United States and high officials of the American Government and those who direct policies of this great, friendly, and allied nation.

The bonds of old friendship which unite Italy and the United States form a solid and broad

basis for reciprocal understanding. On such a basis it will certainly be very easy for us to discuss the problems of a political, economic, and social nature which are of interest to both countries and those of broader scope which refer to maintaining world peace. Our relations are excellent. It is our intention to make the present fruitful collaboration which exists between our two countries ever closer and more effective in the service of peace with security, with freedom, and with justice. We are certain that in so doing we will have the warmth and support of the friendship of the American people.

MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL PARTY

The Department of State announced on September 28 (press release 679) that the following persons would accompany the President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic and Mrs. Segni during their visit in the United States:

Giuseppe Pella, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Manlio Brosio, Ambassador of Italy

Mrs. Brosio

Carlo Alberto Straneo, Director General for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Federico Sensi, Director, International Relations Section of the Prime Minister's Secretariat

Alberto Jezzi, Press Officer, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Paolo Molajoni, Vice Chief of Cabinet, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Comdr. Emanuele Cossetto, Press Attaché, Prime Minister's Secretariat

Mario Costa, the Prime Minister's private secretary

Giuseppe Giunghi, personal physician to the Prime Minister

James David Zellerbach, American Ambassador to the Italian Republic

Mrs. Zellerbach

Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr., Chief of Protocol of the United States

Mrs. Buchanan

Clement E. Conger, Deputy Chief of Protocol

Robert McCloskey, press officer, Department of State

Lt. Col. Vernon A. Walters, American interpreter

Mrs. Sydney Mellen, interpreter, Department of State

John DiSciullo, interpreter, Department of State

Paul Cassidy, Security Officer, Department of State

Reflections on the Khrushchev Visit

by Andrew H. Berding

Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs¹

This is a time of many important visits by chiefs of state and heads of government to Washington.

We are proud to have with us now the Prime Minister of Italy, Antonio Segni, and the Foreign Minister, Giuseppe Pella,² both of whom I had the pleasure of knowing during the early Marshall plan days in Italy. His conference yesterday with President Eisenhower is in the tradition of the ever stronger influence of Italy in foreign affairs. Testimony to this is the fact that Italy is one of the members of the 10-nation committee which will engage in vital disarmament negotiations some time after the beginning of the year.³ Italy's strategic position in the Mediterranean, her sense of cooperation, the energy, industry, and ingeniousness of her people, justify Italian participation in the discussions of major world problems. Our own relations with Italy are close and constructive. Prime Minister Segni's visit will solidify them still more.

Later this month Washington will receive the welcome visit of President Lopez Mateos of Mexico, to strengthen still further the friendship between our two countries. Toward the end of the month we shall cordially greet the President of the newest country on earth—Sekou Touré of Guinea.

But without doubt the most important state visit of recent times ended 4 days ago, when Chairman Khrushchev winged out over the Atlantic to return to Moscow.⁴

¹ Address made before the League of Republican Women of the District of Columbia at Washington, D.C., on Oct. 1 (press release 692).

² See p. 541.

³ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

Value of Visit and Talks

Now it may be of interest to draw a few conclusions and make a few comments on this visit by one of the outstanding personalities of our time.

To begin with, the visit, without question, was a plus. It was a plus in both its aspects—first, the trip itself in the United States; second, the talks with President Eisenhower. During these talks I had the honor of being at Camp David and Gettysburg.

As to the visit, Chairman Khrushchev certainly got a better, clearer idea of America and Americans than he had had before. He saw the strength of our economy, the high living standards, the freedom of expression, the diversity of our people. He finally admitted that people could live very well indeed under what he calls capitalism. He also recognized that our Government and our people are virtually as one when it comes to foreign policy. He acknowledged that Americans generally want peace. He recognized that only 10 percent of our gross national product goes into armaments as compared with a much larger percentage in the Soviet Union and that therefore it is illogical to think that our people are afraid that disarmament would bring economic collapse. This should help to remove from the pages of *Pravda* the specter of American capitalists evilly conniving at war in order to increase their profits.

As to the talks, they led, among other things, to the lifting of the threat on Berlin. This was confirmed in the statement day before yesterday [September 29] by Chairman Khrushchev. They also led to certain agreements, such as those on the resumption of negotiations to settle the Soviet lend-lease debt and a considerable expansion of exchanges of persons and information. To use the expression in yesterday's communique on the

President's meeting with Prime Minister Segni, "this exchange of views has proved useful in the cause of peace."

Perhaps the most important gain from the talks is the intangible one—the establishment of personal contact between the President of the United States and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. The last time the President saw Chairman Khrushchev was at the summit conference in 1955. But then the chief Soviet representative, in rank at least, was Mr. [Nikolai] Bulganin, and there were two other heads of government present. This time the President and the Chairman were together for many hours, either alone with the interpreters or with Secretary Herter, Foreign Minister [Andrei] Gromyko, and others.

They had a good opportunity this time to exchange views and to get an estimate of each other's thinking and way of thinking. They had a good chance to evaluate each other's personality.

Their conversations, whether private or in a larger group, were conducted quietly and objectively. Neither one hesitated to put forward his position directly and cogently. The overall tone was good.

Question of Berlin

There is one very revealing index of the relationship achieved. This relates to the unwritten agreement the President and the Chairman reached with regard to the fact that the reopened negotiations on Berlin, while not to be prolonged indefinitely, would not have a fixed time limit on them. Although this language was not in the communique, the President and Mr. Khrushchev agreed that the President would make a statement using this language and then Mr. Khrushchev would make a statement confirming it.

This procedure was faithfully carried out without delay. The agreement itself was perhaps the most important development at Camp David.

A large portion of the conversations between the President and the Chairman was devoted to the Berlin question.

As the President indicated at his press conference on Monday [September 28], the situation of West Berlin is unnatural. How could it be otherwise when you have a city divided into two parts, with one part under one economic system, the other under another, and with the western part

of the city, with all its thinking oriented toward the west, lying 110 miles inside the territory of East Germany? Some conclusions have been drawn that, because the President recognized the extraordinary nature of this situation, we would rush headlong to settle it and thereby sacrifice Western interests in West Berlin. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

We remain convinced that the problem of Berlin can best be resolved by the reunification of Germany. Until this reunification takes place, we have certain rights and obligations arising from our military victory in World War II. Among these are the right to maintain military forces in the sectors of Berlin allotted to the Western Allies after the war and the obligation to protect the right of the people of West Berlin to live in freedom under the social system they choose for themselves. We hope that Mr. Khrushchev's confirmation that no time limit is to be placed upon negotiations leading toward a more stable arrangement in Berlin will provide a better atmosphere for a reasonable approach to this problem.

While Mr. Khrushchev's visit here, and his talks with President Eisenhower, certainly improved the atmosphere in which Soviet relations with the United States and the free world are conducted, they also made it clear once more that there are great differences between us. Those differences remain. Most importantly, the Soviet Premier took every occasion to tell us in his inimitable fashion, and to demonstrate to us by his actions, that he and his comrades in the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party have no intention whatsoever of withdrawing, or retreating from, their basic challenge to us and to the system of freedom by which we govern ourselves. I feel that Mr. Khrushchev's trip produced an increased awareness on the part of the American people of the profound nature of this challenge.

U.S. Adherence to Principle of Peace With Justice

On several occasions Chairman Khrushchev stated in essence that, although the President and the great majority of Americans want peace with the Soviet Union, there are certain groups and individuals in the United States working against peace.

It is, of course, obvious and desirable that in a free society there should be diversity of views. And naturally there is a diversity of views in the

United States as to Mr. Khrushchev himself, the results of his trip, and our policy toward the Soviet Union.

But I think I can categorically say this: No American in his right mind wants war with the Soviet Union. All Americans without exception, from the President on down, want peace with the Soviet Union. We are intelligent enough to know that, with modern weapons, in a new war there would be no victors, only victims.

At the same time we will not deviate from our principles. The peace we seek to maintain must be an honorable peace, based on justice. We will not barter away the freedom of other people, such as the more than 2 million men, women, and children of West Berlin.

We also want—sincerely want—an end to the cold war. I believe this is true of all Americans. We should infinitely prefer to discard all manifestations of cold war and live in real friendship with the Soviet people. We want such friendship. This is as true today as it was on June 26, 1951, when the American people said through their Congress in a joint resolution that “the Congress of the United States reaffirms the historic and abiding friendship of the American people for all other peoples and declares—that the American people deeply regret the artificial barriers which separate them from the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, . . . and that, although they are firmly determined to defend their freedom and security, the American people . . . invite the peoples of the Soviet Union to cooperate in a spirit of friendship. . . .” And we believe the Soviet people want such friendship.

Mr. Khrushchev sought during his trip to sell to the American people the idea of peaceful coexistence. This phrase “peaceful coexistence” has a beguiling appearance, and at first glance everyone ought to be in favor of it. Many people in many parts of the world have, in fact, indicated their acceptance of it.

As we understand the Soviet definition of “peaceful coexistence,” it means a peaceful living together side by side of the Communist bloc and the free world.

If that is what they mean by it, we have to say at once, “That is not good enough.” In the first place, we do not feel that the world should be divided into blocs, even though they coexist in peace. We believe that nations should be truly

independent and that nations, rather than blocs, should be at peace one with another.

Second, coexistence is a bare-bones, negative state of affairs. Just as human beings do not solely coexist but live and cooperate for their mutual development, so nations should not solely coexist but live and cooperate for their mutual development.

Acceptance of peaceful coexistence has the effect of solidifying the *status quo*, with the Soviet Union dominating the Communist bloc. We do not wish to contribute to the perpetuation of this *status quo*.

And so, as to “peaceful coexistence,” our policy is, “We need something better than peaceful coexistence, something more in keeping with the aspirations of mankind.”

Soviet Economic Competition Welcomed

Chairman Khrushchev repeatedly challenged us to competition in production, saying that the Soviet Union would overtake us by 1970. We are not afraid of this competition. We welcome it, if it means bettering the condition of the people of the Soviet Union.

Yet I cannot help but draw the conclusion that what Chairman Khrushchev saw of the economic way of life in this country—the manifestly high standard of living of our people and the vitality of our economy—has weakened if not destroyed his expressed conviction that the Soviet Union would overtake us by 1970.

He may proclaim this more, but he believes it less.

U.S. Spiritual Values Unchallenged

There was one challenge that Chairman Khrushchev did not deliver, and that was in the field of spiritual values, human dignity, and human freedom.

I think that, if you carefully read Mr. Khrushchev's speeches and off-the-cuff comments, you will be struck, as I have been, by an emphasis that is deeply materialistic, to the exclusion of almost everything else. Even his references to the Bible were in this vein. He cited quotations and passages from the Scriptures in the spirit of one who is determined to use any text which will support his purpose.

I could wish that he understood better the importance which we in this country ascribe to the

text: "Man does not live by bread alone." For in this idea resides a great deal of the essence of America. We Americans recognize that all men, everywhere, are linked by bonds which transcend the fates and fortunes of any individual or any isolated group. We reject the idea that the mere satisfaction of material needs, a competition in which one group surpasses another or a struggle in which one group strives to impose its will on another, is the be-all and end-all of human existence.

If Mr. Khrushchev correctly understood our devotion to these ideas, he would understand that we are motivated not by a desire to oppose the legitimate aspirations of any other nation but by the belief that only a harmonious and peaceful adjustment of interests, only honest cooperation on every level of human endeavor, can assure the

peace we all are seeking. He would know that that pursuit must not be confined to the attainment of purely material goals but must go beyond that to the striving for a meeting of minds which will enrich the lives and work of all men.

If Mr. Khrushchev wishes to continue his references to the Bible, we can recommend to him the passages on the great Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Certainly he will find that the American people will meet him more than halfway with regard to hope and charity. However, it is now up to Mr. Khrushchev to provide a firm basis for the development of faith in the possibility of good relations with the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Government wishes to undertake the deeds that would provide a firm basis for such faith, it will find a receptive audience in the United States.

Under Secretary Dillon's News Conference of September 30

Press release 687 dated September 30

Assistant Secretary Berding: I wanted to state the purpose of the press conference today, and I want to do that by reading the announcement we made yesterday, which gave you in advance the limitations on this press conference.

"You will recall that at his news conference yesterday [September 28] the President referred questions concerning U.S.-Soviet trade relations arising out of Chairman Khrushchev's visit to Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon. As a consequence, Mr. Dillon will hold a news conference tomorrow"—that is today—"in the Department of State's auditorium. The conference will be confined strictly to U.S.-Soviet trade relations and related matters."¹

Now, we will also follow the usual rules for the Secretary's press conference here. We would request no correspondents to leave the room until after the conference is over, and, as for direct quotes, we would request you to wait until the transcript is out, which we will try to get as fast

as possible, with the exception of the short opening statement that the Under Secretary will have and that will be available in mimeographed form as soon as this conference is over.

Mr. Dillon has an appointment at a quarter to one; so we would hope to end this in about a half hour. We postponed this 45 minutes because some of you wanted also to be in on the arrival of President Segni of Italy.²

Mr. Secretary.

Under Secretary Dillon: I am glad to answer questions, but before starting we have a brief statement, which merely summarizes what happened at Camp David and says:

The discussions were general in nature, and the only specific agreement reached was an agreement to resume negotiations on a lend-lease settlement. We pointed out that an agreement on this issue would provide a better atmosphere and would facilitate efforts to remove the remaining barriers to a full and free flow of peaceful trade.

That statement³ will be distributed when the

² See p. 541.

³ Also released separately as press release 683 dated Sept. 30.

¹ The announcement was read to news correspondents on Sept. 29 by Lincoln White, chief of the News Division.

meeting is over, and I will now be glad to answer questions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, a year ago, when Mr. Khrushchev wrote the President asking for American Government credits for trade, the President's answer on that particular point was negative.⁴ Did the President give him any more encouragement at Camp David?

A. Mr. Khrushchev made it very clear at Camp David that he was not asking for credits and that the Soviet Union did not need credits. However, he pointed out that private credits were available to the Soviet Union from practically all the other countries of the free world and he hoped that a similar situation might develop here which would remove what he felt was a discriminatory situation. He wants to get rid of that, and he said he was thinking of some time in the future, if there was an opportunity for large orders of machinery or things of that nature, that could for economic reasons only be carried out through credit, because the Soviet didn't have at the moment enough exports of the type that we were particularly interested in to make an even exchange.

The Johnson Act

Q. Mr. Secretary, would a change in the law be necessary to permit them to get credits?

A. The Johnson Act, which was passed in 1934, prohibits credits to any country that is in default on its debts to the United States. That was alleviated for countries which have become members of the World Bank and Monetary Fund—which the Soviet Union is not—so a change in that law would be necessary.

Q. Even though the Soviets might clean up their obligations to the United States, would it still be necessary to change the law?

A. If they clear up all their obligations, no. Theoretically, no change would be needed, but chances are that in practice there would have to be a change in the law if credits are to become legal.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is the administration pre-

⁴For texts of Chairman Khrushchev's letter and President Eisenhower's reply, see BULLETIN of Aug. 4, 1958, p. 200.

pared to recommend to Congress the repeal of the Johnson Act in the next session?

A. We have taken no such decision. I would, however, think that a solid agreement on a lend-lease settlement, whereby the Soviet Union agreed to make payments which would have to be substantial in terms of the present Soviet trade with the United States—which isn't very large—would be a reason for trying to increase by all normal means a flow of free, peaceful trade. And it might be that in this context—it might well be that we would feel it reasonable to free private companies to make such credit arrangements as they felt they wanted to make with the Soviet Union.

Q. Did you gather, Mr. Secretary, in your discussions at Camp David, that they were sincerely interested in reaching a substantial agreement on a lend-lease settlement?

A. We gathered this: Mr. Khrushchev is substantially interested in removing what he thinks are the discriminations in our present trade relations—and such discriminations do exist, because the Soviet Union is specifically not granted most-favored-nation treatment. There is also specific legislation prohibiting the import of some Soviet furs.

We pointed out that any change would require congressional action and that therefore it was inevitably tied in with the whole state of our relations with the Soviet Union and with public opinion. And we further pointed out to Mr. Khrushchev, as I mentioned in my opening statement, that an agreement on lend-lease that was mutually acceptable, that we thought was a fair agreement, would certainly help to create a better atmosphere and therefore we hoped we could work toward one, and Mr. Khrushchev said: "Of course, we'd be glad to." So, whether when we start our negotiations they'll really try to reach a fair agreement, one that we both can agree to, remains to be seen. But certainly we are glad to make the attempt.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does the Johnson Act affect private credits?

A. Yes, it affects private credits.

Q. As well as Government?

A. Yes. [That is, the Johnson Act affects private credits, and other provisions of law affect public credits.]

Q. What is the position of prerevolutionary debts to the United States—Kerensky and czarist?

A. The prerevolutionary debts that come under the Johnson Act are, as I understand it, only from the Provisional Russian Government—which I suppose would be the Kerensky regime—and I think the figure is something like 180 million, plus interest.

Q. Mr. Secretary, when do you anticipate these negotiations on lend-lease to begin?

A. On lend-lease, the decision was that we would arrange a time and place through diplomatic channels. We have to do a little clearing of our own decks, but I think that we would be talking with the Soviet Embassy in the relatively near future to see if we can set a date. We hope that it could start within the next month or two.

Q. Mr. Secretary, were the patent and copyright conventions discussed at all?

A. Yes, without any great deal of progress. I pointed out to Mr. Khrushchev that, in dealing with our private companies, the question that they seemed almost more interested in than any other—when it came to new processes, new machinery, things of that nature—were patent arrangements, royalty arrangements, that sort of thing, and that some sort of understanding would greatly facilitate an increased flow of trade because it would make the private companies more ready to trade. Mr. Khrushchev seemed to feel that this could best be handled by direct negotiations in each instance between the Soviet Government and the private companies. We told them that if they wished to do so that was, of course, their choice. We merely pointed out they would have a much more difficult time in negotiations with companies and increasing trade if there was no such convention.

Question of Expansion of Trade

Q. Mr. Secretary, assuming that lend-lease negotiations start in a reasonable time and go along reasonably, what if any expansion of Soviet-American trade could be done in the interim between now and a possible change of laws?

A. Well, we feel that there is a large area for an increase in trade now. I think there is a general feeling that trade is limited, as far as our exports are concerned, to a much greater extent than

it really is. We have, for instance, given the Soviets in the past year technology on four or five different processes for making artificial fiber that they were interested in. I assume that, if they wanted to buy the machinery to go with that technology, we would be glad to sell it to them. They never have asked to. So the real problem on a rapid growth of trade is more the other half of the two-way trade. There is not a great deal in the way of Soviet products which we know to be available, or the Soviets are willing to make available, that are things we need or are not already getting under very satisfactory arrangements from such countries as Canada, Turkey, India, et cetera.

Q. Was there any discussion at all of the strategic control list? Did he bring it up?

A. That was never mentioned. We talked on the basis of peaceful trade, and I pointed out, as I have just done, that there may have been some misunderstanding, that there was a broad field available, and that many of the things which the Soviet Union had indicated it was interested in purchasing were available to them.

Q. Mr. Secretary, did I understand you to say, in answer to the first question, that Mr. Khrushchev said he did not want credits from the United States, on the contrary?

A. He said he was not asking for credits from the United States and would not ask for credits, because that would be contrary to the dignity of the Soviet Union, that they did not need credits, and I think that is correct. The plans for their 7-year plan, I am sure, are not based on getting credits from the United States.

Q. But then at a later stage you said something about the possibilities of credits being required for economic reasons. What is the hard fact with respect to credits?

A. The hard fact is—and it comes back to the same problem I was just talking about—the Soviet economy, as far as I know, and I think it's generally agreed by Soviet experts, is not in the position to offer us at this time really substantial quantities of goods that we want—that we aren't already getting from good sources and friendly sources of supplies. Therefore, if there is going to be a big increase of Soviet purchases here that cannot be immediately paid for by equivalent

Soviet exports, they can only be financed on a credit basis.

Q. Wasn't that the point that the Premier made in his letter to the President a year or so ago?

A. I think that at that time there was an indication that such a large-scale increase in purchases from the United States might be something that was rather imminent. We get the impression now that they are less interested in this in the immediate future—that this is now sort of a long-term idea—that maybe some day it would be a good idea—but that there is no immediate plan for any such dramatic increase in the placing of orders. I think that their trade with European countries indicates that pattern.

Q. As to the immediate future, looking to the period after a possibly successful lend-lease negotiation, what is the practical problem before the United States Government? You rule out the grandiose billions of dollars objective.

A. I think the practical problem, if you assume a lend-lease settlement and we wish to go ahead with an increase in peaceful trade, would be that we might try to get congressional agreement to do away with the prohibition on the import of Russian furs. This might increase our imports by a few million dollars a year, and conceivably, after that, there might also be congressional agreement to making a trade agreement with the Soviet Union and, on the items which you would purchase from the Soviet under such a trade agreement, to give them most-favored-nation treatment in return for articles which they bought from the United States. It would be in the pattern of the bilateral trade agreements which they have with many countries. I wouldn't think that that could show any very dramatic expansion in trade, and Mr. Khrushchev agreed with that. He said that any expansion would have to take time and it would take a considerable period of time. He indicated quite clearly that the problem in his mind was primarily one of removing the restrictions on trade—because in principle he didn't like to feel discriminated against—rather than the problem of the existence of a big flow of trade that was dammed up, that was suddenly going to begin. I don't think he feels that.

Q. Without the prospect of large-scale exports to the United States, even with the free converti-

bility of European countries, how could they hope to service these private credits if they got them?

A. Well, obviously they can't service them unless there is a future possibility either of exports or payment in gold. Of course, it would be up to the private creditors to decide whether they wanted to make those credits. On the other hand, as far as straight commercial credits are concerned, the Soviet Union's record has been very good. As a payer, so far as I know, they have never defaulted on them, and I think they enter into them with a certain amount of care.

Q. On this point of gold, Mr. Secretary, they have a good deal of it in reserve at the moment. Have they given the slightest indication that that might be an immediate bridge until the credit of the two-way—

A. No, they have never talked about it. We did not ask. I have heard that they have quite a considerable amount of gold in their stock, but I have never heard it from any really authoritative source. I don't think the Soviet Union has ever given out any figures. Of course, if they wanted to use it to purchase goods here or in other countries there could be a more rapid increase. They have used, from year to year, certain amounts to even up their balance of payments.

Trade and Public Opinion

*Q. Sir, how do you explain the contrast between Khrushchev's willingness to reopen the talks on lend-lease and Mikoyan's refusal to do so when he spoke to you in January?*⁵

A. I think the basic difference—if there is one—is that in January I took the attitude that trade problems were, because of congressional factors and public-opinion factors, inextricably intertwined with public opinion and with general easing of tensions. The Soviets did not at that time want to recognize this. They thought they could push and exact some easing on trade, irrespective of relations in other fields. I think that Mr. Khrushchev has come to realize—all of the Soviets have—that this is indeed a part of our overall relations, has to be treated as such, and that one element is the lend-lease settlement. As Mr.

⁵ Anastas Mikoyan, First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., made an unofficial visit to the United States Jan. 4-20, 1959.

Khrushchev himself pointed out, a lend-lease settlement would have no great economic impact on the United States compared to what we spend on our budgets every year, for instance. I agreed that was right. He said he could see that it would be a factor in public opinion and therefore was something that there should be an attempt to regularize.

Q. Did you talk figures?

A. No.

Q. Were the embargoes on certain types of goods discussed at all?

A. No.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if you settled lend-lease, would the Kerensky debt still prohibit private loans under the Johnson Act?

A. It would under the Johnson Act as presently drawn. That would either have to be settled, or there would have to be some form of legislation similar to the legislation that was passed relieving other countries of that same obligation by the fact of their membership in the World Bank.

Q. The czarist debts don't apply?

A. I don't think there are any czarist debts that I know of to the United States. The only debts I know of were the Kerensky debts.

Q. Did Mr. Khrushchev give any indication of willingness to consider the settlement of the Kerensky debt?

A. No, that was never discussed. Someone asked him at a cocktail party—I heard this question being asked at the Soviet Embassy—if he thought that Russian bonds were a good buy, and he said: "Certainly not." That was a pretty straight tip. [Laughter]

Q. Since there was not much encouragement on credits by business groups, do you think there is a disposition in some American business quarters to give him credit?

A. I would doubt if there would be a disposition to give very long-term credit, because our private business, our exporters, generally try to export on the more normal commercial cash basis. I think the same thing would apply to the Soviet Union.

Q. Mr. Secretary, from what you have said here it seems that the American attitude toward trade with the Soviet Union has been sharply altered or changed by the Camp David talks. Now is that a fair conclusion to draw?

A. I don't think so. The President stated at Geneva a number of years ago⁹—as we have always stated—that we favored any increase that was possible in peaceful trade. We have always felt that there was not much economic possibility of any great increase in our trade in the foreseeable future, and we still feel that way. But we do feel that an increase in peaceful trade would be good. We have always felt that this refusal for 7 or 8 years to even negotiate on lend-lease was a real hindrance, because we didn't see any possibility of any change in the laws that were adopted at the time of the Korean war against furs and regarding most-favored-nation treatment in the absence of a lend-lease settlement.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you found out a way to sell him a helicopter, and has the administration even passingly considered the possibility of giving him one?

A. There is no prohibition against the sale of commercial helicopters to the Soviet Union or the Soviet bloc. If he desires to buy a commercial model of a helicopter, I don't foresee any reason why there should be any difficulties. There are not too many of them on the production line. You have to order one ahead, but otherwise I see no problem.

Crabmeat Embargo

Q. Mr. Secretary, what about the crabmeat situation that there has been a lot of talk on? As I understand, that embargo could be removed by administrative action.

A. That is correct. We did not discuss that at Camp David.

Q. Have you considered any action on it?

A. I think that sort of action would tie in with all this general consideration we are giving to increasing the flow of trade. That was put into effect under a 1930 law that gives the Treasury Department authority to prohibit imports of prod-

⁹ BULLETIN of Aug. 1, 1955, p. 174.

ucts manufactured by slave labor. About 7 or 8 years ago this was applied to Soviet crabmeat on the grounds that Soviet crabmeat was being prepared by Japanese prisoners of war. The probabilities are that there are not very many Japanese prisoners of war in Russia any more; that situation may not exist any more. But it is very hard to get concrete evidence of it because we are not generally admitted to the area of the Soviet Far East where this takes place.

Q. There is no evidence now?

A. We only have statements.

Q. The Soviet Union has not admitted any inspectors?

A. No, nobody has gone. We haven't asked to inspect. This is an administrative question. It would have to be solved by the Treasury Department at the time. I don't imagine we had any inspectors there when it [the ban] was put on.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on this question of whether our attitude toward Soviet trade has changed, you referred earlier to your conversations with Mr. Mikoyan in January and the opinion that trade was a part of our general political relations with the Soviet Union. In that context can you say what our attitude is now? Do we feel that the political attitude is changed and therefore our trade attitude might change?

A. I think it is too soon. You can't say after one meeting that any political attitude was changed. But I think that if we have a lend-lease settlement, if we move toward the Berlin settlement, if we seemed to be making some progress on disarmament, certainly that would produce a different situation than the one we have been living through in the last year or two—one that would probably lead to an expansion of trade through the removal of some of these barriers.

Q. At the Ridder dinner¹ Khrushchev made very plain he was interested in purchasing plants for the purpose of copying. Do you think the American Government would be very eager to enter into trade relationships on this basis?

A. That is for American industry to decide. Certainly a lot of individual firms would not.

¹Eric Ridder, publisher of the *Journal of Commerce*, gave a dinner in honor of Chairman Khrushchev at Washington, D.C., on Sept. 24.

The chemical industry, for instance, has demonstrated at its conventions that probably it is not very interested in that sort of business without very firm agreement on royalties and patents.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you speak as though we would, of course, favor more trade in the Soviet Union. Why is this? Why would we want more trade with the Soviet Union?

A. To put the question the other way, why not? We have always believed that trade is a means of exchange and leads to relations of a peaceful and useful nature, the same way as other exchanges: cultural, exchanges of experts, exchanges of tourists and students, et cetera. It is a normal function when two countries are living at peace with each other, and if our relations become more normal generally we would like to see these trade relations normalized too, so that the amount of trade was governed by purely economic factors and no other.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the occasions when trade came up in discussion between Mr. Khrushchev and reporters—not discussion but questions and answers—his reaction almost invariably was quite emotional on the subject of trade. Have you got any interpretation of the significance of that?

A. Well, I think his emotionalism—I noted it a little bit, too—stems from the feeling he showed at all times here on all subjects when he felt there was any discrimination against the Soviet Union. I think that he made very clear the principle that he was talking about: He thought they were treated as some form of outcast, and he didn't like it. I think that is the reason for his emotional feeling.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the President day before yesterday said that Mr. Khrushchev had appointed you as agent to procure this helicopter. Are you now turning down this bid to be a go-between? [Laughter]

A. That was a rather unofficial appointment. If it turns out that the Soviet Union really does want a commercial model of a helicopter, I will be glad to see if I can help to arrange an appointment for them with the producers of one.

Q. Incidentally, Mr. Secretary, you used the term "commercial model." Does this mean that you can't get the explicit model that he wanted?

A. I don't know that he wants an explicit model.

The models of aircraft or helicopters which are stressed and primarily produced for military purposes so as to lift great weights, et cetera, are part of the international control list. They are considered strategic, and they are not furnished by any country.

Q. I believe that the President quoted the Premier as wanting one exactly like the one that he rode in because of the objections that had been taken in his own country to riding in other models.

A. I think the helicopter industry does produce commercial models that are almost identical, except that they may have different communications equipment or things of that nature.

Soviet Economic Offensive

Q. For the last couple of years, Mr. Secretary, we have laid great emphasis on the Soviet economic offensive—that their aid carries political strings—and we have stressed this in our conversations with underdeveloped nations. Now isn't it going to be a little more difficult to carry on this line now that we ourselves are willing to enter into negotiations?

A. It is a question of measure. We have always said that we had no objection to countries' trading with the Soviet Union or accepting aid from the Soviet Union, provided they used care so that they did not let that relationship get so strong that they were totally dependent on it, or so dependent on it that they would be subject to political pressures. I think we still feel that way. Certainly I do. But, as far as ordinary trade is concerned, we have never objected. I don't think that will raise much of a problem.

Q. Sir, I believe you said they wanted machinery for manufacture of synthetics. What else, specifically?

A. Mr. Khrushchev didn't talk about a single specific item in these conversations. He made very clear that he had not brought trade experts with him because he did not want to get into detailed talk. He wanted to maintain the talk on a policy level regarding what he considered as discrimination and that sort of thing.

Q. I believe in some of the talks at some of the private dinners he mentioned some things specifically he needed. What do you understand he needs specifically?

A. I think he wants a broad range of capital goods, machinery to put in factories so they can start producing. I think it is a fairly broad range of that type of goods.

Q. Shoes and synthetics and textiles?

A. Textile machinery, all sorts of machinery. I wouldn't be competent to know the exact types that they would like, but I think that is the field they are interested in.

Q. Do these ships come into the lend-lease negotiations? Just what are the areas that are considered in the lend-lease \$800 million and \$300 million? Just what is involved?

A. I am not certain of the exact number of ships, but there are a certain number, I think, of both merchant ships—not a large number—and military ships which are mostly very small ones, that do come into this problem. They returned some years ago the bulk of the military ships, but there were a few that I think they said they wanted to buy and they kept them.

Q. I heard a figure of 83 merchant ships. Is that right now? Is that considered a few?

A. I don't know whether it is 83 or not. It sounds like more than I would say would be a few, but it may be accurate. [After conferring with Mr. White] I am told that is correct. It is 84. You can put the adjective on it that you want.

Q. Those are the two main areas?

A. Yes. [Ships, and payment for civilian-type supplies which were on hand in the U.S.S.R. on V-J Day.]

Q. Was there any discussion of figures or percentages on the lend-lease?

A. No, just an agreement on principle to resume negotiations.

Q. Did I understand correctly the Soviet Union had obtained the know-how on four or five fiber processes from the United States alone?

A. Within the past year, yes.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. Technology—possibly not complete and possibly only part—but bearing on the making of nylon, the making of viscose staple fibers, and the making of acrylic fibers—fibers of that nature.

Q. Do you think this might be preliminary to some interest on their part in buying plants?

A. I have no idea. They have said they were interested in this industry. Whether they want to buy plants or not, I don't know. They have said they do, but they have not tried to place orders.

Order Provides for Carrying Out of Atomic Energy Amendments

White House press release dated September 30

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on September 30 issued an Executive order entitled "Providing for the Carrying Out of Certain Provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as Amended, Relating to International Cooperation."

The purpose of the order is principally to provide for the carrying out of certain amendments of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which were enacted by the Congress during its 1958 session.

The statute authorizes cooperation with other nations with respect to the sale, lease, or loan to other nations of materials for military applications and with respect to the communication to a cooperating nation of restricted data concerning a number of matters. Such international cooperation (1) is subject to an international agreement entered into in accordance with the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, (2) is, for the most part, subject to determination by the President that the cooperation will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security, and (3) requires authorization by the President to cooperate with the other nation.

The primary effect of the Executive order is to authorize the Secretary of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission, acting jointly, to make the necessary determination that the proposed international cooperation will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense. The order also provides that the approval by the President of a proposed international agreement providing for cooperation and his authorization to execute such an agreement shall constitute the President's authorization to cooperate to the extent provided for in that agreement and in the manner provided for by the statute.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10841¹

PROVIDING FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY ACT OF 1954, AS AMENDED, RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2011 *et seq.*), hereinafter referred to as the Act, and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. Whenever the President, pursuant to section 123 of the Act, has approved and authorized the execution of a proposed agreement providing for cooperation pursuant to section 91c, 144a, 144b, or 144c of the Act (42 U.S.C. 2121(c), 2164(a), 2164(b), 2164(c)), such approval and authorization by the President shall constitute his authorization to cooperate to the extent provided for in the agreement and in the manner provided for in section 91c, 144a, 144b, or 144c, as pertinent. In respect of sections 91c, 144b, and 144c authorizations by the President to cooperate shall be subject to the requirements of section 123d of the Act and shall also be subject to appropriate determinations made pursuant to section 2 of this order.

SEC. 2. (a) The Secretary of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission are hereby designated and empowered to exercise jointly, after consultation with executive agencies as may be appropriate, the following-described authority without the approval, ratification, or other action of the President:

(1) The authority vested in the President by section 91c of the Act to determine that the proposed cooperation and each proposed transfer arrangement referred to in that section will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security.

(2) The authority vested in the President by section 144b of the Act to determine that the proposed cooperation and the proposed communication of Restricted Data referred to in that section will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security.

(3) The authority vested in the President by section 144c of the Act to determine that the proposed cooperation and the communication of the proposed Restricted Data referred to in that section will promote and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to the common defense and security.

(b) Whenever the Secretary of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission are unable to agree upon a joint determination under the provisions of subsection (a) of this section, the recommendations of each of them, together with the recommendations of other agencies concerned, shall be referred to the President, and the determination shall be made by the President.

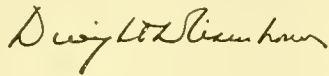
SEC. 3. This order shall not be construed as delegating the function vested in the President by section 91c of the Act of approving programs proposed under that section.

SEC. 4. (a) The functions of negotiating and entering into international agreements under the Act shall be per-

¹ 24 Fed. Reg. 7941.

formed by or under the authority of the Secretary of State.

(b) International cooperation under the Act shall be subject to the responsibilities of the Secretary of State with respect to the foreign policy of the United States pertinent thereto.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 30, 1959.

Polish Minister of Agriculture Visits United States

Press release 677 dated September 28

Edward Ochab, Minister of Agriculture of Poland, Jan Stanislaw Gucwa, Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of Agriculture, and Felicjan Dembinski, Chairman of the Scientific and Technical Council of the Ministry of Agriculture, are scheduled to arrive in the United States October 1 on the invitation of the U.S. Government under the leader program of the International Educational Exchange Service, Department of State. They will be accompanied by an interpreter, Stanislaw Zagaja.

The group will remain in the United States about 2 weeks. During this time Mr. Ochab and his associates will meet with high U.S. officials in Washington and will visit several areas of the country for the primary purpose of observing agricultural production, research, and education. Planning for the group's U.S. visit has been done by the Departments of State and Agriculture. The Governmental Affairs Institute is assisting in completing arrangements.

Before his departure from Poland, Mr. Ochab will greet and be host to Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, who is arriving in Warsaw on September 28 for a 2-day stay as a guest of the Polish Government.

General Pulaski's Memorial Day, 1959

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS during the American war for independence brave men of the nations of Europe, inspired by our ideals of liberty and justice, came from their homelands to fight by our side; and

WHEREAS among them was Count Casimir Pulaski, a native of Poland, who joined the army of General Washington at the age of twenty-nine; received an appointment from the Continental Congress as commander of cavalry; distinguished himself in various engagements with the enemy; raised and commanded a corps known as the Pulaski Legion; and, while leading an attack to relieve the captured city of Savannah, Georgia, sustained a wound from which he died on October 11, 1779; and

WHEREAS the Continental Congress on November 29, 1779, in recognition of General Pulaski's service and sacrifice, resolved that a monument should be erected to his memory; and

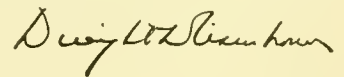
WHEREAS it is fitting that we should continue to remember General Pulaski's devotion to our Nation by marking, in this year, the one hundred and eightieth anniversary of his death:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Sunday, October 11, 1959, as General Pulaski's Memorial Day; and I direct the appropriate officials of the Federal Government to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on that day.

I also invite the people of the United States to observe the day with appropriate ceremonies in honor of the memory of General Pulaski and of the cause for which he gave his life.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-eighth day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.



By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

¹ No. 3318; 24 Fed. Reg. 7979.

The Role of American Investment in Australia

by William J. Sebald
*Ambassador to Australia*¹

I was delighted when I was invited to address the members of the American-Australian Association of California, and, as your president so well knows, I lost no time in accepting. I will admit to stretching out the date a bit, as home leave for us in the field comes, if at all, never more often than once in 2 years.

A month ago I was invited to address your counterparts in New York, an occasion which gave me an opportunity again to meet with my many good friends to whom I had said goodbye some 27 months previously. Since my departure for Australia at that time, this association has come of maturity, and I therefore have much pleasure today not only in meeting with you for the first time but also to take with me when I leave for Sydney tonight some firsthand impressions of the good will and friendship for Australia so apparent here today.

I consider myself fortunate indeed to be associated so closely with you and your sister association in New York in our objective of developing and cementing even more closely the ties of friendship between the United States and Australia.

In this connection I have found among Americans who have not visited Australia a most generalized conception of what Australia is, or, more accurately, is not. I have found, generally, that this conception is expressed in terms of sheep, cattle, mutton, beef, wool, aborigines, boomerangs, kangaroos, and koala bears. This, of course, is not all bad, but the fact that there are so many who think of Australia solely in these terms suggests that there is still a big job of explanation and familiarization to be done.

Similarly, there is the job of explaining the United States to our Australian friends. They,

too, at times have some rather strange ideas of what America is like, though they see many of our movie and television shows and perhaps base their ideas largely on what they see and hear on the screen. Even so, I am sure you will agree that much remains to be done.

In these tasks, therefore, the American-Australian Associations and your counterparts in Australia can perform a service which is not only desirable but essential if we are to create greater understanding and mutual knowledge of each other.

There are, of course, a number of problems with which we might deal here today. Unfortunately, time and your patience would hardly permit me to do more than touch lightly upon the many interesting facets of Australia which we could examine, and I shall therefore limit my remarks to a somewhat generalized examination of the Australian economy and the role American investment is playing in its development.

At the outset I should like to say that the conditions which now obtain in the Australian economy closely parallel our own industrial development and the gradual westward retreat of the American frontier. Indeed, if I recall correctly, my good friend Premier [H. E.] Bolte of Victoria, during his mission to the United States this past spring, described Australia as America's western frontier.

Basic Strength of Australian Economy

I am certain that you welcomed the announcement on August 1st that the Australian Government had taken further steps to liberalize its import restrictions.² In effect, the growing Aus-

¹ Address made before the American-Australian Association of California at San Francisco, Calif., on Sept. 29.

² For a U.S. statement regarding the relaxation by Australia of controls against dollar imports, see BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1959, p. 284.

tralian market is now open to dollar goods on a nondiscriminatory basis for virtually all categories of goods. Those restrictions which still remain apply to imports from every currency area.

This latest step was far reaching and serves to emphasize the basic strength of Australia's foreign exchange position. It also underscores the greater opportunities for American exporters and investors, many of whom had begun to think of Australia as a closed market.

I hope to demonstrate that this is not so and that, regardless of what may have been the situation during much of the period since the end of the war, Australia now is virtually exploding into industrial strength. Consider, for example, that in 1958 income from the export of Australian wool declined by more than 40 percent. A decade ago this drop would have served a disastrous blow upon the Australian economy. And yet last year, in spite of this dip, there was no significant decline in the national income.

The reasons are not difficult to find. They lie, basically, in the spectacular growth of industry during the past 10 years.

Relatively, Australia is now as much an "automobile" economy as is the United States. Production last year was 240,000 cars, and there is one automobile registered for every 3.75 persons. The ratio in the United States is one automobile for every 2.25 persons. And within a few years the capacity of the Australian automobile industry is expected to reach some 325,000 units annually.

Houses and apartments are being built at the rate of 80,000 per annum.

Australia is producing over 3 million tons of steel each year. And the price of this steel landed in the United States is 10 to 20 percent lower than the price of equivalent steel manufactured in this country. Thus, our west coast is becoming an importer of Australian steel products.

Australia is now a mass producer of refrigeration equipment, washing machines, plastics, tires, and even that great American phenomenon—television, not to mention such diverse items as heavy chemicals and drugs of all kinds, ships, and jet planes. The important thing, of course, is that there is a growing market for these products, not only in the Australian domestic market but also in the developing countries to the north.

During the course of the past decade coal pro-

duction has risen 50 percent; the generation of electricity is up 120 percent; many industrial chemicals have increased by from 80 to 300 percent; cement production is up 130 percent; the production of automobiles has tripled, as has the production of copper. These are astonishing statistics.

We have heard a great deal recently about the "great leap forward" of Communist China. I submit that Australia's record is such as to make that leap look somewhat silly, the more so because it has been effected in a free economy so similar to our own and without the tragic dislocation of human beings to which the Chinese Communists have so ruthlessly resorted.

This is an exciting period in which to be the representative of our country in Australia. Things are on the move. You may recall that a \$52-million petrochemical complex is being constructed in the State of Victoria to utilize the virtually limitless brown coal deposits available. These same deposits also provide fuel for huge thermoelectrical generating plants and plants manufacturing gas for the Melbourne area. I have heard this valley described as the future "Ruhr of Australia"—a description which might well be realistic.

Oil refining capacity is expected to expand from 10,500,000 to 14,500,000 tons annually. As of now, no commercially feasible oil deposits have been found in the country, but Australian, British, and American prospecting teams are working hard and, like prospectors everywhere, are optimistic that oil will be found.

General Motors-Holden Corporation is now engaged in a \$20-million expansion program which will boost its capacity to 125,000 cars annually. This wholly American-owned subsidiary is the largest automobile manufacturer in the country.

By far the most ambitious and exciting project, however, is the gigantic—perhaps in California I might even say "stupendous"—Snow Mountains hydroelectric scheme, on which the Australian Government is currently spending about \$100 million each year. When completed, it will have cost more than \$1 billion and will of itself have doubled the total electrical power in Australia.

It seems obvious that bountiful opportunities for investment exist in this burgeoning economy. Indeed, the *rate* of inflow of capital in the second half of 1958 was reported to be almost twice as

high as it was during the same period of the previous year. Total United States investment in Australia is estimated to exceed \$750 million. This total represents a greater investment by Americans than that in any one country of Western Europe except the United Kingdom. It is greater than the total United States investment in India, Japan, Indonesia, and New Zealand combined.

According to statistics recently released by the Australian Minister for Trade, the Honorable John McEwen, almost 900 American companies have established factories or acquired joint interests with local manufacturers in Australia. These range from Abbott Laboratories of Chicago to the Zippy Products Company of Memphis. I am told that some eight private investment missions are slated to go to Australia during the next 12 months, largely in consequence of Premier Bolte's recent visit.

Favorable Climate for Investment

The reasons why investors hold Australia in such favor are readily understandable. It is a rich and developing economy with an annual population increase of 2.5 percent. Australia has the fifth highest per capita income in the world. With occasional exceptions, the country is remarkably free of strikes. There is an adequate supply of skilled labor, and the Government's immigration policies—125,000 new immigrants are expected next year—are directed toward those who are skilled in a trade or profession. The immigration policy, by the way, is a bipartisan project.

Perhaps most important of all to potential investors, however, are the policies adopted by the State and Commonwealth Governments. In my view, these Governments have exhibited a sophisticated understanding and appreciation of the role that foreign capital can play in Australia's industrialization and general economic growth. The States have at various times sent high-level trade missions to this country in order to attract additional investment capital. Each State is in a position to make *some* potent points in its selling campaign, and the Commonwealth Government has also been generous in acknowledging the role that American capital has played in Australia's development.

There are no restrictions whatsoever on the type of enterprise in which foreign investors may en-

gage. Nor are unusual controls imposed on the operations of foreign businesses. This means, of course, that the American investor is assured the same treatment as that accorded Australian nationals.

Australia takes great pride in its treatment of applications for remittance of earnings and repatriation of capital. It is only the exceptional case in which approval is not granted. In fact, I know of no such case which has arisen during the past 10 years.

I think that I have made my point, that Australia has entered upon a period of almost explosive expansion, to which American capital has and is contributing in a most constructive manner. There is, of course, need for still more capital in this expanding economy.

At the same time, however, we should observe that there are pockets of Australian opinion which have serious reservations about the wisdom of encouraging, or even permitting, additional foreign investment in the Australian economy. The arguments for these views are familiar. They have, at one time or other, been repeated in virtually every developing country in the world, including our own. The fact that these arguments are familiar, however, should in no sense denigrate the importance they assume for those who hold them.

The line of reasoning which I have most frequently encountered in this respect is briefly as follows: As foreign investment grows, the drain on foreign exchange reserves to cover overseas payments soon becomes excessive. This is especially true of American investment, since it has enjoyed such signal success. Alternatively, it is said that, since American firms follow the practice of reinvesting unusually high percentages of their earnings within the country, the trend is for American firms to acquire control of important sectors of the Australian economy.

Now it seems to me that our experience and results elsewhere effectively dispose of these arguments. Successful foreign investment not only does not drain wealth from a country but rather creates new wealth which is permanent, regardless of what the investor eventually does with his original capital. I venture to suggest, further, that reinvestment of earnings should be a source of satisfaction and gratification. It means, in effect, that foreign investors consider the receiving

country a sound field for further utilization of capital. Capital is timid and will remain only where its primary function of investment growth can be exercised.

One final point which I would like to make is that of the desirability of American investors' entering into partnership with our Australian friends. No all-inclusive rule can be laid down in this regard, as almost every investment is based upon different considerations. In an address to the Sydney Rotary Club shortly before my departure from Australia, I referred to this problem in the following words:

In general . . . United States Government officials, including myself, are fully aware of the inherent advantages that usually accrue from ventures jointly entered into between American firms and Australian citizens or companies. We do what we can to explain these advantages to potential investors. Also, I am sure that, in general, American firms investing in Australia welcome the many contributions which local capital and know-how can make.

In short, Mr. President, we in government not only favor private investment but we recommend that such investment, wherever possible, be a joint venture with Australian capital and know-how. This, in my belief, provides a built-in assurance that at least some of the difficult problems of operating in a foreign country can more easily and satisfactorily be surmounted with the interested help of Australian friends and partners.

Thank you.

U.S. Welcomes French Move To Reduce Import Restrictions

Department Statement

Press release 690 dated October 1

The U.S. Government welcomes the announcement by France on September 26 of a new list of products which may be imported from the dollar area without quantitative restriction. Besides reducing the scope of quota discrimination against dollar imports, the French action adds to their dollar and OEEC liberalization lists 15 product descriptions not heretofore liberalized for any exporting country.

Products which U.S. exporters will be able to

market in France without quantitative restriction as a result of the new French measure include heavy automobiles, outboard motors, certain plastics and chemicals, rolling mills, electric junction boxes, carbon black, and dried apricots. In addition, on January 1, 1960, French quotas on dollar imports of edible offals, various kinds of synthetic rubber, and certain medicines and antibiotics will be removed.

The new liberalization move brings France's dollar liberalization percentage (based on imports on private account in 1953) up to about 80, the highest level yet reached by France.

President Amends Proclamation on Wool-Fabric Tariff Quota

White House press release dated September 24

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on September 24 amended his April 21st proclamation¹ which established a supplemental tariff quota for certain woolen and worsted fabrics. The proclamation of September 24 is addressed to certain technical problems which have arisen in the administration of that supplemental tariff quota.

The earlier proclamation established a value test for determining which fabrics would receive the benefit of the 30 percent ad valorem rate of duty established for 350,000 pounds of imports in excess of the basic woolen and worsted tariff quota which was set at 13.5 million pounds for the year 1959. For the purpose of applying that value test, the proclamation of September 24 provides for the use of the purchase price based upon the invoice. This invoice value standard is made applicable in general to all imports under the supplemental quota for 1959.

This method of valuation will be used only for applying the test set forth in the proclamation of April 21, 1959. Standard methods of assessing values for tariff purposes remain applicable in other respects.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of May 18, 1959, p. 720.

PROCLAMATION 3317²

FURTHER AMENDMENT OF PROCLAMATION No. 3160, RELATING TO CERTAIN WOOLEN TEXTILES

1. WHEREAS by Proclamation No. 3160 of September 28, 1956 (71 Stat. C12),³ as amended by Proclamation No. 3225 of March 7, 1958 (3 CFR, 1958 Supp., p. 19),⁴ and by Proclamation No. 3285 of April 21, 1959 (24 F.R. 3221), the President announced the invocation by the Government of the United States of America of the reservation contained in the note to item 1108 in Part I of Schedule XX annexed to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (61 Stat. (pt. 5) A11, A1274), and proclaimed that the ad valorem part of the rate applicable to fabrics described in item 1108 or 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (61 Stat. (pt. 5) A1274), or in item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (3 UST (pt. 1) 615, 1186), entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption in excess of certain quantities would be either 30 per centum or 45 per centum, depending on the classification of such fabrics; and

2. WHEREAS I find that as of January 1, 1959, it will be appropriate to carry out the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade that the ad valorem part of the rate be 30 per centum ad valorem in the case of any of the fabrics described in item 1108 or 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or in item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which are described in subparagraph (a) of the seventh recital of the proclamation of September 28, 1956, as amended by the proclamations of March 7, 1958, and April 21, 1959, and as further amended by this proclamation:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, including section 350(a) of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended by section 3(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 (69 Stat. 162; 19 U.S.C. 1351(a), Supp. V), and by section 3(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958 (72 Stat. 673; Public Law 85-686, sec. 3(a)), do hereby proclaim that, except insofar as this would result in the assessment on any article entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption prior to the date of this proclamation of a higher duty than would have been assessed thereon under the Proclamation of April 21, 1959, the seventh recital of the proclamation of September 28, 1956, as amended by the proclamations of March 7, 1958, and April 21, 1959, is hereby further amended to read as follows:

"7. WHEREAS I find that following December 31, 1958, and until otherwise proclaimed by the President, it will be appropriate to carry out the trade agreements specified in

the first and third recitals of this proclamation that the ad valorem part of the rate be as set forth below in the case of the fabrics described in item 1108 or 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade set forth in the second recital hereof, or in item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the Torquay Protocol set forth in the fourth recital hereof (except in each case articles dutiable at rates applicable to such fabrics by virtue of any provision of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, other than paragraph 1108 or 1109(a)), entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption in any calendar year after that total aggregate quantity by weight of such fabrics which shall have been notified by the President to the Secretary of the Treasury, and published in the FEDERAL REGISTER (which quantity the President shall have found to be not less than 5 per centum of the average annual production in the United States during the three immediately preceding calendar years of fabrics similar to such fabrics), has been so entered or withdrawn during such calendar year:

"(a) 30 per centum ad valorem in the case of any such fabrics which are:

"(i) hand-woven fabrics with a loom width of less than 30 inches,

"(ii) serges, weighing not over 6 ounces per square yard, and nuns' veilings and other woven fabrics, weighing not over 4 ounces per square yard; all of the foregoing described in this clause (ii) wholly or in chief value of wool of the sheep, valued at over \$4 per pound, in solid colors, imported to be used in the manufacture of apparel for members of religious orders, or

"(iii) woven fabrics not described in either clause (i) or clause (ii) of this subparagraph wholly or in chief value of wool of the sheep or hair of the Angora goat, weighing over 6 ounces per square yard and having a purchase price determined from the invoice of over \$6.50 per pound, or weighing over 4 ounces, but not over 6 ounces, per square yard and having a purchase price determined from the invoice of over \$7 per pound (such purchase price to be determined by the Collector of Customs on the basis of the aggregate price, including all expenses incident to placing the merchandise in condition, packed ready for shipment to the United States, but excluding transportation, insurance, duty, and other charges incident to bringing the merchandise from the place of shipment in the country of exportation to the place of delivery in the United States) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse, for consumption in any calendar year after such aggregate quantity notified by the President to the Secretary of the Treasury has been so entered or withdrawn but before there shall have been so entered or withdrawn 350,000 pounds of woven fabrics described heretofore in this clause (iii) but not described in either clause (i) or clause (ii) of this subparagraph, and

"(b) 45 per centum ad valorem in the case of any other of such fabrics; and".

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and

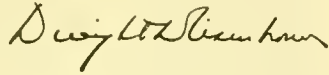
² 24 Fed. Reg. 7893.

³ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 8, 1956, p. 556.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1958, p. 673.

caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 24th day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.



By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

Views Invited on Renegotiation of Canadian Textile Concessions

Press release 684 dated September 30

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

The interdepartmental Committee for Reciprocity Information issued a notice on September 30 inviting the public to submit views in connection with a tariff renegotiation to begin on or about November 16 arising from Canada's desire to modify certain textile and related concessions formerly negotiated with the United States and other countries under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The scheduled renegotiation results from the continuing revision of Canada's customs tariff which began several years ago. To bring about the revision, individual schedules of the tariff are referred to the Canadian Tariff Board for investigation and recommendations, and, on the basis of those recommendations, the language and, in some cases, the rate structure are revised with a view to modernization. Insofar as the revision extends to products which are the subject of concessions in the GATT, international negotiations are required with a view to compensatory adjustments in those cases in which concession rates are increased.

Several schedules of the Canadian tariff have already been revised by this procedure. The textile schedule was referred to the Tariff Board more than a year ago, and the Board has reported on woolen and worsted fabrics, cotton and cotton products, silk and manmade fibers and products, and textile wastes. The Board is expected to make a report on knitted goods soon and to report on the remaining products (coated fabrics, braids,

tapes, elastics, etc.) as investigations are completed.

The changes recommended by the Board in the reports already made cover many GATT concessions. They extend through the cotton, synthetic fiber, silk, and wool categories of trade. The tariff numbers included in the reference to the Tariff Board cover rovings; waste and rags; batts and wadding; yarn, thread, and cordage; piece goods, ribbons, lace, and embroidery; wearing apparel including gloves and hats, hoods, and shapes; and miscellaneous manufactures including bags and household and various made-up articles. A number of specialized products which, by reason of tariff specification or end use, are associated with the textile tariff also fall within the scope of the revision, including surgical dressings, surgical trusses, suspensory bandages, and abdominal supports; boot, shoe, shirt, and stay laces; webbing and belting of all kinds including rubber; manufactures of hair; and electric blankets. Products for use in Canadian manufactures are also included, such as hat braids; asbestos fabric for the manufacture of brake lining and clutch facing; tire cord and fabric; materials for the manufacture of surgical dressings; pantographs and parts including diamond points and engraving mills for printing textiles and wall-paper; and blankets, blanketing, and lapping for use by those industries.

The concessions on many of the affected tariff items were either initially negotiated with the United States in the GATT or cover trade in which this country is the principal or a large supplier. Accordingly the United States has informed Canada that it desires to negotiate or consult respecting any increases in concession rates which Canada may make. Not all of the textile changes recommended by the Tariff Board, however, are increases in duty. Some represent decreases in existing tariffs and some merely changes in language incidental to the establishment of broader specifications. It is suggested therefore that interested parties refer to the Canadian Tariff Board reports mentioned above to familiarize themselves with the nature of the tariff revision and the changes which may result from the Board's recommendations. Details concerning the availability of these reports are contained in the attached notice of the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

Because of the continuing nature of the renegotiations the committee has set no closing date for submission of views, but it points out that in order to receive maximum consideration views respecting items dealt with by the Canadian Tariff Board reports now available should be received by the committee at least 15 days before the negotiations begin. Views respecting items dealt with by Tariff Board reports published subsequent to the committee notice should be received within 30 days after the date of publication of the Tariff Board report to receive maximum consideration, the committee notes.

The interdepartmental Committee for Reciprocity Information is a group consisting of a member of the United States Tariff Commission as chairman and representatives from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, Labor, State, and Treasury, and the International Cooperation Administration which is charged with receiving the views of interested persons regarding proposed or existing trade agreements.

Details concerning the submission of statements are contained in the attached notice of the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

All communications regarding this notice should be addressed to: The Secretary, Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C.

TEXT OF NOTICE

COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION

RENEGOTIATION BY CANADA WITH THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN TEXTILE TARIFF CONCESSIONS INCLUDED IN CANADA'S SCHEDULE TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

Submission of information to the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

Views receive maximum consideration if submitted at least 15 days before beginning of renegotiations.

Renegotiation begins on or about November 16, 1959.

Notice is hereby given that the Committee for Reciprocity Information invites written views from interested parties with respect to the possible effect on United States trade of the renegotiation by Canada of the concessions on certain textile and related products in Schedule V (Canada) to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, as well as views regarding concessions which the United States might seek, or accept, from Canada as compensation for the modification or withdrawal of existing Canadian concessions.

The renegotiations by Canada will be conducted pursuant to Article XXVIII of the General Agreement, the Contracting Parties to that Agreement having found the special circumstances required by paragraph 4 of that article. Under the provisions of Article XXVIII of the General Agreement, a contracting party proposing to renegotiate a concession by modifying or withdrawing it is required to negotiate regarding compensatory adjustment with the country with which the concession was originally negotiated and with any other contracting party having a principal supplying interest in the concession. It is also required to consult with contracting parties having a substantial trade interest therein. In such negotiations, the country proposing the modification or withdrawal usually offers new concessions by way of compensation, and views are now requested on the assumption that agreement will be reached on the basis of compensatory concessions by Canada.

The renegotiation by Canada results from a proposed revision of the textile schedule of the Canadian customs tariff, which will be based on recommendations by the Tariff Board. The Board has already reported its recommendations on woolen and worsted fabrics, cotton and cotton products, silk and man-made fibres and products, and textile wastes. It is expected to report on knitted goods soon and to report on the remaining products (coated fabrics, braids, tapes, elastics, etc.) early in 1960. Not all of the textile changes recommended by the Tariff Board are increases in duty. Some represent decreases in existing duties and some merely changes in language incidental to the establishment of broader specifications. Accordingly, it is urged that interested parties refer to these Tariff Board Reports to familiarize themselves with the nature of the proposed revision and the changes which may result from the Board's recommendations. The Tariff Board Reports which have so far been published are available for purchase from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada. Reference copies are on deposit at the Department of Commerce Field Offices in New York, Boston, Greensboro (N.C.), and Atlanta, and at the British Commonwealth Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. Other reports will be made available at these locations as they become available.

All communications submitted to the Committee, except information and business data proffered in confidence, shall be open to inspection by interested persons. Information and business data proffered in confidence shall be submitted on separate pages clearly marked "For Official Use Only of the Committee for Reciprocity Information."

No closing date for the submission of written views is established. However, negotiations respecting the products dealt with by the Canadian Tariff Board Reports now available are expected to begin on or about November 16, 1959, and views respecting these products should be received by the Committee at least 15 days prior to that date in order to receive maximum consideration. Views on products dealt with by Canadian Tariff Board Reports published subsequent to this announcement should be received by the Committee no later than 30 days

after the date of their publication in order to receive maximum consideration.

Annexed to this notice is a list of commodity classifications relating to tariff concessions in Schedule V (Canada) to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in the renegotiation of which the United States intends to participate.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 30th day of September, 1959.

EDWARD YARDLEY

Secretary,

Committee for Reciprocity Information.

ANNEX TO NOTICE

COMMODITY CLASSIFICATIONS RELATING TO TARIFF CONCESSIONS IN SCHEDULE V (CANADA) TO THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE IN THE RENEGOTIATION OF WHICH THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO PARTICIPATE

Cotton Products

Batts, batting, and wadding
Yarn, thread and cordage
Piece goods
Lace and embroidery
Wearing apparel
Other manufactures

Synthetic Textile Fibre Products

Yarns, threads, cords, etc.
Piece goods
Wearing apparel
Other manufactures

Silk Products

Yarns and thread
Piece goods
Wearing apparel
Other manufactures

Wool and Products

Raw and unmanufactured wool and slivers
Yarns, batts and batting
Piece goods
Wearing apparel
Other manufactures

Flax, Hemp and Jute Products

Batts, batting and wadding
Yarn, thread and twine
Piece goods
Other manufactures

Textile Products of Miscellaneous and Mixed Composition

Hats, hoods and shapes
Braid, fringe, etc.
Rags and waste
Surgical dressings
Cloth, coated or impregnated
Bags, including used

Other Products

Surgical trusses, suspensory bandages and abdominal supports
Boot, shoe, shirt and stay laces
Asbestos fabric for the manufacture of clutch facing and brake lining

Hair and manufactures

Electric blankets

Belting, including rubber and webbing

Blankets, blanketing and lapping for use by textile manufacturers and wall paper printers

Pantograph rolls and engraving mills for printing textiles and wall paper

Tire cord and fabric

DLF Lists Total Commitments as of September 15, 1959

Press release 674 dated September 25

In the period June 12 to September 15 the U.S. Development Loan Fund approved 15 loans totaling \$97,200,000 to public and private borrowers in 10 countries, according to a listing issued on September 25. This listing is an addendum to one dated June 11.¹

The newly listed loans bring the cumulative total commitment of DLF loan funds to date to \$833,656,000. This includes commitments of funds for 101 loans and 1 guarantee totaling \$815,506,000 to borrowers in 39 countries and commitment of \$18,150,000 for certain countries to finance projects within their development programs, subject to approval of specific projects.

One loan previously approved—\$300,000 to the Anhumas/Pedrinhas Resettlement Project in Brazil—was canceled at the request of the applicant.

The DLF is a U.S. Government corporation established to help speed the economic growth of newly developing nations. It lends money to governments and private firms for constructive purposes for which capital cannot be obtained from other sources, accepting repayment in local currencies if necessary.

The new list includes brief descriptions of all loans signed or approved by the DLF during the June 12–September 15 period. Copies are available at the DLF offices at 1025 Fifteenth St., NW., Washington 25, D.C.

DLF loan operations to date break down as follows:

Eighteen loans totaling \$65,790,000 to borrowers in 12 Latin American countries;

Nine loans totaling \$30,140,000 to borrowers in 7 countries in Africa;

¹ BULLETIN of July 27, 1959, p. 127.

Seven loans totaling \$77,100,000 to borrowers in 3 European countries;

Eighteen loans totaling \$166,200,000 to borrowers in 7 countries in the Near East;

Twenty-four loans totaling \$310,000,000 to borrowers in 3 countries in South Asia; and

Twenty-five loans and one guarantee, totaling \$166,276,000, to borrowers in 7 Far Eastern countries.

The principal borrowing countries were India, with 8 loans totaling \$195,000,000, and Pakistan, with 13 loans totaling \$111,550,000.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

SEATO Members Consider Situation in Southeast Asia

Following are texts of three documents: the final press release issued at the conclusion of a meeting of the military advisers to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization at Bangkok September 22-24; a communique released after a meeting of the Council Representatives at Bangkok on September 26; and a communique released following an informal ministerial meeting of the SEATO Council at Washington on September 28.

MILITARY ADVISERS, BANGKOK, SEPTEMBER 24

The SEATO Military Advisers ended their Eleventh Conference today confident that the collective strength of the Treaty Organization is ready to defend South-East Asia if the need arises. They reviewed and refined SEATO military plans designed to safeguard the security and integrity of the Treaty Area. They expressed their confidence in their ability to support these plans should such action be called for by the SEATO Council.

The Military Advisers took note of communist-inspired threats to the freedom of Laos.¹ They recognised the need to keep up-to-date their plans

in case future developments require military defensive action by SEATO.

The Advisers expressed satisfaction over the high degree of coordination and cooperation attained in the three SEATO Military Exercises held since their meeting in Wellington, New Zealand earlier this year. They stressed the importance of continuing these exercises as a means of improving techniques and operational procedures among the Member Nations' Armed Forces.

A review was made of the reports of the Military specialist groups which have met during the past few months and their recommendations for steps to be taken to increase further the capability of SEATO forces to conduct combined operations.

The Twelfth Conference of the Military Advisers will be convened on 18 May, 1960 in Washington, D.C.

COUNCIL REPRESENTATIVES, BANGKOK, SEPTEMBER 26

The members of SEATO have been in constant consultation and are following with concern Pathet Lao efforts, with north Vietnamese encouragement and support, to undermine the integrity and independence of Laos. There have been threats, propaganda, and even open military attacks on Laotian Government forces.

The Government of Laos has regarded the situation as so dangerous to its security and independence that it has appealed to the United Nations. Members of SEATO, all of whom are at the same time members of the United Nations, welcome the promptness with which the Security Council acted on the problem of Laos.² SEATO members have faith in the ability of the United Nations to act both quickly and effectively in spite of the opposition of Communist countries to measures designed to protect the independence and integrity of small states. SEATO hopes that there will be effective and continuing United Nations action to ensure that the authority of the legitimate Government and the territorial integrity of Laos are maintained.

Considering that the situation in Laos is one which might endanger the peace of the area, members of SEATO will continue to consult under the Manila Pact on measures which should be taken for the common defense. In the event

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 475.

² *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

of it becoming necessary to defend the integrity of Laos against outside intervention SEATO has made preparations so as to be able to act promptly within the framework of the Manila treaty.

MINISTERIAL MEETING, WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 28

Press release 678 dated September 28

Taking advantage of the presence in the United States of the Foreign Ministers of many of the SEATO member nations for the opening of the Fourteenth General Assembly of the United Nations, the SEATO Council held an informal meeting in Washington today.

The meeting provided an opportunity for the discussion of significant world developments since the last regular Council Meeting in April.³ There was no formal agenda and views were exchanged on a wide range of topics.

Certain provisions of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty⁴ apply to Laos and particular attention was devoted to the current situation in that country.

The SEATO member nations are united in their determination to abide by their Treaty obligations and will, of course, continue to follow closely any developments that threaten the peace and stability of the Treaty Area.

All members of SEATO are also members of the United Nations. Article VI of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty specifies that the Treaty is not meant to affect the responsibility of the United Nations to insure international peace and security. Accordingly, the SEATO Council fully supports the prompt action of the United Nations Security Council in response to the appeal of the Royal Laotian Government.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

17th Session of ECE Timber Committee

The Department of State announced on October 2 (press release 694) the designation of George Corydon Wagner, Sr., vice president and treasurer

³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1959, p. 602.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1954, p. 393.

of the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Co. of Tacoma, Wash., as the U.S. delegate to the 17th session of the Timber Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), scheduled to be held at Geneva, October 12-16.

Discussions at this session will be devoted to a review of the market and prospects for European timber and wood products and to a consideration of various technical aspects of the industry.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Health

Amendments to articles 24 and 25 of the World Health Organization Constitution of July 22, 1946 (TIAS 1808). Adopted by the Twelfth World Health Assembly, Geneva May 28, 1959. Enters into force when accepted by two-thirds of the members in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Acceptances deposited: Haiti, August 10, 1959; Australia, August 12, 1959.

Telecommunication

International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.

Ratification deposited: Costa Rica, August 24, 1959.

Weather

Convention of the World Meteorological Organization. Done at Washington October 11, 1947. Entered into force March 23, 1950. TIAS 2052.

Accession deposited: Iran, September 30, 1959.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Acceptance deposited: Indonesia, September 22, 1959.

BILATERAL

Belgium

Agreement amending the agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy of June 15, 1955, as amended (TIAS 3301, 3738). Signed at Washington July 22, 1959. Entered into force September 29, 1959.

Burma

Agreement amending the economic cooperation agreement of March 21, 1957 (TIAS 3931). Effected by exchange of notes at Rangoon September 12, 1959. Entered into force September 12, 1959.

Cuba

Convention for the conservation of shrimp. Signed at Habana August 15, 1958. Entered into force September 4, 1959.

Proclaimed by the President: September 16, 1959.

Norway

Agreement amending annex C of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950 (TIAS 2016). Effected by exchange of notes at Oslo August 31 and September 9, 1959. Entered into force September 9, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

President Designates Officers To Act as Secretary of State

White House press release dated September 30

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on September 30 approved an Executive order which establishes the order of succession for principal officers in the Department of State in case of the death, resignation, absence, or sickness of the Secretary of State. This order, which supersedes a previous Executive order on the subject,¹ is occasioned by Public Law 86-117, approved July 30, 1959, which makes provision for an alternate title for the third-ranking officer of the Department of State.

The following designated officers of the Department are now authorized to act, in the order of succession indicated, as Secretary of State until a successor is appointed, or until the absence or sickness of the incumbent shall cease:

1. Under Secretary of State.
2. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.
3. Deputy Under Secretaries of State in the order designated by the Secretary or Acting Secretary of State or according to their lengths of service.
4. Assistant Secretaries of State in the order designated by the Secretary or Acting Secretary or according to their lengths of service.

The order also notes that, pursuant to law, any

¹ For text of Executive Order 10791 of Nov. 28, 1958, see BULLETIN of Dec. 22, 1958, p. 1031.

officer specified by the President shall act as Secretary of State.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10839²

DESIGNATING CERTAIN OFFICERS TO ACT AS SECRETARY OF STATE

By virtue of authority vested in me by section 179 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S.C. 6), and as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

In case of the death, resignation, absence, or sickness of the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State, the following-designated officers of the Department of State shall, in the order of succession indicated, act as Secretary of State until a successor is appointed or until the absence or sickness of the incumbent shall cease:

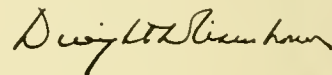
1. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs or Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, as may be designated by the President pursuant to the act of July 30, 1959, 73 Stat. 266.

2. Deputy Under Secretaries of State, (a) in such order of succession as the Secretary of State (or the Under Secretary of State when acting as Secretary) may by order designate from time to time, or (b) if no such designation order is in effect at the time, in the order of the lengths of service as Deputy Under Secretaries.

3. Assistant Secretaries of State, (a) in such order of succession as the Secretary of State (or the Under Secretary of State when acting as Secretary) may by order designate from time to time, or (b) if no such designation order is in effect at the time, in the order of the lengths of service as Assistant Secretaries.

The President may at any time, in pursuance of law but without regard to the foregoing provisions of this order, direct that an officer specified by the President shall act as Secretary of State.

Executive Order No. 10791 of November 28, 1958, is hereby superseded.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
September 30, 1959.

Designations

William A. Crawford as director, Office of Research and Analysis for Sino-Soviet Bloc, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, effective September 29.

Arthur B. Emmons III as deputy director, Office of Southwest Pacific Affairs, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, effective October 1.

Lewis E. Gleeck, Jr., as special assistant, SEATO Affairs, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, effective October 1.

² 24 Fed. Reg. 7939.

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Release issued prior to September 28 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 674 of September 25.

No.	Date	Subject
677	9/28	Visit of Polish Minister of Agriculture.
678	9/28	SEATO communique.
679	9/28	Visit of Prime Minister Segni of Italy (rewrite).
†680	9/29	Rubottom: "Hemispheric Progress Based on Understanding."
*681	9/29	Educational exchange (Guatemala).
*682	9/29	Cultural exchange (Brazil).
683	9/30	Dillon: news conference statement on Soviet trade (combined with No. 687).
684	9/30	Renegotiation of textile concessions by Canada.
†685	9/30	Closing of U.S. consulate at Niagara Falls.
*686	9/30	Cultural exchange (Brazil).
687	9/30	Dillon: news conference of September 30.
688	9/30	Nixon and Segni: exchange of greetings.
†689	9/30	Educational exchange agreement with U.A.R.
690	10/1	French removal of discrimination against dollar imports.
*691	10/1	Itinerary of Polish Minister of Agriculture.
692	10/1	Berding: D.C. League of Republican Women.
†693	10/2	Photographic exhibition of Korean monuments (rewrite).
694	10/2	Delegate to ECE Timber Committee (rewrite).
695	10/2	U.S.-Italian joint communique.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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the
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President Eisenhower's European Trip

August–September 1959

On August 26 President Eisenhower left the United States for a 13-day visit to Europe to confer on matters of mutual interest with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of Germany, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan of Great Britain, President Charles de Gaulle of France, and other European leaders. The principal statements made by the President as well as those of various European leaders with whom he met, together with joint communiques and letters relevant to the President's visit, are contained in this 36-page pamphlet.

Publication 6888

20 cents

Foreign Ministers Meeting

Geneva, May–August 1959

This documentary publication on the recent Geneva Meeting of Foreign Ministers includes all the substantive statements made in the plenary sessions, together with important statements made outside the Conference by President Eisenhower and other officials, as well as certain other important related papers. Also included are the reports made to the American people by Secretary of State Herter before and after each of the two phases of the Conference; lists of the delegations and adviser groups attending it; and a table of all East-West meetings held as part of the Conference.

Publication 6882

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Vol. XLI, No. 1061

October 26, 1959

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THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

VOL. XLI, No. 1061 • PUBLICATION 6901

October 26, 1959

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

Strengthening the Foundations of Freedom in the Far East

by Under Secretary Dillon¹

I am happy to be here with you tonight and to have this timely opportunity to review recent developments in the Far East. You have been privileged during your conference to hear some of Asia's most distinguished leaders talk of their policies and problems in frank and constructive terms. I, in turn, wish to discuss United States policies toward the Far East and to outline the manner in which they are helping to strengthen the foundations of freedom in that important area of the world.

One year ago, almost to the day, the late John Foster Dulles stood before this same Council during the height of the sustained Chinese Communist attacks in the Taiwan Straits. He defined with unmistakable clarity the stakes involved in that attack. He said,²

What is involved is a Communist challenge to the basic principle of peace that armed force should not be used for aggression. Upon the observance and enforcement of that principle depends world order everywhere.

Secretary Dulles declared that the United States would stand firm and not retreat in the face of armed aggression. We, and our ally, the Government of the Republic of China, stood firm. The challenge was met, and the Communist resort to naked force failed of its goal. Ten million human beings on Taiwan were not delivered into slavery.

You will recall that at this time last year the

United States, in accordance with the obligations of the United Nations Charter, also reiterated its guiding philosophy of readiness to settle this dispute "by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered." We then welcomed the move by the Chinese Communist Premier, Chou En-lai, to resume bilateral ambassadorial talks begun at Geneva in 1955 and expressed the hope that an acceptable cease-fire could be arranged.³

Shortly thereafter this reiteration of peaceful intent was reinforced by President Eisenhower when he suggested, in correspondence with Chairman Khrushchev, that the Soviet Union urge the Chinese Communists to turn to a policy of peaceful settlement in the Taiwan area.⁴

Developments in Taiwan Area

Now, in retrospect, what was the net result of the tumultuous events in the Taiwan area during the autumn of 1958?

I would answer that a potential war was averted by our firm stand against the Chinese Communist use of force.

Since then the heavy Red bombardment of August 1958 has dwindled to token shelling on a senseless, alternate-day basis. While tensions have been somewhat relaxed, basic fears of irrational and explosive behavior by the Chinese Communists persist.

The Peiping regime has demonstrated abso-

¹ Address made before the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, Inc., at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 7 (press release 706).

² BULLETIN of Oct. 13, 1958, p. 561.

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 29, 1958, p. 481.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

lutely no disposition to make the slightest move toward an agreement on a cease-fire or a renunciation of force. Its recalcitrance at the negotiating table has been maintained since the talks were resumed at Warsaw more than a full year ago. The depth of the Peiping regime's contempt for world opinion became fully apparent this past spring, when it cruelly and ruthlessly extinguished the last vestiges of freedom in Tibet. The Dalai Lama fled to India in order to preserve the symbol of the spiritual and temporal resistance of the courageous Tibetan people. This gross shock to Asian and world sensibilities was still reverberating when Peiping unleashed a torrent of abuse against one of the world's most dedicated men, India's Prime Minister Nehru. That action, coupled with incursions across the frontier into Indian territory, compounded the shocked dismay produced by the brutal massacres in Tibet.

Question of Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

Very recently we have had cause to hope that at long last the Communists were preparing to put aside the use of threats and force to achieve their objectives. We recall the joint communique at Camp David wherein President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev agreed that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation."⁵

Then Mr. Khrushchev flew to Peiping for the 10th anniversary celebration of the Chinese Communist regime. In his three major addresses at Peiping he counseled against the use of force, repeating some of the peace and disarmament themes he had used here in the United States.

I regret having to report that the initial Chinese Communist reaction was not encouraging. For the Chinese Communist authorities appear to have heavily edited Chairman Khrushchev's speeches in the initial domestic output of their controlled radio. Deleted were Khrushchev's strictures against "testing the capitalist system by force," against waging "predatory wars," and against "imposing socialism by force of arms" because "the people would not understand."

Instead, the population of mainland China and the Chinese Communist armed forces were

treated to an order of the day by Chinese Communist Defense Minister Lin Piao, at the October 1 National Day parade in Peiping, in which Lin Piao attacked the alleged "aggressive schemes" of the United States. He then proclaimed that no foreign countries would be allowed to interfere in Peiping's so-called "liberation" of Taiwan. These words were echoed by other Chinese Communist leaders, including Liu Shao-chi, the Chairman, or chief of state, of the Chinese Communist regime.

In the light of the Chinese Communist record of the last decade—and especially that of the past year—these pronouncements forbid any optimism on the future of Peiping's foreign policy. Too fresh in our memories are the attacks on the offshore islands, Tibet, Laos, the borders of India—the intensive hate-America campaigns, and the institution of the commune system with its militaristic overtones.

But in spite of all this we still must hope that the Chinese Communist overlords will, after reflection, heed the advice of the Soviet Union, whose leadership over the international Communist movement they themselves recognize, and adhere to Chairman Khrushchev's proposition that differences must be settled by negotiation and *not* by force.

Of special import is the stepping up by the Chinese Communists of their propaganda attacks against the United States, while, at the same time, they continue to emphasize their close ties with the Soviet Union and their subordination to their senior partner in what they call the "great camp of peace, democracy, and socialism headed by the Soviet Union." If we are to believe the Communists' own reiterated recognition of Soviet leadership, then the men in the Kremlin must share responsibility for Peiping's actions.

The time has come for all of us, on both sides of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, to face squarely the issue of whether we can afford to permit *any* dispute *anywhere* to be settled by recourse to arms. We firmly reject attempts by Communist leaders to justify what they call "just, revolutionary wars" or "wars of liberation." War is war, no matter where or why it may be fought. Peace also is indivisible. Peace is not the prerogative of the Communists alone, nor can it be applied only to areas outside the immediate concern of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

There can be no glossing over the danger that an attempt to seize Taiwan and the offshore islands is just as likely to embroil the world community in total war as is the launching of any other type of war.

There can be no exceptions in the matter of peaceful settlement of disputes.

Once this fact adequately impresses itself upon the thinking of our shrinking planet and is reflected in its actions and outlook everywhere, there will assuredly be an atmosphere conducive to the broad-scale disarmament and peaceful progress so fervently desired by all men of good will.

We earnestly hope Peiping will see the light.

The Asian Revolution

I am confident that our hope is shared by the peoples of free Asia, who are crying out today for economic and social progress. They are driving for greater freedom for the human spirit. They are reaching out for a larger share of the good things of life. They are at the beginning stage of the continuing Asian revolution, a profound social and political upheaval which has drawn much of its inspiration from our own liberal revolution. It is marked by a surging tide of nationalism which is wiping out old landmarks, casting aside outworn institutions, and eliminating social inequities. In their stead, free Asia's leaders, who are struggling to build new, just, and abundant societies, are adopting and adapting many of the social, intellectual, political, and material aspects of our own democratic tradition. With energy and tenacity of purpose the free nations of the area have vastly enlarged their possibility of achieving security, stability, and progress.

Their development is menaced by the new Chinese Communist imperialism. The United States, through SEATO and other mutual defense arrangements, stands ready to help the free peoples of Asia throw back Communist aggression. But how much better if we could concentrate our efforts entirely on cooperative programs for their social and economic progress!

United States policy is designed to promote the independence of the free nations of Asia and to help them build strong and free societies. The basic purpose of this policy is to assure that the continuing Asian social revolution will not falter because of a lack of understanding or too feeble a response.

Building Mutual Understanding

Mutual understanding is being built in myriad ways. Our contacts with free Asia are wider now than at any time in the past. Our officials meet with theirs in Asia, in the United States, at the United Nations, and at scores of international councils dealing with all matters affecting our daily lives and the future of our interdependent world. Our citizens are traveling, working, and studying in Asian countries in larger numbers than ever before. Asian architecture influences our housing. Asian art and culture are under-

President Eisenhower Sends Greetings to Far East-America Council

*Message of President Eisenhower*¹

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, October 7, 1959

It is a pleasure to send my greetings to those attending the 12th Annual Far East Conference of the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry.

Throughout history, misunderstanding of the intent and capabilities of other peoples has been one of the chief causes of war. Mindful of this, the United States has in recent weeks taken new steps to increase understanding of our peaceful intent and of our determination and ability to stand fast by the principles of free men.

Lasting peace, however, is not built of understanding alone. It is reinforced by constant vigilance. In the face of existing conditions in the Far East, I want to reaffirm the constancy of our policies toward that area. I believe that developments are increasingly demonstrating the correctness of our position.

To vigilance and understanding which provide the groundwork of peace, there must be added the impetus of positive achievements. We Americans know this well and we are willing—indeed, eager—to contribute of our substance and labors, where they are wanted, in the mutual building of a better world. The endeavors and deliberations here in the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry are, I firmly believe, representative of what should be done on an ever-increasing scale—a combining of Asian and American energies and ideas on the part of private enterprises, individual citizens and governments. This is a joint effort which is filled with promise for mankind.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

¹ Read by Under Secretary Dillon before the Far East-America Council at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 7 (press release 707).

stood and admired by Americans. Asian leaders are enabled to see at first hand the workings of our governmental and private institutions. Asia is no longer a far-off romantic mystery to Americans, and America is no longer a remote dream to Asians. We have mutually learned that interdependence is essential to freedom and progress.

Asian eagerness for betterment, which sometimes borders on impatience, is something you sense as you travel through the area. Last spring, while enroute to the SEATO Council meeting in New Zealand and to the United States chiefs of mission conference at Baguio in the Philippines, I could feel the electric nature of this driving force.

Although the chief purpose of calling our ambassadors to Baguio was to examine the problems of the area stemming from the menace of Communist China, we found ourselves more often discussing how we could help the Asians to help themselves. We examined the weaknesses of free Asia: the lack of capital, the problems growing out of multiplying populations, the continuing shortage of Asians skilled in the arts of government, industry, and technology. But we did so as the basis of a search for ways in which orderly progress and development could be achieved.

It was the consensus of the conference that great progress is indeed being made in free Asia but that final attainment of the aspirations of the peoples of the area could only be accomplished in an atmosphere of peace and freedom from attack.

The methods through which we and Asia work together—the mutual security program, the Development Loan Fund, trade, multilateral endeavors such as the U.N.'s ECAFE [Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East] and the Colombo Plan—are known to you all and have been examined in your panels during the past 2 days. By the time you convene again a year from now, it is my hope that another cooperative project will be ready to play an active part in man's historic struggle against poverty and disease. I refer to the new International Development Association, an American initiative which last week was approved in principle by the 68 member nations of the World Bank.⁶ The IDA would be truly international in character and would provide a means whereby all of the prospering nations of the free world could join in contributing to the financial needs of the newly developing areas. It merits your careful study and active support.

The Asian revolution has made an auspicious beginning, but it is only a beginning. Its continuing success will depend in no small measure upon us and upon the other economically advanced nations of the free world. We must persevere in our efforts to help strengthen the foundations of freedom in the Far East and to build upon these foundations the progress, enlightenment, and mutual relationships needed to meet communism's challenge to freedom and progress.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 541.

Secretary Herter's News Conference of October 6

Press release 703 dated October 6

Secretary Herter: Ladies and gentlemen, there is one question that I suspect might come up during the course of this conference, and I am taking the liberty of answering it even before it is posed, and that has to do with a possible summit conference.

We have been communicating with our allies on the various subjects brought up between the President and Chairman Khrushchev at Camp David.¹ Among these is a possible summit conference. The matter of a summit conference, and when or where it might be held, is, as the President said last week, a subject for consultation with other nations. Until that process has been completed, I cannot properly say anything further.

I realize that this may be a somewhat cryptic answer—copies of it will be available²—but that is the answer to that question.

Q. Can you say, Mr. Secretary, when that process might be completed? Is it a matter of days, weeks, or months?

A. I can't tell you.

Q. Mr. Secretary, would you care to sum up for us the points of value in the Khrushchev visit and discussions of the Chairman with President Eisenhower, in the way of second thoughts, since a week has elapsed since the Premier has left this country?

A. I take it that that question is on points of value. That, it seems to me, would have to be answered in two parts. First, the short-range value: I think that the meetings did have value in

easing to some degree existing tensions. I think that they had value in allowing the President and Mr. Khrushchev to get to know each other better as individuals. And I gather from such statements as have been made by Mr. Khrushchev since he left the United States that he is publicly stating that he has a very high regard for the President. I think the trip as a whole had value in that certainly Mr. Khrushchev must have seen a good many different facets of American life with which he had not previously been familiar, and undoubtedly that had its good points.

With respect to the substance of the conversations themselves, as you have been informed by the President and by the communique, the decisions, particularly with respect to Berlin, certainly have eased the question of any threat in connection with further negotiations that might be undertaken.

With respect to disarmament, which was discussed only in very general terms, as I understand it, between the President and Mr. Khrushchev, there was certainly in Mr. Khrushchev's attitude a degree of real sincerity, which, of course, has to be balanced against the proposal itself, as it was made at the United Nations, and as it has sometimes, rather skeptically I think, been termed a propaganda document.

From a long-range point of view I think it still remains to be seen how valuable the visit has been. On that score, I can only say that time will tell, but I would like to be optimistic.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you give us your views on the present United Arab Republic position with respect to barring Israel's ships, or those ships carrying Israel commodities, through the Suez Canal, and would you favor a Middle East summit meeting between Arab and Israel leaders?

A. With respect to the first part of that question, I expressed myself, I think, very succinctly

¹ For text of a joint communique issued on Sept. 27 at the conclusion of talks between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

² The above paragraph was also released separately as press release 702 dated October 6.

at the United Nations.³ With respect to the second part of the question, we feel that this matter is one, of course, primarily between Israel and the U.A.R. But I am sure that we would welcome mutually acceptable direct conversations between the Egyptians and the Israelis with respect to points of issue between them.

Question of Negotiations on Berlin

Q. Mr. Secretary, you have just said that the talks at Camp David with respect to Berlin have eased the situation with respect to any threat toward future negotiations. In your speech before the United Nations, which happened before the Camp David talks, you said it was only after this threat had been withdrawn that the Western Powers agreed to negotiate in the interest of peaceful exchange.

A. Yes, the threat had been withdrawn, but only temporarily, as you may recall it. And the point we were negotiating about at the end was a temporary settlement over Berlin. And, actually, the breaking point in those discussions came when we could receive no assurances from the Russians that if negotiations were resumed, after "x" period of time, our rights would not be impaired.

Q. So that was the point on which we broke off the talks, that there existed a new threat during the Berlin talks?

A. Yes, it was made clear that they would give no assurances that, after a given period of time for a modus vivendi for Berlin, if negotiations were resumed our rights would remain unimpaired.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you have spoken, of course, of the easing of tensions due to the withdrawal of the threat. Now do you have any specific information that would give you any hope that we have any more chance of reaching an agreement on Berlin and on Germany at the summit meeting than we had at the Geneva conference last summer?

A. No, I can't say that I can give you that assurance.

Q. Mr. Secretary, since the Santiago conference,⁴ do you think that the Caribbean situa-

tion and the general political problems have eased enough so that the hemisphere can settle down to tackle basic economic problems again?

A. Well, I think the Santiago conference and the resolutions that came out of that, and the steps that were taken with respect to the Peace Commission were very helpful. I can judge only by the fact that, with respect to the activities in the Caribbean that had assumed somewhat alarming proportions, there has been no resumption of those activities since the Santiago conference. So that I am hopeful that that situation will continue.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] conference will meet tomorrow—the former Baghdad Pact.⁵ Can you tell us what you expect that conference to accomplish and whether the United States is planning any particular initiatives at that conference?

A. Well, as you know, this is a regularly scheduled conference of the Baghdad Pact in which we agreed to act as host here. On the agenda, as far as I know, there are no specific new matters. I think that there will be a general review of the overall situation. I think there will be a very free interchange of opinion. I am hopeful that the CENTO activities in which we have participated will be felt by the member nations to have made real progress in strengthening the area.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Secretary General of CENTO, Mr. [M. O. A.] Baig, said again the other day at a news conference that he wishes the United States would join the organization. Could you tell us at this point why the United States will not join it now, as a full member rather than as an observer?

A. Yes. That matter has been considered very carefully. We have considered our relationships with other nations of the area. We have considered domestic problems. And, on balance, we have decided that we can probably be of more assistance in maintaining tranquillity and helping to develop that area by remaining as an observer rather than as a full member.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Mr. [Dean] Acheson said in Germany yesterday, or the day before, that Allied rights in Berlin were fundamental and, in effect, not negotiable. Can you tell us what, on the sub-

³ BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 467.

⁴ Ibid., Aug. 31, 1959, p. 299, and Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

⁵ See p. 581.

ject of Berlin, you think could be negotiated without compromising Allied rights?

A. No. At this stage of the game I would rather not go into the possible permutations and combinations. I think we made it pretty clear at Geneva as to what we considered were matters of principle on which we would not negotiate or not give. But from the point of view of details within that framework, I would rather not go into that. Obviously, this is a matter for consultation and not for us to advance a particular plan at this time.

Communist China

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you see any easing of tension in the Far East as a result of Mr. Khrushchev's visit here or of his visit to Peiping?

A. Well, it is hard to tell. I would say that I can see no visible easing of tensions as between Chinese Communists and ourselves. They repeated their statement with respect to Taiwan, and they repeated a number of times a statement with regard to the attitude of the United States—"imperialist" attitude and the "aggressive" attitude of the United States.

With respect to Mr. Khrushchev's handling of himself in Peiping, there were things of very real interest. There was no question but that he talked quite eloquently with respect to the solution of international problems by peaceful means. He indicated that it was the attitude of the Soviet Government—and he referred in that particular case to his own Government—to try to work out international problems along these lines. He clearly was not speaking for the Communist Chinese at that point.

Perhaps equally interesting was the fact that Mr. Mao [Tse-tung] never made any statement at all, either on Mr. Khrushchev's arrival or on his departure, at the time that Mr. Khrushchev made some statements at the airport, nor at any time during the conference. These matters, naturally, are difficult to evaluate, but they would seem to indicate that perhaps Mr. Khrushchev and the Soviet Government of Russia are taking a rather different line from the point of view of the solution of international problems from that of the Communist Chinese.

Q. Under what circumstances would you consider diplomatic relations with the Communist

regime of China? What conditions do you regard as necessary for diplomatic recognition?

A. Well, we have never laid out specific conditions. We have often enumerated, as Mr. Robertson did at the United Nations,⁶ some of the very basic difficulties that have grown up between us. The continued imprisonment contrary to signed agreement of five American citizens in China is one. The continuing overt threat to use force against Taiwan is another. The continued condemnation as an aggressor of the Chinese Communists by the United Nations is the third. I wouldn't say that that was an exclusive list, and I wouldn't want to say that we would necessarily recognize Communist China if all of those conditions were rectified, but they are among some of the very real grievances that we have and it makes us feel that it is not in our national interest to recognize the Chinese Communists at this time.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the President suggested that Mr. Khrushchev might mention the five prisoners in China when he got there. Have we had any word about whether or not he did?

A. No, we have had no word on that.

Disarmament

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said that you were convinced that Mr. Khrushchev was sincere in what he said about disarmament. In the talks at Camp David did the Russians give any indication at all of what they are prepared to do on control and inspection?

A. No, there were no detailed discussions of control and inspection. That has been the stumbling block of any successful negotiations on this subject, and nothing was said in regard to specifics in that matter.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you consider that the threat to Berlin, about which you were talking earlier, has now been indefinitely lifted or permanently lifted? What phrasing would you use?

A. I presume that the word "indefinitely" is better than the word "permanently." "Indefinitely" was the word that was used in connection

⁶ BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 517.

with the prolongation of the conversations—that they would not be prolonged indefinitely.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in regard to the nuclear test ban negotiations, there was nothing in the communique on that subject. Was that discussed at Camp David in any detail?

A. As far as I know it was not discussed between the President and Mr. Khrushchev. It was discussed by myself with Mr. [Andrei] Gromyko [Soviet Foreign Minister], and no new light was shed on reaching agreement there.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you have said that Red China and the Soviet Union seemed to be taking a different foreign policy line. What do you see in the immediate and distant future as far as their relations are concerned? Will there be a split, or will they make up, or what is going to happen?

A. Well, I would rather not begin prophesying what is going to happen there. How deep the differences run is very difficult to gage. Certainly from the point of view of outward appearances I would imagine they would continue to indicate they are working very closely together and are good friends. I think all we can do is watch very carefully the development of their relationship and probably have to accumulate considerably more evidence before we could reach a definitive conclusion.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in their discussions at Camp David did Mr. Khrushchev exclude specifically from his agreement to forswear force in the settlement of international peace the question of Formosa or any other countries or areas which he would regard in the category of being "liberated"?

A. No, he didn't exclude any area, but, as you know from the President's press conference, he did express himself pretty strongly on the subject of Formosa.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Mr. Khrushchev insists that he never meant any threat to the Allies in Berlin in the first place. The West's conclusion is about 180 degrees opposite that. Against that background are you convinced that his interpretation of this withdrawal of threat indefinitely is the same as ours?

A. I don't think there is any difference of interpretation.

Q. Well, Mr. Secretary, do we regard the removal of the time limit in itself sufficient warrant to go to a summit meeting? Previously the President has always said there must be some indication of substantive agreement.

A. There I can only refer you to the President's own words in his press conference last week.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you feel there might have to be a reappraisal of the Western position on Berlin and Germany if the Labor Party is victorious in the British elections?

A. I wouldn't want to speculate on that.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there have been reports that a plan for Berlin was worked out at Camp David. Is there any substance to that?

A. No, no plan whatever for Berlin was worked out at Camp David, nor were specifics discussed as far as I know.

Q. Mr. Secretary, at the U.N. today the Soviet delegate said that our support of Turkey against Poland for the Security Council's seat amounted to a manifestation of the cold war. How does this line fit with the interpretation that we understood the Khrushchev talks left here that we were going to end this cold-war talk?

A. I don't know why the backing of one candidate against another for a U.N. seat should be considered as part of the cold war. That is Mr. [A. A.] Sobolev's interpretation; it is not ours. We don't consider that a part of the cold war in any way.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you have evidence of any progress being made toward a solution of the Algerian situation?

A. No, I don't think we have any information other than that which you have. I think that, of course, we are tremendously heartened by General de Gaulle's proposal, and I think that on the whole its reception and particularly the constructive and I think courageous attitude that Mr. [Habib] Bourguiba [President of Tunisia] has taken to be of assistance in this matter is most encouraging.

Q. Mr. Secretary, when you put the summit question aside by your statement, does that also put aside any question of a resumption of your foreign ministers meeting or any other sub-for-

eign-ministers-level discussions among the Allies with the Soviets?

A. Well, it would, yes, because in effect the question of the summit and then of foreign ministers meetings is somewhat allied from the point of view of when and how one begins resuming negotiation.

Q. There is now, then, no timetable of any kind of any negotiation with the Soviet Union at any level? Is that correct?

A. I think I gave you my answer in the very first statement.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you define the American position as to its responsibility for training troops in Laos?

A. Well, as you know, we have some technicians in Laos who are working with the French, who have the responsibility for the training of the troops in Laos.

Q. Sir, is it true that we cannot train these people beyond the 30-caliber weapons?

A. I couldn't tell you what the limitation is on weapons. The Geneva accord, I think, has restricted the army in size and in weapons to what was required for internal purposes, and I can't tell you just what the caliber of the restrictions might have been.

Q. Mr. Secretary, sir, regarding weapons, the West Germans to date have purposely avoided buying the big rockets, the big IRBM's. They have stuck to the purchase of small defensive weapons. Do you think this restraint is wise, or do you think they ought to build up and we should cooperate with them in sending IRBM's to West Germany?

A. That I would rather not say is wise or unwise. I assume what they are doing is in accordance with the NATO decision as to what presents the best balanced type of defensive posture in Europe.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if we can't talk about the summit conference, there is another type of meeting that the Foreign Minister of Colombia [Julio Cesar Turbay] proposed to you a week ago, namely, that the hemisphere foreign ministers meet each year shortly in advance of the U.N. General Assembly. Do you have any comment on that?

A. No, I think it's something that should certainly be explored. They have ministerial meetings, of course, on a regular basis every 5 years, and then they can be called in consultation whenever any situation would make that a desirable thing. Whether they should hold a regular annual meeting or not is something that I imagine they will discuss among themselves at the Quito conference in February.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if I might return to what you said about Israel and the U.A.R., has there been any development in the Middle East that would lead you to suppose that a conversation, a direct conversation, between Israel and the U.A.R. might be possible?

A. I have no knowledge of any. What happened at the United Nations, the offer that was made by Israel to undertake discussions at any time with the U.A.R., free from any prearranged condition, at least raises the question anew. Whether it is going to be possible to reach agreement for that type of discussion, I don't know. I merely said that, if they could reach agreement and could get into that kind of discussion, we would welcome it.

*Q. Mr. Secretary, is there any timetable for bilateral negotiations with the Russians, such as the lend-lease matter?*¹

A. No, no timetable.

Definition of Threat to Berlin

Q. Mr. Secretary, would you spell out a little bit more in detail what you mean when say the Camp David talks eased the threat to Berlin, and particularly would you define what the threat to Berlin is, or was?

A. Well, the threat to Berlin, as it was stated and has been restated on several occasions, was that the Russians would draw up a peace treaty with the East Germans and would transfer to the East Germans all the rights of sovereignty in the routes of access to Berlin; that thereafter the obligations which the Russians undertook to maintain the open communications for the people of West Berlin, whether they were persons or goods or

¹ For background, see the transcript of Under Secretary Dillon's news conference of Sept. 30, *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 547.

communications, would then be transferred to the East Germans. But if we made any move to maintain our own rights as against the East Germans, the Russians would then support the East Germans. That was the threat that was made.

Q. That goes back to November of last year.⁸

A. That's right.

Q. But the Soviet position still is, I believe, that the West should get out of Berlin. So in that respect, I suppose the threat to Berlin remains?

A. The Russian position, as I understand it, is that the occupation status of our troops in Berlin should not be perpetuated forever.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if we can try once more on the question of negotiations for a summit conference, do you expect these to bear any fruit before the President's return visit to the Soviet Union next year?

A. Oh, I couldn't tell you on that.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there seems to have been a backing away from saying, since the Camp David talks, that occupation troops would remain in Berlin until the reunification of Germany.

A. There has been no change.

Q. Has there been a change in that position?

A. No.

Q. Do we intend to maintain occupation troops, the Western Powers, in Berlin until the reunification is accomplished?

A. That is the position we have taken, and we see no reason to move away from it.

Soviet Responsibility as Leader of Communist World

Q. Mr. Secretary, how do you reconcile what you said about the possibility of a split between Russia and China on foreign policy and the statement by the Chinese or the communique at the end of Khrushchev's visit there that they acknowledge Khrushchev as head of the Communist world?

A. Well, that was a very difficult one to explain. There is no question in our mind that that demand for recognition as the leader of the Communist world places upon the Russians a degree

of responsibility for the actions of other members of the bloc that is very real.

Q. Mr. Secretary, before Mr. Khrushchev came to this country, he seemed to be represented as being almost obsessed with the need of such a visit and a summit conference. Since he has achieved this visit, do we have any indication that his insistence on a summit conference has eased?

A. No, I wouldn't say that it has eased. I think he has always wanted a summit conference. I think that the President made it very clear that as a result of what happened at Camp David some of the real objections that he had to holding a summit conference have been removed.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said that this Soviet leadership posture in the Communist bloc placed a degree of responsibility on the Russians in the actions of other members of the bloc. Was that point made to Mr. Khrushchev by the President during the talks?

A. I think it has been made a number of times. I think Mr. Khrushchev appreciates the fact that we feel that they have a great degree of responsibility for the actions of other members of the bloc.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is there any inconsistency in your statement just a few moments ago that we have not separated the Berlin issue from the whole issue of German reunification and President Eisenhower's statement at his last news conference that the Berlin situation was an abnormal situation?

A. There is nothing inconsistent in that. Mr. Couve de Murville, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, and I all agreed in Geneva that it was an abnormal situation, that it was abnormal in that you still had occupation troops after a period of 14 years, that likewise it was a free city surrounded by an inimical Communist group and that was an abnormal situation. We have never denied that for a moment.

Q. Has it not been our position though that it was abnormal because the division of Germany was abnormal?

A. We have certainly taken that position.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I wonder if we can get this Berlin thing a little clearer. You have defined

⁸ For text of the Soviet note of Nov. 27 and the U.S. reply, see *ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1959, p. 79.

the threat to Berlin and then you have defined our position and you said the Russians have withdrawn the threat. Have they said they will not now withdraw their troops and hand over authority? Or just what is the situation? Or did they just postpone the threat?

A. What they have said is that they put no time limit on the negotiations, which in effect meant that there would be no unilateral action on their part, while the negotiations are continuing.

Q. But this is still their goal, to hand it over to the East Germans?

A. It is very much their goal. In fact, there was a message from Mr. Khrushchev to the East Germans sent, I think today, congratulating them on the valiant stand that they are making to get rid of the occupation forces in Berlin.

Q. Mr. Secretary, were you saying, in effect, to

Mr. [Chalmers] Roberts, a minute ago, that we would hold Russia responsible for the action of other Communist nations? Was that the effect of your remark to him, sir?

A. To a degree they are responsible, as long as they are maintaining this position of being the leader in the bloc and insisting, as they seem to have each time they go to China, that the Chinese recognize that leadership.

Q. Do you mean by that, sir, that in the view of American policy the Soviet Government has some responsibility for China's action toward Korea, or Formosa, or Laos, specific places of that kind?

A. A degree of responsibility, as long as they maintain that they are the leaders of the bloc.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Central Treaty Organization Holds Ministerial Meeting at Washington

The seventh session of the Ministerial Council of the Central Treaty Organization (formerly the Baghdad Pact) was held at Washington, D.C., October 7-9. Following are texts of the welcoming remarks made by Vice President Nixon on October 7, a statement made by Secretary Herter at the opening meeting, the final communique, and a declaration on the Communist propaganda campaign against Iran, together with a list of the U.S. observer delegation.

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT NIXON

It is a very great pleasure for me to welcome to Washington the distinguished representatives of the states of the Central Treaty Organization.¹ And not only is it a pleasure in my official position but also because my wife and I have had the privilege of visiting each of the countries who are

represented in this meeting today and of being warmly received as the representatives of the people and the Government of the United States, and therefore I welcome the opportunity to extend our greetings to you on this occasion. To you, Mr. Secretary General [M.O.A. Baig], and the members of your staff, we extend an equally warm welcome.

The people and the Government of the United States are pleased that the first meeting of the CENTO Council under its new name is here in our Nation's capital.

Development of Collective Security

Twice in our century mankind has suffered the devastating scourge of global war. In the wake of the physical and moral desolation that is inevitably its aftermath we have had cause to reflect upon its futility. It has spurred our search for more constructive ways in resolving international disputes.

The close of World War II saw the establishment of the United Nations, which kindled our

¹ CENTO is an alliance between Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The United States, which participates in various CENTO activities, was represented by an observer delegation headed by Secretary Herter.

hopes that a new era of human understanding had begun. Then, as now, we hope this era will be one in which international society could make peacefully and with justice those adjustments required of it by the steady course of human progress. Thus the thousands of those who follow in our footsteps will enjoy to the fullest our God-given privilege of life and God-given opportunities free from fear. But peace, we have learned through long experience, cannot be taken for granted; to be maintained it must be waged vigorously, unceasingly, and courageously, and the responsibility for doing so rests with all free nations, each in accordance with its capability. Indeed, the awesome nature of modern technological developments has thrust upon us the consciousness of interdependence of nations as never before in human history.

The years since World War II have regrettably been marked by the continuous probing by international communism to impose its ideology and its domination on others. Free men and nations have had to meet this challenge everywhere. Many have responded to it by unifying their individual attempts in a single large effort. This is the genesis of collective security throughout the world. It is defensive in nature, it has been bred of an imperative need, and collective security requires sacrifice. It is no panacea for all problems. Yet it provides a firm foundation of combined strength which benefits us all. Further, it constitutes a solid basis from which we can fearlessly continue our never-ending efforts to resolve equitably and with firmness free-world differences with the Communist bloc.

The Central Treaty Organization, together with its sister organizations, NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] in Europe and SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] in southeast Asia, are significant manifestations of this regional collective assumption of responsibility to wage peace.

May I say in that connection that in view of recent world developments perhaps there might be in some quarters a tendency to suggest that we might relax our efforts among our various collective treaty organizations in view of the change in the world situation that some may seek. I think, as our Secretary of State pointed out very effectively in his press conference yesterday [October

6],² it is at least hopeful at the present time that we may have opened the road to negotiations on the question of Berlin. But, as he also pointed out, we must not have any illusions; as far as the basic differences are concerned—the positions that are taken—they remain the same as they were. And, as the Secretary General pointed out in his remarks this morning, the greater danger to independence, to freedom, which exists in many parts of the world, and particularly in the nations represented here, is not aggression across borders, but it is aggression which in effect goes beneath, through subversion, attempting to subvert the freely chosen governments which are involved.

Peaceful Competition

We hear a great deal about peaceful competition these days. We all welcome it, certainly, all the nations that are members of CENTO. We in the United States, in addition, welcome peaceful competition, but we also realize that if competition is to remain peaceful there must be rules of the game which all will follow. It must be fair, and there cannot be one set of rules by some and another set of rules by others.

In that connection we must also bear in mind that it is not enough to say that we rule out the use of force across the border and that competition thereby becomes peaceful, because the kind of subversion that has been described by the Secretary General here today certainly would endanger the concept of peaceful competition which we would all welcome in the event that we could agree to rules which we are to follow. CENTO has already played an important role in the rules to be followed. It forges new links of friendship among the nations of the world. Similarly it has established the basis of partnership between those nations and their Western friends, based on a mutual respect and complete equality.

Despite the natural differences of views and opinions which understandably arise on occasion among friends, CENTO stands today stronger than ever, and the American people recognize fully this is a reflection of the determination of its members to be and to remain free and independent. It is in this spirit of deep appreciation and complete confidence that the United States—our Govern-

² See p. 575.

ment, our people—welcomes the Council here today.

The United States has been closely associated with CENTO since its beginning almost 5 years ago. We have contributed materially and morally to strengthening the CENTO states' postures and to improving their economic capabilities, and may I emphasize, what I know you realize, that this has been done entirely without strings. Our interest in this program, in all of those in which we are engaged around the world, is to stand for the very independence which we have ourselves, and we want, as far as other nations are concerned, only the same opportunity that we have to remain independent, our people to be free.

I assure you that the United States will continue to support CENTO through all feasible and appropriate means. The American people will watch the Council's deliberations during these next few days with keen interest, and we are confident they will be crowned with success. You may be assured we will do our part to make it so. And when they have been concluded you also can be sure that you, each of you, will carry home with you the esteem, the good wishes, and the warm affection of the American people.

Thank you very much.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER

Press release 704 dated October 7

I join with Vice President Nixon in warmly welcoming to Washington this distinguished gathering of the Ministerial Council of the Central Treaty Organization. The Government of the United States, though an observer in CENTO, is pleased to be host to this session. Your presence here today is further attestation of the readiness of the United States to continue to give strong support to CENTO and its programs. It is also a source of deep personal satisfaction to me to have the opportunity to acquaint myself at first hand with the work of the CENTO association.

The United States has long enjoyed close relations with the several CENTO member states. Those with the United Kingdom are well known and require no elaboration here. There is perhaps less awareness of our valued relations with Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan. It seems appropriate, there-

fore, to dwell briefly on these relations. Growing out of many decades of mutually beneficial association between the peoples of these countries and private American citizens—businessmen, educators, doctors, missionaries, and others—they were forged to a new firmness in the difficult years which followed World War II. It was during this period, too, that Pakistan took its place as a respected member of the family of independent nations. Since that time, these three nations have been making great strides forward in developing themselves.

True to its traditions the United States wholeheartedly sympathized with these aspirations. Further, it lent moral and material aid to make their achievement possible. It has continued to do so. United States economic and military assistance programs to Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan have been substantial. Thus, for example, United States economic aid to these three countries in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1958, totaled approximately \$300 million. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, it amounted to approximately \$470 million—an increase of more than 50 percent.

The United States firmly believes that its aid programs have contributed materially to the strengthening of these three countries. These programs are developed in close consultation with the recipient states. They are not imposed. To the extent that appropriations and its other global commitments allow, the United States will continue to assist Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan in promoting their security and their economic development.

Flowing from all of this has been a growing affinity of interest between the United States and these countries and a greater understanding of each other's problems. Differences of emphasis occasionally arise. This is understandable even among friends. What is significant, however, is that the mutual trust which has developed between us enables any such differences to be resolved quickly and to our common satisfaction.

U.S. Association With CENTO

United States association with CENTO is yet another link in the chain of friendship which binds us to these states. It is an important link. It complements those close and valued direct re-

lations to which I have already referred. It has its origins in the recognition of the fact that at least some of our common objectives might usefully be furthered by peaceful collective effort as well as individual endeavor. The promotion and strengthening of peace and freedom throughout the world, the fostering of a respect for the dignity of the individual, the maintenance of national independence, and finally the creation of greater opportunities for the individual to improve his way of life—all of these transcend the relations between any two states and are rightly a shared concern of the family of nations. Collective security arrangements such as CENTO contribute materially toward achieving those objectives.

United States support of CENTO, both moral and material, has been given since the Organization was conceived almost 5 years ago. This support has not wavered. The United States participates actively in CENTO defense planning designed to assist the CENTO members to resist any Communist attempt to undermine their security and independence. Supplementing its massive bilateral assistance to the regional states, the United States supports CENTO's multilateral economic programs and is actively engaged in implementing various CENTO-endorsed projects.³ These are designed to further the concept of regionalism. Chief among them is the microwave telecommunications project which will link the three capitals of the regional states. When completed—and construction work is expected to begin later this year—this will be the longest single telecommunications network in the world.

Clearly, the United States cannot underwrite all CENTO economic projects. Indeed, it has honest doubts about the economic potential of some proposals. It will continue, however, to explore with the CENTO member states ways and means in which the United States may be able to help in this very important aspect of CENTO activities.

The bilateral executive agreements with the regional states were consummated earlier this year.⁴ These agreements reaffirmed the deter-

mination of the United States to continue the economic and military aid programs to these countries. Further, they assure United States support in case of Communist aggression. The agreements were developed in the context of existing congressional legislation, specifically the joint resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East and the Mutual Security Act. The United States firmly believes they go far toward meeting the acknowledged security requirements of the CENTO regional states. Moreover, they provide a suitable framework in which the United States can pursue its strong support of CENTO objectives.

These agreements are public documents. So is the CENTO treaty. They were concluded in accordance with article 51 of the United Nations Charter and support its purposes and principles. They are registered with the United Nations. Thus it is clear for all to see—who wish to see—that CENTO and United States association with it are purely defensive arrangements. They threaten no one. Their cardinal purpose is to deter aggression by strengthening the defensive capabilities of its members and by promoting their sound economic development in the interests of political stability.

Achievements of CENTO

CENTO has now been in existence for almost 5 years. Yet there are some who still profess to deny its significance. It may be appropriate, therefore, to pause for a moment and consider its achievements to date.

First, CENTO stands today as a symbol of the determination of its members to maintain their independence and of their unshakable belief that this can best be achieved through collective security.

Second, CENTO is a partnership which includes three of the great states of the Middle East region. The scope of this partnership is broad. It includes defense cooperation but also embraces political, economic, and cultural association. It is implemented through various media. Some, such as joint military exercises, attract the public eye through press comment. Others, while no less significant, have been pursued more quietly and are perhaps less well known. These are the

³ For a U.S. statement before the CENTO Economic Committee on Sept. 1, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 487.

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Mar. 23, 1959, p. 417.

numerous technical meetings at all levels, the active CENTO technical assistance program, joint efforts to relax visa restrictions among the regional states, trade promotion, the prevention of smuggling, and the many other spheres of constructive endeavor that CENTO has fostered. All contribute to the cross-fertilization of ideas. Thus, the effect of CENTO activities extends beyond formal governmental exchange. Its benefits seep down, gradually but surely, to the people as well. The United States is confident that from this association will develop a wider public understanding of common problems and of the very real value of sharing experience. The seed of close partnership has been sown. The roots have taken hold. It will require care and attention. If these are given, it promises to flourish even more fully in the years ahead.

Third, it has provided the framework for Western cooperation with the regional states. This cooperation is not based on outmoded concepts of foreign domination. Rather it is based on the twin pillars of mutual respect and complete equality among states. Its objective is simple—the maintenance of peace and justice.

The United States is convinced that CENTO has made good and sound progress. Some, to be sure, would like to accelerate the pace of CENTO activity. This deserves to be encouraged, for such impatience is a healthy phenomenon. Indeed, it is a spur to further accomplishment. Much constructive work remains to be done, but no one will forget the long road that the CENTO partnership has already traveled. With mutual confidence and common effort by all, CENTO can achieve its objectives. It will increasingly benefit the peoples whom it serves in the promotion of peace and stability. In this laudable endeavor, I repeat to you here, CENTO will continue to enjoy strong United States support.

Gentlemen, the United States observer delegation looks forward to participating in the deliberations of this conference and to making a constructive contribution to them.

Thank you.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Seventh Session of the Ministerial Council of the Central Treaty Organization was held in Washington

from October 7-9, 1959. The delegations from countries participating in this meeting were led by:

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| (i) H. E. Dr. Manouchehr Eghbal | Prime Minister of Iran |
| (ii) H. B. Mr. Manzur Qadir | Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, Pakistan |
| (iii) H. E. Mr. Adnan Menderes | Prime Minister of Turkey |
| (iv) H. E. Sir Harold Caccia,
G. C. M. G., K. C. V. O. | Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador to the United States |
| (v) The Hon. Christian A. Herter | Secretary of State, United States of America. |

Secretary Herter, as host, was in the chair.

The Session was inaugurated by the Honourable Richard M. Nixon, Vice President of the United States.

The Council recognized that the holding of a Ministerial Meeting in Washington for the first time was an open expression of the importance attached to the Central Treaty Organization by the United States Government and the American people and of the vital role of the United States in strengthening the efforts of the member States to guard their freedom by collective security. The Council welcomed the conclusion of bilateral agreements last March between the United States and the regional members. They noted with gratification the determination of the United States to assist the signatory nations to maintain their security and independence while simultaneously contributing to the enhancement of their economic potential.

This meeting of the Ministerial Council was the first to take place under the new name of the Organization. The name, Central Treaty Organization, signifies that the countries occupying a central area between the NATO and SEATO regions have confirmed their decision to join together for mutual defence and economic development.

In keeping with the tradition of free and frank expression of views at all its meetings, the Council conducted a review of the international situation as it affects the participating States.

The Council believed that the exchanges of visits between Western and Russian statesmen had brought nearer the possibility of reducing some of the tension of the cold war by re-opening negotiations on Berlin and disarmament. On the other hand there remain deep-seated causes of anxiety, and Communist activities continue unabated. The danger of subversion abetted by foreign propaganda, for instance, remains particularly acute. The members of CENTO are especially exposed to this danger because of their geographical position at one of the cross-roads of the world. The Council noted with concern the continuance of Soviet propaganda against Iran, and they have issued a separate declaration on this subject. The Council concluded that it was only by the exercise of constant vigilance, maintenance of their strength, and by solidarity with one another that they could hope to guard against these dangers and promote the reduction of international tension.

The Council emphasized that the Central Treaty Organization exists exclusively for defensive purposes,

that it threatens no one, and that it sincerely desires to have close and friendly relations with all other States, and particularly with the neighbouring States in the Region.

The establishment of a Permanent Military Deputies Group, to begin operation on January 1st, 1960, with headquarters in Ankara, was viewed by the Council as a further step by the CENTO countries to provide for their security and defence. The Council directed that the question of Command Structure be studied by the Military Committee and the results of its study be placed before the Council at its next meeting.

The Council reviewed the work of the Central Treaty Organization since the last Session of the Ministerial Council in Karachi in January 1959,⁵ and adopted the Reports of the Secretary General and the various Committees.

The opening of the Nuclear Centre in Tehran in June last by His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran and the commencement of courses for regional scientists in the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes in fields such as agriculture, medicine and industry, were noted with satisfaction.

The Council recognised that considerable progress had been made in the fields of bilateral and multilateral technical assistance. Increasingly effective use was being made of experts, fellowships and special equipment to meet common problems.

The construction of the modern microwave telecommunications link between regional capitals which began recently was noted by the Council with satisfaction. The Council gave its approval to three new Joint Projects, put forward by the Economic Committee—the Cizre-Hakkari-Shivelan road and the development of the Ports of Iskenderun and Trabzon.

The Council decided to hold its next Session in Tehran about the end of April 1960.

DECLARATION ON PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST IRAN

The Council have considered the propaganda campaign being conducted by the Communist bloc against Iran.

Since the last meeting of the Council this campaign has been greatly intensified, particularly in the field of radio broadcasting, and is still continuing. Communist broadcasts in Persian, for example, which now total 74 hours weekly, contain a high proportion of attacks against the Iranian Government. Overt Communist broadcasts have been supplemented by a clandestine station—calling itself “The National Voice of Iran” and broadcasting in Persian. It purports to operate from within Iran but is in fact located within Soviet territory in the Caucasus. This station is broadcasting particularly violent and abusive programmes which have not only included direct appeals to the Iranian people to overthrow their government, but

have violated the most elementary canons of international usage by making personal attacks on the Head of State.

The Council condemn this propaganda, which is markedly at variance with current efforts to reduce world tension. They express the hope that those responsible will in future comply with the Resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations on August 21, 1958, concerning non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.⁶

The Council express their admiration for the dignity and determination shown by his Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, the Iranian Government and people in standing firm and united in the face of these attacks.

U.S. OBSERVER DELEGATION

The Department of State announced on October 5 (press release 696) that Secretary of State Christian A. Herter would be the U.S. Observer to the meeting of the Ministerial Council of the Central Treaty Organization scheduled to be held at Washington, D.C., October 7–9. Following is a list of the other members of the delegation.

Alternate U.S. Observers

Robert Murphy, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Loy W. Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration

Senior Advisers

Leland Barrows, Regional Director for Near East and South Asia Operations, International Cooperation Administration

Andrew H. Berding, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

John N. Irwin II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

G. Lewis Jones, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

Harold Kehm, Department of State

Donald D. Kennedy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs

Robert H. Knight, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Jason Paige, Department of State

G. Frederick Reinhardt, Counselor of the Department of State

Lt. Gen. Elmer J. Rogers, United States Air Force

Gerard C. Smith, Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning

Gen. Nathan F. Twining, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Fletcher Warren, Ambassador to Turkey and Council Deputy

William H. Weathersby, Deputy Assistant Director (Near East, South Asia and Africa), U.S. Information Agency.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Mar. 2, 1959, p. 318.

⁶ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1958, p. 411.

President Eisenhower Talks With Prime Minister of Iran

White House press release dated October 9

The President today [October 9] had the pleasure of meeting with Prime Minister [Manuchehr] Eshgar of Iran, who represented his country at the Central Treaty Organization meeting which has just terminated.¹ There was a very useful and interesting discussion concerning matters of mutual interest.

The President told the Prime Minister that Iran's courageous and unyielding stand in the face of the intensive and unwarranted propaganda attacks of recent months has evoked the admiration of all free nations. The President reaffirmed United States support for the collective efforts of Iran and other free nations to maintain their independence. In stressing the gravity with which the United States would view a threat to the territorial integrity and political independence of Iran, the President recalled the provisions of the bilateral agreement of cooperation with Iran² and the joint resolution to promote peace and stability in the Middle East.³

Development Loans

Iran

The United States and Iran signed on October 7 at Washington, D.C., an agreement under which the Development Loan Fund will lend \$25 million to Iran to assist in financing the construction of 369 miles of highway in that country. For details, see Department of State press release 708 dated October 7.

¹ See p. 581.

² For background, see BULLETIN of Mar. 23, 1959, p. 416.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1957, p. 481.

President Designates U.S. Members of Permanent Court of Arbitration

The Department of State announced on October 5 (press release 698) that the President had designated Bethuel Matthew Webster and Harold Armstrong Smith as members, on the part of the United States of America, of the Permanent Court of Arbitration. They replace Thomas K. Finletter and Adrian S. Fisher, whose terms have expired.

The Permanent Court of Arbitration was established under the Hague Conventions for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes of 1899 and 1907. The Permanent Court, which has its seat at The Hague, was organized "with the object of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration for international differences which it has not been possible to settle by diplomacy." Pursuant to the provisions of the two conventions each signatory power is directed to select four persons as arbitrators. The persons selected are inscribed as members of the Permanent Court in a list which is notified to all the contracting powers. It is further provided in the two conventions that, when any contracting powers desire to have recourse to the Court for the settlement of a difference that has arisen between them, the arbitrators called upon to form the competent tribunal to decide the difference must be chosen from the general list of the members of the Court.

The members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration also carry out the function, pursuant to the statute of the International Court of Justice, of making nominations of persons for election by the U.N. General Assembly and the Security Council as members of the International Court of Justice.

The members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration are designated for terms of 6 years. The other two members of the U.S. national group on the Court are Herman Phleger and David W. Peck.

Prospects for Forthcoming Negotiations on Major World Issues

*by Deputy Under Secretary Merchant*¹

Nearly 4 years ago Secretary of State Dulles addressed another distinguished Philadelphia audience at a moment of unusual significance.² It was on February 26, 1956, the day after Mr. Khrushchev delivered his speech in Moscow to the 20th Party Congress attacking the cult of the individual which had grown up around Joseph Stalin. The reputation of one individual was destroyed. Today another personality seems to have taken his place.

I think we might keep this event in mind as we turn our attention to recent events and to the individual role played by this leader of the Soviet people who, in the last few weeks, has crossed the breadth of our land³ and that of Communist China as well. This is carrying personal diplomacy to extraordinary limits. It is also a demonstration of stamina which compels admiration.

A natural question is, what of Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States? We have certainly seen the agile, self-confident, calculated performance of a virtuoso, a master of the earthy aphorism. Much of his public talk has been incisive and stimulating. It has been good for all of us to have seen at close hand this formidable man and to study his reactions. If we are left unimpressed by his interpretation of history, past and future,

we must admit respect for Soviet accomplishments in the economic, technological, and cultural fields.

In competitive coexistence the Soviet Union under his leadership is a redoubtable opponent. For any who doubted this, Mr. Khrushchev's visit has applied a wholesome corrective.

Apart from such an assessment, one turns to a consideration of what tangible or substantive result has accrued—and what may the immediate future hold. A significant result coming from the Camp David talks was, I think, the removal of the immediate threat which since last November has hung over Berlin and the Western position there. The Soviet Government then informed the British, the French, and ourselves that unless we accepted its proposal, which called for the termination of the occupation regime, the Soviet Government would sign a separate peace treaty with the East Germans and transfer to them control of the access routes to Berlin from the west.⁴ This meant the abandonment of the obligations to us for free access which the Soviets had first assumed at the end of the war and subsequently reaffirmed. The Soviets said moreover that, if we made any move to maintain our rights of access and the East Germans opposed such an effort, then the Soviets would support the East Germans.

This created a dangerous and difficult problem. We—the British, the French, and ourselves—are in Berlin by right, as the Soviet Government acknowledged during the course of the Geneva conference last summer. But more is involved here than the question of legal rights. There is the question of people—more than 2 million stout-

¹ Address made before the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia at Philadelphia, Pa., on Oct. 9 (press release 712).

² BULLETIN of Mar. 5, 1956, p. 363.

³ Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., visited the United States Sept. 15-27. For statements made at the time of his arrival see *ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476; for text of communique issued at the conclusion of his talks with President Eisenhower at Camp David, see *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

⁴ For text of Soviet note on Berlin and U.S. reply, see *ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1959, p. 79.

hearted, free people living in West Berlin. Our presence in Berlin, which started as an occupation based on rights of conquest, has in reality been transformed by time and the expressed wishes of the free people of Berlin into what is really a protective role. In the West Berlin election of December 1958 over 98 percent of the voters supported candidates and programs approving continued Allied presence. They rely on us for their future, and we will not disappoint them.

This problem—and we must remember that it is a problem artificially created by the Soviets a year ago—is a difficult and a dangerous one. The negotiation will now be resumed in a more hopeful atmosphere.

Importance of Personal Diplomacy

In stressing by the example of Berlin the difficulty of the problems for which peaceful solutions must be found, I do not wish to appear to deprecate the importance of personal diplomacy. It is important. In fact, to a substantial degree all diplomacy is personal. In the last analysis it concerns itself with people. It involves face-to-face discussion and negotiation. We must remember that negotiations only appear to deal with abstractions such as “power” or “sovereignty” or “legal rights.” Negotiations in simple fact deal with people, their land and their property, the sea and air around them, and the urge and inspiration that come from history, tradition, religion, and all their hopes and fears. Diplomacy, then, is dealing with people and their problems.

Face-to-face encounters between leaders can perform a very useful purpose. They can dispel misconceptions. Sounder judgments can be formed of the other's intentions and the factors which motivate his attitudes. In this sense such meetings can reduce the risk of miscalculation.

Of and by itself, however, meetings at what Sir Winston Churchill called the summit cannot be expected to solve problems in all the infinite and complex detail which surround them. Even a meeting of minds on a main issue still leaves the need for long and difficult negotiation.

Moreover, on the side of the free world the power of even the most popular leaders is not absolute as it once was with kings and potentates. Public opinion in democracies must be developed and led. It cannot be dictated to.

Consequently the most important contribution, it seems to me, that can flow from meetings of heads of government is a change in atmosphere and a resultant improvement in the environment in which the negotiation of specific agreements can take place. That, it was hoped, would be the lasting result of the summit conference at Geneva in 1955, though unhappily the subsequent resort to detailed negotiations produced no agreements.

Mr. Khrushchev has come to America and gone. He has learned something of us and we of him, which is all to the good. The President next spring will return his visit, and in the intervening months a vista of negotiations is opened up.

Expansive Vista of Negotiations

This vista is an expansive one. The General Assembly of the United Nations is now in session. Here is a forum for useful debate and for the exchange of views on many topics, none more important than disarmament, which figured in the President's Camp David talks with Mr. Khrushchev.

Then early next year the Committee of Ten, composed of representatives of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, and Rumania, will come together for more detailed and intensive discussions of what the President and Mr. Khrushchev described as the most important question facing the world today—disarmament. This Committee, you will recall, was established by agreement among the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, and the United States a month or so ago⁵ as a result of discussions last summer in Geneva with the Soviet Foreign Minister concerning the importance of resuming serious talks after a lapse of nearly 2 years.

One of the proposals which the Committee of Ten will no doubt consider was that offered by Mr. Khrushchev last month in his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations.⁶ It

⁵ For text of the Four Power communique on disarmament negotiations, see *ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1959, p. 438.

⁶ For text of the “Declaration of the Soviet Government on general and complete disarmament” submitted by Mr. Khrushchev on Sept. 18, 1959, see U.N. doc. A/4219. For a statement by Secretary Herter on the Soviet proposal, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 508.

was a proposal for general and complete disarmament. The problem of modern arms—their destructiveness and the economic burden which their manufacture and maintenance impose—is too deadly serious a subject for all humanity to fail to consider soberly and seriously every proposition responsibly put forward.

It is conceivable that a radical rather than a cautious approach will prove the key to the solution of this universal problem. As realists, however, we must recognize that, apart from the technical difficulties, which are enormous, the rock on which past efforts to reduce armaments have foundered has been the question of inspection and control. The Soviet passion for secrecy has apparently been responsible for their refusal in the past to consider the acceptance of any system of verification, which to us is a *sine qua non*. Where mutual trust and confidence are lacking and when one is dealing with the question of national survival, the safeguard of inspection and control is indispensable. Hence, in examining and discussing the Soviet proposal, this is an essential aspect which we still will want to explore.

In anticipation of the resumption of serious negotiations on the reduction and control of armaments, the United States Government has been intensively reexamining the problem and reviewing its past positions. We will also be in consultation with our participating allies, who, like ourselves, approach this forthcoming negotiation with all the seriousness which it deserves.

Meanwhile the more specialized but nevertheless important negotiation between the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and ourselves on the matter of the suspension of nuclear testing will resume in Geneva on October 27, after a recess of some weeks. In this conference we have hope that a properly safeguarded agreement can be reached which at a minimum will result in the cessation of nuclear tests in the earth's atmosphere. If even such a limited success can be attained, then one can rightfully believe that the way has been opened for even more important agreements with the Soviet Union on even more important matters.

Then, too, I think it a fair speculation that the long-talked-of summit conference can be arranged in the interval before the President's return visit to the Soviet Union. This is a matter for discussion and consultation with our allies, for such con-

ferences cannot be held impromptu or lacking the necessary preparation.

This prospect of successive and in some cases overlapping conferences is good. Long lapses without talk can serve to harden differences and render more difficult arrival at agreement. I remember well the opening atmosphere of the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers in January 1954. To say the least, it was cool. In part at least I think that atmosphere was attributable to the fact that the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States had last met in June of 1949. That particular conference at Berlin brought no result other than what communiqués traditionally describe as "a better understanding of each side's point of view." Nevertheless it reestablished contact. It also played some small role, I think, in the conclusion of the Austrian treaty 15 months later, for the negotiation of that treaty was one of the items on the Berlin conference's agenda.

Now talk and negotiation are good and necessary. They cannot automatically produce agreement, and our hopes for the procession of negotiation I have listed should not be excessive. Meetings at the highest level can promote better understanding, and, as I have suggested earlier, they can produce for a while at least a better atmosphere in which to sit down around a table and seek agreement. But atmosphere and a green baize table cannot of themselves breed agreement. Profession means nothing unless performance follows.

Issues Dividing the U.S. From the U.S.S.R.

We would be blind not to recognize the magnitude and the number of the issues which divide the United States and its allies from the Soviet Union and its satellites.

One does not have to look far nor deep to realize that in Europe alone problems exist on which it has been impossible in the last 10 or 15 years to reach agreement with the Soviet Government. There are the peoples of former independent states who, since the war, have had governments forced on them with no opportunity to express their own desires. And we have watched with a deep sense of tragedy the brutal repression which followed the effort 3 years ago of the Hungarian people to establish a government of their own choosing. We of America, who have drawn so many of our

own citizens from that part of the world, have an especial understanding and sympathy for the aspirations of all those peoples.

Then there is the problem of a divided Germany and, in the heart of the eastern part of that country, a divided city—Berlin—one-third Communist controlled and two-thirds free. The reunification of Germany in freedom has been since the end of the war the unswerving objective of this country. It remains so. To keep Germany separated in two parts is an injustice which we cannot condone. We have negotiated literally for years with the Soviet Government to achieve reunification, most recently for 10 long weeks at Geneva last summer.

I do not need to remind you of the far-reaching proposals the Western Powers put forward at that time. The Western peace plan⁷ provided for staged processes in the reunification of Germany with free elections at an appropriate point and with detailed security and disarmament provisions which the United States and its allies honestly believe took fairly and fully into account any concern the Soviet Union might feel over a united Germany. A free choice was provided in the peace plan for the all-German government to adhere to either NATO or the Warsaw Pact. Whatever the choice were to be, the peace plan contemplated special measures covering the disposition of forces and the location of installations in the area closest to the frontier between a united Germany and countries which were members of another security pact. Moreover, there was provision for agreements between the Four Powers and other European countries concerning joint reaction against any aggression.

I have sketched only the highlights of this carefully worked out, detailed plan to indicate its reasonableness and the added security which its acceptance would bring to the heart of Europe. Unfortunately it was not accepted by the Soviet delegation at Geneva. In fact, we were left with the impression that the Soviet delegation pushed it aside without real study. This rejection forced the Geneva conference to turn to a discussion of Berlin, the status of which the Soviet Union had so suddenly announced last November to be intolerable. Obviously the logical and proper solution for a divided Berlin lies in the reunification

of Germany. Berlin would then be restored to its proper place as the capital of the reunited country.

The Western Allies advanced proposals for a temporary agreement which, without impairment to our rights or risk to the freedom of over 2 million West Berliners who rely on our presence as protection, would by the exercise of reciprocal restraints have met the asserted concern of the Soviets. But no such *modus vivendi* was agreed upon at Geneva.

As a result of the Camp David talks, negotiations on Germany and Berlin will be resumed with no fixed time limit to their duration and therefore in a more hopeful atmosphere, free from threat. They will resume, however, with no purpose on our part to permit our rights to be impaired or the freedom and security of the West Berliners, which we are pledged to defend, to be placed in jeopardy.

Mr. Khrushchev subscribed at Camp David to the tenet which we have always held that disputes must be settled by negotiation, not force, and change achieved exclusively by peaceful means. The test and the final value of Mr. Khrushchev's visit will now await the outcome of negotiations in train or in prospect. The issues are difficult, and the process will no doubt be prolonged. We for our part enter hopefully but watchfully on this process, prepared to negotiate in good faith but without surrender of principle or acceptance of hurt to our national interests or the interests of our friends and allies.

Qualities Needed in the Future

We are entitled to some hope that we are entering a period where change when needed can in fact be achieved by peaceful means and not by force or the threat of force. It would be fatal, however, to act on the assumption that this is an accomplished fact. Indeed the future is going to call on all of us for certain qualities.

We are going to need vigilance and a healthy dose of "I come from Missouri." If the words Mr. Khrushchev signed at Camp David that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation" are to have real meaning, then we will watch carefully to see whether other countries in what the Communists

⁷ For text, see *ibid.*, June 1, 1959, p. 779.

call their "camp" under the acknowledged leadership of the Soviet Union will now comport themselves in consonance with the agreed words I have quoted. We will watch to see if all the difficulties and dangers created by Communist China through the use of force or the threat of its use along its long borders will diminish and disappear. We will watch to see whether Communist China is now at last willing to renounce the use of force in the Taiwan area.

Vigilance, however, means more than just watching a barometer to see if storms are receding. It requires the continued effort and sacrifice necessary to maintain our own defenses. It requires a continued consideration for all those who are allied with us, including the need of all of them for liberal trading policies on the part of this country and for our continuation of economic and military assistance in cases where certain partners cannot carry alone their full share of the cost of our collective defense. It requires also a continued willingness to do our share in helping the lesser developed regions of this world to develop their resources and capabilities and thereby enabling their governments to hold out to their people the prospect of a better life.

Vigilance, then, means resolution, a determination to keep on doing many things that are expensive and inconvenient.

Patience also is called for in successful negotiation. The 10 weeks which the Secretary of State spent in Geneva last spring and summer negotiating with the Soviet Foreign Minister on the problems of Germany and Berlin produced little progress other than a clarification of the issues. But 10 weeks is well spent if some progress can be recorded. I recall that there were nearly 400 negotiating meetings with the Soviets over the Austrian state treaty. They began in 1947. It was 8 long years later, in May of 1955, that the treaty was signed. Those 8 years were hard on the negotiators. They were far harder on the Austrian people. The point, however, is that negotiation of even the less difficult of the issues which divide us can be slow and time consuming.

There is one thing else which I believe is required of us—a clearer concept and understanding

in our own minds of this great experimental society which we have built in the United States and a clearer articulation to the rest of the world of what it means. We are changing our society, modifying it, improving it every day. We have pragmatically developed a unique economic and social community under our own remarkable Constitution, but we are incredibly tongue-tied when it comes to describing to others or even to ourselves what makes us tick. And what makes us tick is more important than our material achievements, because the latter are only the reflection of the former. Our pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness rests essentially on our belief in the individual dignity and worth of the human being. Only under such a system can man's creative gifts be lastingly and richly evoked.

The peaceful competition which Mr. Khrushchev says is what he wants should be to us more than an invitation to outstrip all competitors in producing more tons of steel or more automobiles or space machines. What we are engaged in is in fact a contest between two philosophies with antithetical concepts of the role of the individual in the society of which he is a part. What we believe in our hearts in the long run is at least as important as what we produce with our hands. On faith and works our whole future depends.

Crown Prince of Ethiopia Tours United States

The Department of State announced on October 6 (press release 701) that His Imperial Highness Crown Prince Asfa Wossen of Ethiopia would arrive at New York on that day for an informal visit to the United States. The Crown Prince, accompanied by Crown Princess Medferiash Worq Abebe and a small party, will tour this country and Canada until early November.

The U.S. itinerary includes New York, Boston, Washington, Detroit, Chicago, Colorado Springs, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Honolulu. On October 19 the Crown Prince plans to visit Ottawa.

Hemispheric Progress Based on Understanding

by R. R. Rubottom, Jr.

*Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs*¹

I am pleased and honored to have been asked to speak to the distinguished individuals gathered here in Denver under the auspices of the United States National Commission for UNESCO. Your presence here gives clear evidence of the importance our people attach to the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and to the interplay of national cultures in today's world. The Government and the people of the United States recognize the importance of fomenting educational, scientific, and cultural activities throughout the world, budgeting significant shares of their talent and funds to the improvement of education in many countries, to the promotion and exchange of scientific knowledge, and to the stimulation of cultural exchanges.

Certainly, one of the things which enriches the lives of people in the Western Hemisphere is, and has been for many decades, the exchange of cultures among them. We of the Americas believe in the same ideals, we honor each other's heroes, we read and enjoy the fruits of efforts by poets and artists from each other's countries, we sing and dance to each other's music, and we share intimate and mutually rewarding political and economic relationships. All of us benefit immeasurably from these exchanges, and it is important that they continue and flourish. There has been a greatly increased emphasis on the cultural exchange program during the past 2 years, including that at the level of the university student. During the school year which ended last June,

there were over 10,000 Latin American students in our universities, while 1,188 Americans were studying in Latin American institutions. We believe that salutary results in improved mutual understanding are already noticeable.

It is especially fitting that the theme of this 7th National Conference should be the United States and its relations with the other American Republics. The discussions here will throw additional light on our problems, some of them already exhaustively analyzed. They should also lead us to new levels of understanding of the mutuality of these problems. Through such understanding we hope to find the answers. Tonight I shall report some encouraging progress toward that goal.

Benefits From Inter-American Meetings

Conferences of ministers and meetings of experts do not always provide immediate, visible solutions to the problems which they are convened to take up. However, such meetings in this hemisphere usually are productive of constructive, long-term results, especially in dealing with matters which are susceptible to multilateral consideration. Let us review the inter-American meetings, beginning with that of the Presidents in Panama just 3 years ago. They have been numerous, perhaps due to the critical times we have lived through. The Presidents themselves created the Committee of Presidential Representatives² which convened three times, terminating its labor

¹Address made at the opening plenary session of the 7th National Conference held under the auspices of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO at Denver, Colo., on Sept. 29 (press release 680).

²For a statement on the Committee's report by President Eisenhower, together with a Committee announcement at the conclusion of its final meeting, see BULLETIN of June 24, 1957, p. 1014.

in May 1957. It recommended, among other things, the creation of the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission, which is holding its first meeting in Washington shortly. This will provide a regional forum for cooperation in the vital field of nuclear energy, which offers such thrilling prospects for its peaceful application.

In September 1957 the oft-postponed Economic Conference of Buenos Aires was held.³ While it was not possible to negotiate an overall economic agreement as some countries desired, the 3 weeks' discussion of this subject cleared up much misunderstanding. Moreover, several of its resolutions on specific economic subjects helped to remove obstacles to progress in those sectors as time has revealed.

In September 1958 the foreign ministers gathered in Washington for the first informal meeting ever held, a 2-day discussion of the world situation and of how best to take advantage of Brazilian President Kubitschek's initiative known as "Operation Pan America."⁴ There resulted from that meeting the establishment of the Committee of 21, which held its first meeting in Washington,⁵ followed by the meeting in Buenos Aires last April.⁶ Noteworthy results of the Committee's efforts were the resolution on economic studies of individual countries in the hemisphere, the one on financing of economic development, that on commodity problems, and that dealing with the common market.

In January of this year there began 3 months' negotiations which led to the creation of the Inter-American Bank,⁷ for half a century the dream of Latin America. It is under consideration in virtually every country in the hemisphere at this time, and several ratifications are expected to be deposited shortly.

Then there was the fifth Meeting of Consultation of foreign ministers in Santiago last month.⁸

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1957, p. 539.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1958, p. 574.

⁵ For remarks made by Under Secretary Dillon, see *ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1958, p. 918.

⁶ For a statement made by Assistant Secretary Thomas C. Mann, who was chief of the U.S. delegation, see *ibid.*, June 22, 1959, p. 931.

⁷ For background, see *ibid.*, p. 928.

⁸ For statements made by Secretary Herter at the meeting, see *ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1959, p. 299; for the Secretary's statement upon his return from the meeting, together with texts of the Declaration of Santiago de Chile and the Resolution on the Inter-American Peace Committee, see *ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

This conference was called on an urgent basis to consider problems relating to intervention and to the defense of human rights and establishment of representative democracy.

The wholesome results of that meeting are already self-evident. For one thing, the reactivation of the Inter-American Peace Committee by assigning it important functions to carry out between now and the Quito conference is a hopeful augury. I shall touch on this meeting in greater detail later.

Shared Aspirations

We who live in the United States share the aspirations of those who live in the other American Republics, especially the popular demand for increased individual rights, for improved welfare, and for higher cultural standards in the nations of this hemisphere. This demand has two principal points of emphasis, the development of national economies to provide higher levels of living for the mass of people and more effective exercise of representative democracy based upon respect for the rights of man. We are committed to these goals and at the Santiago meeting of foreign ministers Secretary Herter made clear our dedication to their accomplishment throughout the Americas.

In our own country there is yet much to be done to assure the continuing development of our economy to provide constantly improving living conditions for our people. We recognize, as I hope our friends do, that the process of development never stops. It is the antithesis of the static, the essence of the dynamic. In fact, the more developed a country becomes the greater the potential and the demand for further development. On the other hand, the United States as a nation and its individual citizens have long understood the importance of assisting less developed countries and newly emerging states which have just gained political independence. We have offered our cooperation to help them to achieve for themselves economic and social betterment. While in our own interest to do so, it would be unfair to millions of Americans to think that this was their sole motivation.

Of the many ingredients necessary to this process of growth the foremost are, of course, a country's own human resources. It is essentially the manner in which the human element develops the

natural resources available to it and distributes among its members the fruits of its labors that determines the level of prosperity which a people will enjoy. All that the United States—or any other outside element—can contribute to the improvement of another country's economy is some small but perhaps essential part of the missing ingredients.

By the same token, political development never stops. While we in the United States may be entitled to take considerable satisfaction in the stature of the individual in our still emerging democracy, we must exercise constant vigilance to avoid complacency. In the political sector of our lives, as in the economic, our greatest challenge may be that of protecting deeply held principles while accommodating ourselves to the inevitable changes that a dynamic society generates within itself.

Thus we are not, and could never be, less than staunch supporters of our friends and neighbors in their determined efforts toward the goals which we share with them—truly representative democracies and economies responsive to the aspirations of all of the peoples of this hemisphere.

The meeting of foreign ministers of the 21 American Republics which took place in Santiago, Chile, last month provided an opportunity to re-examine these goals and chart new courses for their accomplishment. Full and fruitful advantage was taken of this opportunity, proving again the statesmanship of those who so wisely and foresightedly created in the inter-American system an instrument responsive to the evolving needs of our community. I would like to quote the evaluation placed on this system by Secretary Herter in addressing the meeting of foreign ministers:⁹

The inter-American system and the Organization of American States constitute one of the bulwarks of freedom in a world that continues to be threatened by the aggressive and imperialistic designs of international communism. The maintenance of a strong inter-American system is therefore an integral part of the supreme effort in which all of us participate to preserve our liberties and the finer aspects of civilization itself.

At Santiago understandings were reached on grave problems which involved two of the basic

concepts of this inter-American system—the principle of nonintervention by any American state in the affairs of any other American state, and the rights of our peoples to the effective exercise of representative democracy.

I am convinced, and I am certain that this conviction is generally shared, that both of these concepts were not only reaffirmed at Santiago—their implementation was effectively advanced by understandings reached and concrete measures adopted there. The whole fabric of democratic ideals which unite our peoples was thereby strengthened.

Communist Threat to Inter-American System

It is not illogical, quite the contrary, that this inter-American system should be a prime target of international communism. One must expect that a free, voluntary association of 21 nations who so successfully treat with each other as equals and who share concepts of morality and sovereignty so alien to dialectic materialism reap the scorn and enmity of Soviet imperialism and its agents. Nor is this feeling confined to words; it is well known that plans to sabotage the 11th Inter-American Conference in Quito next year were openly discussed when Latin American Communists attended the Soviet Communist Party meeting in Moscow last January.

The strength, both spiritual and material, which is afforded each of our 21 American Republics through this collective endeavor to further the rights and aspirations of our individual citizens is a defense against the Communist efforts to impose in this hemisphere, by subversion or force, a Marxist totalitarianism such as exists in Hungary, Tibet, and other lands.

Communism of the variety now seen at mid-20th century poses a special problem for all of the American Republics, including our own country. It has attempted to steal much of the truly democratic terminology and convert this language to its own use. "Peace," "democracy," "freedom," "progress," "liberty," "justice"—all of these words connote to us of the Americas principles for which our forebears fought in their wars of independence and which we have since defended with our lives. Communism has corrupted and distorted them in its efforts to provide a cloak of respecta-

⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1959, p. 301.

bility for its naked aggressions and efforts to subvert free countries. It is duplicity of this type, plus the utter lack of any spiritual motivation in the Communist philosophy and its failure to recognize the spiritual spark burning in the soul of every human being, that makes the Communist conspiracy so revolting as it attempts to destroy the things which we hold most sacred in the Americas.

Action To Support Positive Values

We must oppose communism because it attempts to destroy these very basic concepts on which our American Republics have been founded. But this is not to say that we subscribe just to a sterile, negative line. We stand for the positive values of freedom with justice, of representative democracy, and of opportunity, both national and individual, for economic improvement. To these aspirations we are firmly pledged.

Any serious discussion of political aspects of our inter-American system which did not seek to relate them to economic progress would fail to face present-day realities, as the two are intimately bound together. However, much as it may subscribe to the principles of democracy, a government which does not create for its people the conditions which will provide them with the opportunity to acquire, through their own efforts, a more abundant and rewarding life for themselves and their children cannot long endure.

Through radio, television, motion pictures, and other media, people throughout the world have become increasingly aware of the material as well as the spiritual benefits which can be achieved under the political-economic system enjoyed by the peoples of North America and to an increasing degree in Western Europe. Where people are free to do so, they are seeking to adapt this system to their own environment and way of life. To the extent that it is considered mutually advantageous, the people and Government of our country are participating in this development in other lands.

Our contribution, private as well as public, to the economic development of Latin America has been broad and massive, as I will presently show. The same may be said of our trade with that area, which in the last 10 years reached the enormous aggregate of over \$35 billion each way.

The mutual benefit of this relationship is not lost on the Communists, who are making increasingly determined efforts to disrupt it. Obviously, this essential contribution to the developing economies of the hemisphere frustrates their designs against the free world. In that connection one may well speculate as to the extent to which the talk by recent Soviet visitors to this country of a greatly increased Soviet-United States trade is motivated by a desire to replace traditional suppliers of items which we now purchase in Latin America and other parts of the free world. Certainly, there is very little else that the Soviet Union could supply to the United States market.

Financing of Economic Development

The extent to which United States Government funds have been employed in the last decade to assist the economies of the Latin American countries is sometimes not appreciated. The most important instrument of our public cooperation with Latin America is the Export-Import Bank. In the 10-year period ending June 30, 1959, loan authorizations by the Bank to countries in Latin America amounted to \$2,667,000,000. Since 1950 the United States has spent \$225 million on its bilateral technical cooperation programs in Latin America (an amount, incidentally, which has been more than matched by the respective host countries). Beginning in 1954, we have made available funds to certain Latin American countries under the heading of "Special Assistance"; through fiscal 1959, such assistance has amounted to over \$205 million.

As you know, the Development Loan Fund began its operations only very recently. Nevertheless, it has already approved loans to Latin America amounting to nearly \$69 million and has several other projects under urgent consideration. Finally, local currencies loaned back for economic development purposes to Latin American countries purchasing surplus commodities under Public Law 480 have aggregated \$297 million.

If you will add up the various items I have just mentioned, representing the flow of United States public funds to Latin America in the last 10 years or less, you will come to a grand total of nearly \$3.5 billion.

However, this is not the whole story as regards public funds. The World Bank, the International

Monetary Fund, and the International Finance Corporation have all been very active in Latin America. These are international institutions, and loans or advances made by them can by no means be regarded as deriving exclusively from the United States. Nevertheless, the United States has provided a large share of the capital of each of these institutions, and the great bulk of the money they have used in their operations has been raised from public or private sources in this country. Up to June 30 of this year, credits authorized to Latin America by the World Bank have amounted to \$981 million and those of the International Finance Corporation to \$16 million. Gross drawings by Latin American countries from the Monetary Fund up to the same date have aggregated \$664 million. The United States has been gratified to join with its comembers in making these sizable contributions to Latin American development and stabilization.

Our Government is continuing, and will continue, to provide the types of financial and economic assistance to each of the other 20 American Republics which they and we find mutually desirable.

Together with the Latin American Republics, and within the framework of the Organization of American States, our Government has in recent months been participating in projects to further strengthen this inter-American economic cooperation. The progress which has been made in the formulation and execution of Operation Pan America and the formation of the Inter-American Development Bank are positive achievements in the creation of the economic and social climate in which democracy can flourish.

Our Government has pressed forward in formalizing its participation in the Inter-American Development Bank. The session of Congress which just adjourned passed the necessary legislation to authorize our participation and the payment of our share of the capital.

Last year the capital of the Export-Import Bank, which traditionally has given a major share of its attention to the development needs of Latin America, was increased by \$2 billion. Likewise, we have taken an active role in making more effective the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.¹⁰ With the increased re-

sources advocated, these institutions will be able to provide substantially greater services to Latin America.

I have spoken up to now of some of the ways in which the United States Government, as such, has engaged in measures of economic cooperation with our Latin American neighbors. But such public efforts by no means represent the full extent of this country's contribution to the economic development of Latin America.

On the contrary, the flow of private capital from the United States to Latin America has exceeded the flow of public funds. In the decade from the end of 1948 to the end of 1958, private American direct investments in Latin America have increased, partly through new capital transfers and partly through the reinvestment of earnings, by nearly \$4.6 billion. Thus, in a period corresponding roughly to the past 10 years, our total participation, both public and private, to the economic development of Latin America has been over \$8 billion. I want to stress that this amount is apart from the funds made available by international lending institutions in which the United States plays a major role.

That the amount of private American capital going to Latin America should be larger than the flow of United States public funds to that area is natural and as it should be. There are definite limitations on the amount of public capital available for lending to other countries, limitations which stem from the fact that such funds, in the last analysis, are provided by the United States taxpayer. No such limitations apply to private capital. I think I can confidently say that, welcomed and given a suitable climate, American investors would be prepared to supply very large additional amounts of capital to Latin America, probably as much as that area could economically absorb for a long time to come.

In recent years there has been an increasing recognition of the contribution which private capital can make to the economic progress of underdeveloped countries. Most Latin American countries indeed have made strong efforts through such devices as tax incentives, duty exemptions, the enactment of appropriate legal codes, to create the conditions which attract foreign capital.

This contribution cannot be measured by the value of the textile machinery or rolling mills or tractors or roadbuilding equipment which are im-

¹⁰ For background, see *ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 488, and Oct. 19, 1959, p. 53.

ported with the invested capital, important as these things may be. The true value of foreign investment can be measured only in the increased flow of goods and services which it helps to bring about and which, in its absence, would not occur. I mean such things as the production of a greater volume and better variety of consumer goods, expanded exports, greater job opportunities, and increased sources of tax revenues. All these things add up in the end to a higher standard of living.

But the process of foreign investment also has an extremely important byproduct, namely, technical and business training. The vast majority of the technical and managerial personnel of American subsidiaries and branch plants in Latin America are Latin Americans. Every industrial plant, mine, and merchandising establishment in Latin America financed by private United States capital can thus be said to be a cooperative training school in modern business methods and efficiency. In the long run this private technical cooperation may well be as important as the physical investment itself.

We have all heard of the term "venture capital." This is an apt phrase. Individuals and firms investing their funds in foreign countries, and especially in underdeveloped countries, are in many ways breaking new ground. They must be imaginative in recognizing opportunities for finding or developing new resources, or for increasing production from old. They must frequently be willing to take large risks.

In return they ask only that they be permitted to earn a reasonable rate of return on their investments on the basis of fair and juridically approved international practice, and freedom from arbitrary harassments. In the absence of such conditions there is no inducement for Americans to venture their capital in foreign countries, particularly when there are so many opportunities for remunerative investment right here at home.

Progress Through Commodity Consultations

In the commodity field, although no problems have been "solved" to the satisfaction of all parties, we have made significant progress in reconciling viewpoints and reducing differences to least common denominators through resort to an old and tried technique—the open forum. Divergen-

cies of viewpoint can often be narrowed appreciably through frank discussion around a conference table, and we are encouraging a wider discussion of commodity problems both within the hemisphere and in international forums when problems are of broader scope.

Coffee affords a good example of our new approach. Since the United States produces no coffee, except for Hawaii, we had, until 2 years ago, tended to leave the initiative in developing solutions of the surplus problem to the producing countries. However, by 1957 it became increasingly clear that a decline in coffee prices to levels which then threatened could seriously affect the economic stability of some of the producing countries of this hemisphere. In an effort to help these countries to help themselves, we gave our support to calling a meeting of all coffee-producing and coffee-consuming countries to examine the surplus problem and see what steps might be taken to prevent a further accumulation of stocks and to assure orderly marketing. This coffee study group met first in May 1958, and by October of that year the 15 coffee-producing countries of this hemisphere had developed a plan for emergency action to which all could subscribe and which has proved very successful in moderating price declines over the past year.

A long-range solution of the coffee problem will require the collaboration of producing areas outside the hemisphere; so it was encouraging to note that, when the study group met in Washington earlier this month to develop plans for next year, European and African countries were also in attendance. Their readiness to negotiate on short-term marketing arrangements and to cooperate in long-range planning has resulted in a coffee agreement which augurs well for the future.

Lead and zinc have been one of the thorniest problems in our relations with Latin America in recent years. World prices fell sharply in the 1957 recession, and the United States established quotas on imports for which we were roundly criticized. A special conference was called by the U.N., where we explained our problems and other countries explained theirs. Although we are one of the principal markets for metals produced in Latin America, we are only one factor in a large world market, and at the conclusion of that meet-

ing there was general recognition that a sound solution must be sought on an international scale.

The lead study group has now been established by the United Nations on a continuing basis. The United States is a member, and we are hopeful that in the future problems can be foreseen and appropriate measures taken.

Consultation has also been used effectively in relation to the cotton problem. Cotton is an important export crop in many countries, and whenever surpluses appear and prices decline cotton export policy becomes a problem in hemisphere relations. Cotton prices had been falling this spring when Mexico took the lead in setting up a small committee, on which the principal exporting countries are represented, to see what could be done within the terms of existing legislation to avoid competitive undercutting of prices, to increase exports, and to stimulate consumption of cotton fiber. That committee has met regularly this summer and made a constructive contribution to hemisphere relations in its limited field by informing each country regarding the cotton problems of the others and by singling out those aspects of the cotton problem where international collaboration is practicable.

For the relatively underdeveloped countries of the world the stability and expansion of markets for their raw materials is a matter of primary importance. Largely at their instance, a special Commission on International Commodity Trade was established by the Economic and Social Council several years ago to work on trade problems in these basic commodities. This year the United States became a member of that Commission, and we expect to participate actively in its work as further evidence of our belief that full discussion is the road to broader understanding. The problem of expanding world trade is also being studied by a committee established by the Contracting Parties to the GATT, to which the United States

and eight of the Latin American countries belong. This committee is making a study of obstacles to the expansion of trade in raw materials and expects to develop recommendations for constructive action.

The United States has been a party for many years to the International Sugar Agreement, one of the very few intergovernmental agreements designed to stabilize prices of a basic raw material in world markets. That agreement was renegotiated this year and has again been ratified by the United States. While we do not export sugar, it is an important export crop for Latin America; so the new agreement is further evidence of growing hemisphere understanding in the trade sphere.

In the problems related to basic commodities such as sugar, lead and zinc, coffee, and cotton, which are of such importance to the economies of our 21 countries, the American Republics have found that through consultation progress can be made toward mutually acceptable understandings. Similarly, in seeking solutions to the challenge posed by the needs of a rapidly increasing population for a more ample supply of goods and services, our Governments and our peoples are working together.

We are indeed fortunate in this hemisphere to have in the inter-American system not only an institution, the Organization of American States, through which our common problems may be studied and dealt with constructively. More important, however, are the spiritual and cultural values which the peoples of this hemisphere share and the sense of a common New World destiny. It is these elements, intangible as they are, which make the inter-American system the uniquely powerful force for good which it is today. With the renewed confidence which comes from success, we can anticipate that in the years to come the nations of this American community will reach even higher levels of understanding.

Immigration Legislation, 1959

by Frank L. Auerbach

Two immigration measures were passed by the first session of the 86th Congress: Public Law 86-253, which extends temporarily the provisions of earlier legislation permitting the admission of certain adopted orphans and of close relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens afflicted with tuberculosis, and Public Law 86-363, an act facilitating the admission of certain relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens. Both laws follow the pattern set by previous immigration legislation passed since the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 in that certain provisions amend existing law while others are set up as independent statutory provisions, although they affect the operations of the Immigration and Nationality Act. Both acts originated in the House of Representatives, where they were introduced by Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and coauthor of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Reuniting Families

Of the two acts, Public Law 86-363, approved by the President on September 22, 1959, has the broader application. Its major provisions, recasting the quota preference categories of the Immigration and Nationality Act, were prompted by the finding of the House Judiciary Committee¹ that

... the recognized principle of avoiding separation of families could be furthered if certain categories of such relatives were reclassified in the various preference portions of the immigration quotas.

Under the law in effect prior to the enactment

• *Mr. Auerbach is Assistant Director of the Visa Office of the Department of State.*

of Public Law 86-363, skilled aliens needed in the United States were accorded first preference, with a first call on 50 percent of each quota; parents of U.S. citizens second preference, with a first call on 30 percent of each quota; and spouses and children of permanent resident aliens third preference, with a first call on 20 percent of each quota. Any portion of the quota not used by a given preference category was made available to any of the other preference groups. Quota numbers not used by any of the preference groups were available to all other applicants for immigrant visas—the so-called nonpreference group—with a priority of 25 percent for brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters of U.S. citizens.²

Public Law 86-363 significantly changes the order of preferences and priorities for quota immigrants who claim such preference or priority based on relationship to U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens. Without disturbing the first preference category of skilled aliens with a first call on 50 percent of each quota, the new law moves unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens from the fourth to the second preference category, broadens the third preference category by including unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens, and modifies the previous fourth preference category by according it 50 percent of the portion of each quota not used by the first three preference categories and by including in it spouses and children of brothers, sisters, and married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. The

¹ H. Rept. 582, 86th Cong., 1st sess., June 26, 1959, p. 2.

² Under previous and present law the "child" of a U.S. citizen, i.e. a person unmarried and under 21 years of age, is entitled to nonquota status and the "child" of a permanent resident alien to third-preference quota status. For a full definition of the term "child," see sec. 101(b)(1) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, as amended.

following comparative table shows the changes brought about by the new legislation.

	Quota preferences under previous law	Quota preferences under P.L. 86-363
First preference	50 percent of each quota to skilled aliens and spouses and children if accompanying or following to join them.	Same
Second preference	30 percent of each quota to parents of U.S. citizens.	30 percent of each quota to parents and unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens.
Third preference	20 percent of each quota to spouses and children of permanent resident aliens.	20 percent of each quota to spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of permanent resident aliens.
Fourth preference	25 percent of portion of each quota not used by first three preference groups, to brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters of U.S. citizens.	50 percent of the portion of each quota not used by the first three preference groups, to brothers, sisters, and married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens and their spouses and children if accompanying them.

The provisions of the new act which recast the quota preferences and priorities do not increase the sum total of quota numbers available to relatives under each quota. The anticipated effect of the transfer of unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens from the fourth preference category into the second preference category, where they compete for quota numbers with parents of U.S. citizens, is stated in a letter dated August 10, 1959, from the Department of State to Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.³ The pertinent portions of this letter read as follows:

As a consequence of this transfer, the second preference portion of several quotas and subquotas, presently current, may become oversubscribed. There is set out below a list

³ For text, see S. Rept. 962, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Sept. 8, 1959, p. 5.

of countries and colonies whose quotas and subquotas, respectively, may be so affected by the enactment of section 1 of the bill. The column in the middle shows the fourth preference registrations as reported to the Department, on May 1, 1959. These figures include married sons and daughters, as well as brothers and sisters, of U.S. citizens.

Quota or subquota area	4th preference registrations	Annual quota or subquota
Australia.....	75	100
China.....	141	100
Hungary.....	754	865
India.....	82	100
Iran.....	114	100
Iraq.....	117	100
British subquotas:		
Bahamas.....	76	100
Barbados.....	387	100
British Guiana.....	81	100
Cyprus.....	185	100
Malta.....	262	100
Israel.....	104	100
Italy.....	63, 669	5, 666
Latvia.....	101	235
Lebanon.....	278	100
Lithuania.....	198	384
Morocco.....	111	100
Palestine.....	247	100
Poland.....	3, 220	6, 488
Portugal.....	2, 466	438
Tunisia.....	71	100
Yugoslavia.....	1, 706	942

There follows a listing of quotas and subquotas wherein the second preference portion is already oversubscribed.

Quota or subquota area	2d preference registrations	Annual quota or subquota
Chinese persons.....	450	105
Jamaican subquota.....	624	100
Trinidad subquota.....	169	100
Greece.....	4, 568	308
Japan.....	371	185
Philippines.....	723	100
Rumania.....	517	289
Spain.....	627	250
Turkey.....	510	225
United Arab Republic.....	397	100

It appears, therefore, that the inclusion of the unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens in the second preference category will inevitably prolong the waiting time of many parents of U.S. citizens and will cause the second preference portion of many quotas and subquotas to become oversubscribed and others to become more heavily oversubscribed.

It may also be pointed out that under some quotas which are now experiencing a low second preference demand, such as the quotas of Australia, India, Israel, Korea, and New Zealand, first preference applicants chargeable to these quotas are benefiting presently from this situation in that quota numbers which would ordinarily be assigned

to qualified second preference applicants are being made available, as the law prescribes, for the issuance of visas to first preference applicants. Hence the enactment of section 1 of the bill would also adversely affect such first preference visa applicants.

Nonquota Status for Certain Relatives of U.S. Citizens and Permanent Resident Aliens

Following the pattern set by previous legislation, Congress provided relief for the increasing numbers of relatives of U.S. citizens and permanent residents who, though entitled to preference quota status, have to anticipate an extended waiting period under certain quotas. The new legislation accords nonquota status to all applicants for immigrant visas who, under previous law, were entitled to second, third, or fourth preference quota status if they were registered on a consular waiting list under a priority date earlier than December 31, 1953, and if a petition according them quota preference status had been approved by the Attorney General before January 1, 1959. Nonquota status is also accorded to the spouses and children of such aliens irrespective of whether they meet the deadline requirements applicable to their principals.

Some 22,000 visa petitions approved before January 1, 1959, are in the hands of consular officers on behalf of applicants who were registered on consular waiting lists prior to December 31, 1953. Since these petitions do not indicate whether their beneficiaries are married and have children, the total number of aliens who may benefit from this liberalization of quota restrictions is difficult to predict. If experience gained in the past serves as a guide, it is believed that some 55,000 aliens may benefit from this provision of the law if they can meet the qualitative standards of the immigration laws. Immigrants chargeable to the following quota and subquota areas⁴ will, in the order of the listing, primarily benefit from this measure: Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Portugal, Jamaica, Spain, Palestine, Philippines, Lebanon, United Arab Republic, Japan, Chinese Persons, and Turkey. Of the 22,000 visa petitions on hand, some

12,000 are approved for aliens chargeable to the Italian quota so that it is likely that a total of some 30,000 aliens chargeable to the Italian quota will qualify for nonquota status.

Uniting Refugee Families

There were 188,752 immigrants who came to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, as amended, which expired on December 31, 1956.⁵ While most of these immigrants came with their families, there are a number of instances in which members of the immediate families of refugees were left behind for reasons of health, for economic reasons, or because of the separation of the family existing at the time of the migration of the principal. In most of these cases the preceding head of the family has filed a petition for the remaining members of his family according them preference quota status. However, as a result of the oversubscription of certain quotas, some of these families are still separated.

To remedy this situation Congress accorded nonquota status to the husband, wife, and child of any permanent resident alien who was admitted into the United States under the provisions of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, as amended, if a petition for third preference quota status was approved by the Attorney General before January 1, 1959. Also, parents of U.S. citizens who came to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act are accorded nonquota status under the same condition.

To benefit from these provisions the alien must have retained his relationship to the petitioner and the status as established in the approved petition.⁶ Since the law in most cases requires a lapse of 5 years after admission to the United States before an immigrant may apply for naturalization, the number of persons who came to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and who have since become naturalized and have petitioned for the admission of their parents is expected to be relatively small, so that not many alien parents will be able to qualify for nonquota

⁴ A complete listing of immigration quotas and quota areas is shown on the "Immigration Quota Areas" map dated July 1, 1959, copies of which are available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (20 cents).

⁵ *Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* (Washington, D.C., 1958), p. 27.

⁶ If the petitioner has died since approval of the petition, the status would not be considered as having been retained.

status under this provision of the new act. No adequate data are available which would indicate how many persons will benefit from this provision of the new legislation.

Technical Amendments

In the absence of a statutory definition, the terms "son" and "daughter," as used in the immigration provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, have been interpreted to include adopted sons and daughters. This interpretation was based on a decision of the Board of Immigration Appeals of August 25, 1953.⁷ In an amendment to existing law which was offered by Representative Walter on the floor of the House,⁸ Public Law 86-363 provides that an adopted son or daughter may become the beneficiary of a petition for nonquota status or a preference quota status only if the adoption took place while the adopted person was under the age of 14 and if the adopted person has been in the legal custody of, and resided with, the adoptive parent or parents for at least 2 years. However, this legislation does not affect adversely petitions already approved before the effective date of this act, September 22, 1959.

Another technical amendment to existing law limits to two the number of children adopted by one family who may derive preferred treatment under the immigration laws, unless this limitation would result in the separation of brothers and sisters. This provision of the bill was prompted by the House Committee's observation:⁹

... certain families have adopted abroad a rather large number of children and the committee has been made aware of certain problems arising from that situation, as well as attempts to evade quota restrictions.

Immigration of Certain Relatives Afflicted With Tuberculosis

Public Law 86-253 of September 9, 1959, extends until June 30, 1961, the provisions of Public Law 85-316 of September 11, 1957, which vested the Attorney General with discretionary authority to grant waivers of inadmissibility in the case of certain aliens afflicted with tuberculosis. The

original provision enacted in 1957 authorized the Attorney General to admit spouses and children of U.S. citizens and of aliens lawfully admitted for permanent residence, and parents who have a son or daughter who is a U.S. citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, irrespective of their being afflicted with tuberculosis, if they complied with terms, conditions, and controls prescribed by the Attorney General after consultation with the Surgeon General of the United States. The purpose of the 1957 provision was to reunite families separated as a result of the health condition of one of its members. In extending this provision until June 30, 1961, Congress broadened its scope by authorizing the Attorney General to grant the waiver to the afflicted spouse, child, or parent of an alien who has been issued an immigrant visa. In explaining this amendment the House Judiciary Committee observed:¹⁰

In order to avoid the separation of families who, of course, desire to migrate together, and in order to facilitate the task of the intergovernmental and national agencies assisting the beneficiaries of this legislation, it is felt that it is desirable to make it possible to grant a waiver to the afflicted person after the members of his immediate family were issued immigrant visas. Thus, the family units would be united during the journey and would be in a position to make their lawful entry into the United States together.

Another amendment eliminates the requirement of previous law that the Attorney General report promptly to Congress in any case in which he granted a waiver under it.

Congress chose a 2-year extension of the tuberculosis provision rather than pass permanent legislation "for the purpose of obtaining more experience and provide for a longer trial period in this sensitive segment of our immigration policy."¹¹

Immigration of Eligible Orphans

The temporary program for the admission as nonquota immigrants of eligible orphans adopted or to be adopted by a U.S. citizen and spouse contained in Public Law 85-316 of September 11, 1957, expired by its own terms on June 30, 1959. Charges and countercharges were made in public

⁷ *In the Matter of R—*, 5, I. & N. Dec. 438.

⁸ *Congressional Record* of July 6, 1959, pp. 11578-11580.

⁹ H. Rept. 582, 86th Cong., 1st sess., June 26, 1959, p. 4.

¹⁰ H. Rept. 291, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Apr. 23, 1959, p. 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

about the alleged abuse of this provision of the law, particularly in the case of orphans adopted by proxy. Rather than extend the provision of the 1957 act in its original form as proposed by the Senate,¹² the House insisted on amending the law by requiring that no visa may be issued to an eligible orphan, either adopted or to be adopted, unless an appropriate petition, filed by the adoptive parents or the prospective adoptive parents, has been approved by the Attorney General. Another amendment requires that the Attorney General make a finding that the adoptive or prospective adoptive parents are persons of good moral character. In proposing these amendments Representative Walter made the following statement:¹³

It has been pointed out on the floor of the Senate yesterday that many instances of abuse under the provisions of the 1957 law have been reported and fairly-well documented. More than that, a special committee of the Legislature of the State of New York has confirmed many of the worst suspicions. There are some indictments pending affecting individuals who have made a lucrative business out of acting as intermediaries between the alien orphans and American couples desiring to adopt them. Irrespective of the legal and moral questions involved, the continuation of those practices may create for the children themselves more hardship in this country than they may possibly endure if they would remain abroad. Remedy must be tried, and we believe that one is readily available.

The Walter-McCarran Act contains in section 205 a very carefully specified petition procedure under which a U.S. citizen desirous to obtain nonquota immigrant status for his own, natural-born alien child, must apply to the Attorney General for a finding of his eligibility. If such petition is approved, the appropriate consular officer is authorized by the Secretary of State to execute his statutory function of determining the eligibility of the beneficiary of the petition. The amendment now before the House proposes that identical procedure be applicable in the cases of alien orphans coming to the United States under the law which is now proposed to be revived for 1 year.

There is only one additional requirement added to the petition procedure now applicable to natural-born children of U.S. citizens, and that is that there be a finding of good moral character made in the case of the adoptive parents. This is, indeed, a minimum requirement if it is borne in mind that the paramount question before us is to ascertain whether the alien orphan child will find in

the United States a proper home. The authority vested in the Attorney General is sufficiently broad to permit him to eradicate the malpractices which disturb us all.

The language of the amended law makes it clear that the petition procedure prescribed by the amendment does not affect the consular officer's primary responsibility for the determination that the orphan is an "eligible orphan" as defined by law.

Both Houses agreed that the orphan provision should be extended for not more than 1 year "in order to give the Committees on the Judiciary of both Houses an opportunity to further investigate and study the administration and the broader aspects of the orphans' admission program."¹⁴

Implementation of New Acts by Department of State and Immigration and Naturalization Service

As soon as the two amendatory measures were passed by both Houses of Congress, the Department of State informed its consular officers overseas. They were also notified when the President approved the bills on September 9 and September 22, 1959, respectively. Pending the issuance of visa regulations, they were instructed concerning their part in the implementation of the new measures.

As a result of the new immigrant categories created by Public Law 86-363, it became necessary to prescribe the following new immigrant visa symbols:

New Preference Categories

Class	Section of act	Symbol
Unmarried son or daughter of U.S. citizen (second preference). ¹	203(a)(2)	U-2
Unmarried son or daughter of alien resident (third preference).	203(a)(3)	V-2
Married son or daughter of U.S. citizen (fourth preference).	203(a)(4)	W-2
Spouse of brother, sister, son, or daughter of U.S. citizen (fourth preference).	203(a)(4)	W-3
Child of brother, sister, son, or daughter of U.S. citizen (fourth preference).	203(a)(4)	W-4
Adopted son or daughter of U.S. citizen who is beneficiary of petition approved prior to enactment of P.L. 86-363 (fourth preference).	Sec. 5(e), P.L. 86-363	W-5

¹ Second preference quota visas issued to parents of U.S. citizens will bear the symbol U-1.

¹² *Congressional Record* of July 15, 1959, p. 12254.

¹³ *Ibid.*, July 16, 1959, p. 12386.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

New Nonquota Categories

Class	Section of act	Symbol
Parent of U.S. citizen registered prior to December 31, 1953.	Sec. 4, P.L. 86-363.	K-15
Spouse or child of alien resident registered prior to December 31, 1953.	Sec. 4, P.L. 86-363.	K-16
Brother, sister, son, or daughter of U.S. citizen registered prior to December 31, 1953.	Sec. 4, P.L. 86-363.	K-17
Spouse or child of alien classified K-15, K-16, or K-17.	Sec. 4, P.L. 86-363.	K-18
Parent of U.S. citizen admitted as alien under Refugee Relief Act of 1953.	Sec. 6, P.L. 86-363.	K-19
Spouse or child of alien admitted under Refugee Relief Act of 1953.	Sec. 6, P.L. 86-363.	K-20

These symbols are inserted on immigrant visas and are frequently used in referring to a particular immigrant class. The consular officers were also informed of the ruling by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that petitions approved on behalf of a relative under the old law would automatically be valid for the new preference classification of the alien under the new law. For example, a fourth preference petition approved prior to September 22, 1959, on behalf of an unmarried son of a U.S. citizen may be considered valid for second preference quota status under the new act. This ruling, however, does not apply to the case of an adopted son or daughter for whom a fourth preference quota petition was approved prior to September 22, 1959, the effective date of Public Law 86-363. If such an alien should become eligible for a higher preference status, a new petition will be required in the light of the specific language of the new statute.¹⁵

In implementing the orphan provision of Public Law 86-253 the Immigration and Naturalization Service published regulations on September 12, 1959, designating Form I-600, revised on September 1, 1959, as the petition form to be used by the petitioning adoptive parents.¹⁶ The fee for filing the petition is \$10.

Recent Immigration Legislation and the President's Program

U.S. immigration legislation has always stressed the principle of unification of families. This concept has governed the establishment of quota preferences under the Immigration Acts of May 19,

1921, and May 26, 1924. Increasing emphasis has been given to this principle by Congress in the Immigration and Nationality Act and in subsequent immigration legislation.

Another principle was developed in the Immigration and Nationality Act, namely, that of according quota preference to skilled aliens needed in the United States. Public Law 85-316 of September 11, 1957, evolved the method of according nonquota status to prospective immigrants who, based on their skill or their close relationship to American citizens or permanent resident aliens, had qualified for quota preference status before a certain cutoff date. Specifically, it accorded nonquota status to all aliens entitled to first, second, or third preference status on whose behalf the Attorney General had approved visa petitions before July 1957. The Congress took this step in view of the existing oversubscription of the preference portions of several immigration quotas. In explaining this action the House Judiciary Committee observed:¹⁷

It has been the policy of the Congress to approve legislation designed to facilitate the reunification of families and it is believed that the enactment of this section of the instant bill will be fully in line with that policy.

The act of August 21, 1958, continued the approach initiated by the act of September 11, 1957, when it accorded nonquota status to aliens eligible for first preference quota visas on whose behalf a petition had been approved by the Attorney General prior to July 1, 1958, thus extending by 1 year the cutoff date provided in the 1957 act. Commenting on this change the House Judiciary Committee noted:¹⁸

The amendment represents a further demonstration of the committee's recognition of the fact that the entry of aliens, whose services are urgently needed in the United States by reason of their high education, experience, exceptional ability, their special skills, etc., and their spouses and children, is in the best interests of the United States.

As described above, Public Law 86-363 converts additional categories of preference quota immigrants to nonquota status based on their meeting

¹⁷ H. Rept. 1199, 85th Cong., 1st sess., Aug. 19, 1957, p. 12.

¹⁸ H. Rept. 2258, 85th Cong., 2d sess., July 23, 1958, p. 3.

¹⁵ P.L. 86-363, 86th Cong., 1st sess., sec. 5(c).

¹⁶ 24 Fed. Reg. 7364.

certain deadlines in relation to their registration on quota waiting lists and the approval of visa petitions in their behalf.

In evaluating the policy of Congress to give special recognition to the need for certain skilled aliens in the United States and to the principle of family unification, it is interesting to note that the same considerations motivated the President when, in his messages of February 8, 1956, and January 31, 1957, to Congress, he proposed that quota numbers not used in one year be reallocated on a regional basis during each following fiscal year for the use of aliens entitled to preference quota status as skilled aliens or as close relatives of U.S. citizens or permanent residence aliens. In his message of January 31, 1957, the President stated:¹⁹

... quota numbers unused in one year should be available for use in the following year. Under existing law if a quota number is not used during the year it becomes void. In my view Congress should pool the unused quota numbers for Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific Oceanic area. Those numbers should be distributed during a twelve-month period on a first-come, first-serve basis without regard to country of birth within the area. However, I recommend that these unused quota numbers be available only to aliens who qualify for preference status under existing law—persons having needed skills or close relatives in the United States.

While the objectives of legislation enacted by Congress in recent years and the proposals made by the President in his messages to Congress are identical, the approach used by Congress presents certain administrative problems which the President's formula would not create. The Department of State commented on the pertinent provisions of Public Law 86-363 in a letter dated August 10, 1959, to the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee as follows:²⁰

While the Department, as previously stated, endorses the objectives of this bill, it would like to point out that the adoption of Congress of the formula for a redistribution of unused quota numbers, as contained in section 1 of S. 2178, would take care of the problem this bill is designed to alleviate and would do so on a continu-

ing basis within the numerical limits of the quotas established for all quota areas. The provisions of section 1 of S. 2178 are based on the recommendations of the President as set forth in his messages of February 8, 1956, and January 31, 1957, to the Congress. It is believed that if the President's formula for redistributing unused quota numbers had been adopted when it was first proposed the backlog demands on the preference categories would have been eliminated within 2 years after its enactment. In addition to meeting a recurring problem on a permanent basis, it would obviate the necessity for such legislation as sections 9 and 12 of the act of September 11, 1957, and section 2 of the act of August 21, 1958. The President's proposals would also tend to stabilize the workload in the Department as well as in the field thereby avoiding the need for the employment of temporary staffs with all its resultant budgetary and personnel problems.

If past history of U.S. immigration law is any yardstick to future legislation, the following observation may be significant. The Immigration Act of 1924, as originally passed, accorded non-quota status to the alien wife of a U.S. citizen but only preference quota status to the alien husband of a U.S. citizen wife. In 1928 Congress amended this provision by according nonquota status to alien husbands of American women if the marriage occurred before June 1, 1928. Alien husbands by subsequent marriage were still limited to preference quota status. In 1932 Congress moved the cutoff date from June 1, 1928, to July 1, 1932, and in 1948 to January 1, 1948. With the enactment of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1952 alien spouses of U.S. citizens were placed on an equal footing, irrespective of sex. Thus Congress, after observing the effect of the remedial legislation limited by deadline, eventually took care of the existing problem on a permanent basis.

Should the committees of Congress reach the conclusion that aliens entitled to preference quota status because of their skill or close relationship to U.S. citizens and permanent resident aliens should be given continued consideration on a permanent basis, it would appear that the adoption of the President's formula for the annual redistribution of unused quota numbers would achieve this purpose and would enable the administrative agencies entrusted with the enforcement of the law to plan for their budgetary and staff needs more adequately than they can if confronted with periodic enactments which only temporarily achieve the desired objective.

¹⁹ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 18, 1957, p. 247. For text of message of Feb. 8, 1956, see *ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1956, p. 275.

²⁰ S. Rept. 962, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Sept. 8, 1959, p. 6. The Department offered the same comments in a letter to Chairman Emanuel Celler of the House Judiciary Committee dated June 24, 1959.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

2d Session of UNHCR Executive Committee

The Department of State announced on October 5 (press release 697) the designation of Robert S. McCollum, Deputy Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, and Charles H. Owsley, Deputy U.S. Representative at the European headquarters of the United Nations at Geneva, as the U.S. Representative and Alternate Representative, respectively, to the second session of the Executive Committee of the Program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which will convene at Geneva, October 6, 1959.

Robert K. Gray of the White House, Secretary to the Cabinet, will attend some of the meetings of the session and will bring to the Executive Committee a message from the President. Parker Montgomery, special assistant to the Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration, and George L. Warren, Jr., of the American Office of Field Coordination at Frankfurt am Main, Germany, will serve as advisers.

The 12th session of the U.N. General Assembly decided to allow the U.N. Refugee Fund (UNREF) to expire as scheduled on December 31, 1958, and authorized the High Commissioner to continue to give supplemental assistance in specific refugee situations within the framework of his office rather than through a separate fund. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees is Auguste Lindt of Switzerland.

Some of the main topics this session will consider include the progress on Hungarian refugees; the report on implementation of the General Assembly resolution on assistance to refugees from Algeria in Morocco and Tunisia; a program for camp clearance and a fund for special hardship cases; a program for new refugees in Greece; an emergency account for individual cases; and the status of governmental and private contributions.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

General Assembly

Supplementary Estimates for the Financial Year 1959 (Part I). Thirteenth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4221. September 21, 1959. 18 pp.

Economic and Social Council

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries: International Co-operation for the Development of Under-developed Countries. Interim report under General Assembly resolution 1316 (XIII)—additional replies from governments. E/3258/Add. 2. July 7, 1959. 13 pp.

Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: Addendum. Corrigendum. E/3263/Add. 1/Corr. 1. July 13, 1959. 1 p.

Calendar of Conferences for 1960. Report by the Secretary-General. E/3300 and Corr. 1. July 30, 1959. 6 pp.

Financial Implications of Actions of the Council. Summary submitted by the Secretary-General. E/3301. July 30, 1959. 6 pp.

Technical Assistance Committee. Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance Payments to the Special Account Including Voluntary Payments and Estimated Local Costs Assessments for the Ninth Financial Period (1959) as at 31 July 1959. E/TAC/REP/153. August 12, 1959. 5 pp.

Inter-Agency Agreements and Agreements Between Agencies and Other Inter-Governmental Organizations. Proposed agreement between the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Civil Aviation Organization. E/3302. September 10, 1959. 6 pp.

Trusteeship Council

Conditions in the Trust Territory of Somaliland Under Italian Administration. Communications dated July 30, 1959, from the Chargé d'Affaires of the permanent mission of Ethiopia to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General. T/1481. August 3, 1959. 2 pp.

Disarmament Commission

Letter Dated 7 September 1959 From the Representatives of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the Secretary-General Transmitting the Text of a Communiqué Issued on 7 September by the Four Powers and Requesting the Convening of the Disarmament Commission. DC/144. September 8, 1959. 3 pp.

Verbatim Record of the Sixty-fifth Meeting, September 10, 1959. DC/PV.65. September 10, 1959. 81 pp.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

Letter Dated 7 September 1959 From the Representatives of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the Secretary-General Transmitting the Text of a Communique Issued on 7 September by the Four Powers and Requesting the Convening of the Disarmament Commission. Joint draft resolution by several states. DC/145. September 10, 1959. 1 p.

Resolution Adopted by the Disarmament Commission at its Sixty-fifth Meeting on 10 September 1959. DC/146. September 11, 1959. 1 p.

TREATY INFORMATION

United States and U.A.R. Sign Educational Exchange Agreement

Press release 689 dated September 30

The United Arab Republic and the United States signed on September 28 an agreement putting into operation a new program of educational exchanges authorized by the Fulbright Act. The signing took place at Cairo with Kamal al-Din Hussein, Minister of Education, representing the U.A.R. Government and Ambassador Raymond A. Hare representing the U.S. Government.

The agreement makes available U.A.R. currency received from the sale of surplus agricultural products in the United Arab Republic to finance exchanges of persons between the two countries to study, conduct advanced research, teach, or engage in other educational activities. The purpose of this program will be to further mutual understanding between the peoples of the United Arab Republic and the United States through a wider exchange of knowledge and professional skills. Exchanges of persons under the Fulbright Act are carried out as a regular part of the international educational exchange program of the Department of State.

Under the terms of the agreement a binational commission, to be known as the Commission for the Exchange of Students and Professors Between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic, will be established in Cairo to facilitate the administration of the program. The Com-

mission's board of directors will consist of eight members, with equal representation of U.A.R. and U.S. citizens. In addition, the U.S. Ambassador and the U.A.R. Minister of Education will serve jointly as honorary chairmen of the board.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹

Signature: Haiti, June 1, 1959.

Aviation

Protocol relating to certain amendments to the convention on international civil aviation (TIAS 1591). Done at Montreal June 14, 1954. Entered into force December 12, 1956. TIAS 3756.

Ratification deposited: Guinea, June 26, 1959.

International Court of Justice

Statute of the International Court of Justice (59 Stat. 1055).

Declaration recognizing compulsory jurisdiction deposited (with conditions and reservations): India, September 14, 1959.² Effective until notice of termination is given.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.¹

Ratified by the President: September 10, 1959.

BILATERAL

China

Agreement amending the agreement of January 13, 1954, for the loan of two United States destroyers to China (TIAS 2916). Effected by exchange of notes at Taipei September 22, 1959. Entered into force September 22, 1959.

Germany, Federal Republic of

Agreement relating to air traffic control. Signed at Bonn October 1, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

India

Understanding that the assurances contained in the agreement of March 7 and 16, 1951 (TIAS 2241), are applicable to equipment, materials, information, and services

¹ Not in force.

² Over all disputes arising after Jan. 26, 1950, with regard to situations or facts subsequent to that date.

furnished under the Mutual Security Act of 1954 (22 U.S.C. 1751), as amended, and such other applicable United States laws as may come into effect. Effected by exchange of notes at New Delhi April 16 and December 17, 1958. Entered into force December 17, 1958.

Korea

Agreement on disposal of United States excess property located in Korea, with memorandum of interpretation and understanding. Signed at Seoul October 1, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

Lebanon

Agreement providing for a grant to the Government of Lebanon to assist in the acquisition of nuclear research and training equipment and supplies. Effected by exchange of notes at Beirut September 16, 1959. Entered into force September 16, 1959.

Peru

Agreement further amending the agricultural commodities agreement of April 9, 1958, as amended (TIAS 4045 and 4118). Effected by exchange of notes at Lima September 11 and 25, 1959. Entered into force September 25, 1959.

United Arab Republic

Agreement for financing certain educational exchange programs. Signed at Cairo September 28, 1959. Entered into force September 28, 1959.

Agreement for financing certain educational exchange programs, with exchange of notes. Signed at Cairo November 3, 1949. TIAS 2039.
Terminated: September 28, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Department Exhibits Photographs of Korean Monuments and Temples

The Department of State announced on October 2 (press release 693) that an exhibition of color photographs of Korean monuments of architecture and sculpture would be held in the lobby of the Department of State building, October 6-23. The exhibit is sponsored by the Government of the Republic of Korea and the Korea Society.

The photographs were taken by the U.S. Army Signal Corps and the U.S. Embassy at Seoul during a Department of State survey of the losses and survivals of historic and artistic monuments during the Korean conflict. The survey was made by Ardelia R. Hall, Arts and Monuments Adviser of the Department of State, in cooperation with the Embassy at Seoul and the Korean Government.

This exhibition is the first showing of the Signal Corps photographs of Korea's national treasures.

The photographs portray temples and palaces in the natural beauty of their mountain settings. They also show stone monuments and gilded bronze statues, masterpieces of sculpture from the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Following this exhibition three duplicate exhibits will be sent on tours in the United States and Europe.

Closing of Consulate at Niagara Falls

Press release 685 dated September 30

The Department of State announced on September 30 that the U.S. consulate at Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, will be closed to the public on November 27 and its functions transferred to the U.S. consulate general at Toronto.

After November 27, 1959, all visa, citizenship, and other consular services formerly rendered by the Niagara Falls office will be handled by the U.S. consulate general at 360 University Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

The decision to close the Niagara Falls office was reached after consideration of a study which showed that the functions of the consulate could be carried on more economically by the consulate general in Toronto and that transportation facilities were such that few people would be inconvenienced by this decision.

Recess Appointments

The President on October 5 appointed Walter P. McConaughy to be Ambassador to Korea. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 700 dated October 6.)

Designations

James G. Hoofnagle as Deputy Budget and Finance Officer, effective August 23.

Edwin E. Vallon as Deputy Director, Office of Caribbean and Mexican Affairs, effective October 4.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Mutual Security in Action—Pakistan. Pub. 6819. Near and Middle Eastern Series 40. 12 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, government, economy,

and problems of Pakistan and the extent of the U.S. assistance programs.

Development of Resources Key to Iran's Future. Pub. 6840. Near and Middle Eastern Series 42. 14 pp. Limited distribution.

Address delivered by Harry A. Brenn, Director of U.S. Operations Mission in Iran, before the Iran-America Society at Tehran, Iran, on May 6, 1959.

U.S. Participation in the UN. Pub. 6852. International Organization and Conference Series 4. xvii, 300 pp. 75¢.

An annual report by the President to the Congress on the participation of the United States in the United Nations during 1958.

U.S. Participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency. Pub. 6870. International Organization and Conference Series 5. 58 pp. Limited distribution.

The second annual report by the President to the Congress on the participation of the United States in the International Atomic Energy Agency for the year 1958.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4238. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Uruguay, supplementing agreement of February 20, 1959. Signed at Montevideo May 21, 1959. Entered into force May 21, 1959, with exchange of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4239. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, amending agreement of December 31, 1956, as corrected and amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington May 29, 1959. Entered into force May 29, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4245. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Poland. Signed at Washington June 10, 1959. Entered into force June 10, 1959, with exchange of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4246. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Argentina. Signed at Washington June 12, 1959. Entered into force June 12, 1959, with exchanges of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4248. 16 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Indonesia. Signed at Djakarta May 29, 1959. Entered into force May 29, 1959, with exchanges of notes.

Army, Naval, and Air Force Missions to Ecuador. TIAS 4249. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Ecuador, amending agreements of June 29, 1944, as amended and extended, and December 12, 1940, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Dated at Quito February 25 and May 22, 1959. Entered into force May 22, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4251. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and

Viet-Nam. Signed at Washington April 22, 1959. Entered into force July 1, 1959.

Defense—Credit Sales of Military Equipment, Materials, and Services. TIAS 4252. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the NATO Maintenance Supply Services System. Signed at Paris June 22, 1959. Entered into force June 22, 1959.

American Commission for Cultural Exchange With Italy—Educational Exchange Program. TIAS 4254. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Italy, amending agreement of December 18, 1948, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rome June 17, 1959. Entered into force June 17, 1959.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: October 5-11

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to October 5 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 680 of September 29, 685 and 689 of September 30, and 693 of October 2.

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696	10/5	U.S. observer delegation to CENTO ministerial meeting (rewrite).
697	10/5	U.S. delegation to U.N. refugee meeting (rewrite).
698	10/5	U.S. members of Permanent Court of Arbitration (rewrite).
†699	10/5	Brand: Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry.
*700	10/6	McConaughy appointed Ambassador to Korea (biographic details).
701	10/6	Ethiopian Crown Prince tours U.S. (rewrite).
702	10/6	Herter: question of summit conference (combined with No. 703).
703	10/6	Herter: news conference.
704	10/7	Herter: CENTO ministerial meeting.
†705	10/7	Program for visit of President of Mexico (rewrite).
706	10/7	Dillon: "Strengthening the Foundations of Freedom in the Far East."
707	10/7	President Eisenhower: message to Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry.
708	10/7	DLF loan to Iran (rewrite).
*709	10/7	Holmgren receives ICA distinguished service award.
*710	10/8	Revisions on itinerary of President of Mexico.
†711	10/9	Refugee relief (rewrite).
712	10/9	Merchant: World Affairs Council of Philadelphia.
†713	10/9	U.S. delegation to conference on Antarctica (rewrite).
†714	10/9	Dillon trip to GATT meeting, Tokyo.
*715	10/9	Cultural exchange (Togoland).

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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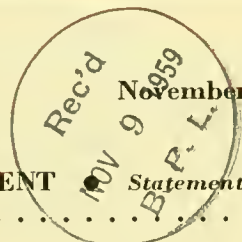
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THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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The Question of Disarmament

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

Once again in the United Nations we turn to the question of disarmament, on which so much of the world's yearnings for peace are concentrated. The United States is as fully aware as ever that it shares a great responsibility for wise decisions on disarmament which will contribute to peace. In our efforts to carry out that responsibility we seek, as always, the help and encouragement of the General Assembly, to which the charter assigns a special function in the disarmament field.

Last Friday [October 9] in this committee we heard Mr. [V. V.] Kuznetsov's speech elaborating on the Soviet Union's proposal for complete and total disarmament² which was made by Chairman Khrushchev to the General Assembly. Before commenting on the Soviet proposal, let me recall briefly three important steps which have taken place in the disarmament field in this past year, which Mr. Kuznetsov did not mention but which are important nonetheless.

First, we have had real negotiations aimed at an agreement to stop all tests of nuclear weapons under international control.³ These talks were first proposed by the United States. They have been going on at Geneva since October 1958 between the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. There are several very important issues to be met, but the amount of agreement already achieved is encouraging.

Second, late in 1958 experts from 10 powers met

in Geneva to discuss the techniques of safeguarding against surprise attack. Even though there was no agreement, the very fact that this meeting took place testified to the fact that the problem of surprise attack is recognized as overwhelmingly important. Groundwork was laid which will make future efforts more fruitful.

Third, the United States, France, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom have agreed on the establishment of a 10-nation disarmament committee⁴ to resume general disarmament negotiations early next year, a step which was welcomed only a month ago by the 82-member Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.⁵

The proposals we have heard from the Soviet Union during this Assembly, and also the more detailed proposals made to the Assembly by Foreign Secretary [Selwyn] Lloyd of the United Kingdom,⁶ will undoubtedly be considered in that 10-nation committee.

Those are three positive signs. In the light of them let me now comment briefly on the Soviet proposal as outlined by Mr. Kuznetsov.

U.S. Attitude on Disarmament

This is not the place to consider details, but I wish to make clear the general attitude of the United States. I can sum it up in three points.

First, the United States unreservedly supports and has always supported the greatest possible amount of controlled disarmament.

Second, in any disarmament program, whether

¹ Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Oct. 14 (U.S. delegation press release 3252 dated Oct. 13).

² For text of the Soviet proposal, see U.N. doc. A/4219.

³ For a statement by James J. Wadsworth on Mar. 25, 1959, reviewing the negotiations, see BULLETIN of May 18, 1959, p. 700.

⁴ For text of Four Power communique of Sept. 7, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁶ For text, see U.N. doc. A/PV.798.

it be 100 percent or 1 percent disarmament, adequate and timely inspection and control must be built into the system, so that both sides reduce their armaments in plain sight of each other every step of the way. Such a program creates confidence; anything less creates fear, mutual suspicion, increased tension, and increased danger of war.

Third, we do not know what inspection and control the Soviet Union would accept on its own proposal for complete disarmament. And I am sorry to say that Mr. Kuznetsov's general assurances on this point in his speech last Friday did not do much to enlighten us. In fact, as he himself said, at this stage it would not be advisable to examine details, "including the details of control."

These considerations, Mr. Chairman, lead the United States to conclude that the detailed consideration of the Soviet proposal, and of other proposals as well, should be the job of the new 10-nation disarmament committee, on the establishment of which the Soviet Union and we have agreed.

As far as the United States is concerned, we will join in the 10-nation committee in giving to the Soviet proposals the most serious scrutiny. And the sounder and clearer and more unambiguous the accompanying plan for inspection and control, which we have not yet seen, the more attention the proposal itself will deserve. There cannot be 100 percent disarmament with only 10 percent inspection.

When the 10-nation committee meets it will have before it other proposals as well. For example, we look forward to discussing there the proposals of the United Kingdom as set forth by Foreign Secretary Lloyd.

As for the United States, President Eisenhower has recently set in motion a new and thorough review of disarmament in the light of present-day technology.⁷ This review will prepare us to participate fully and constructively in the deliberations scheduled for next year.

The United States has made many concrete proposals in the past for both comprehensive and partial disarmament in its repeated attempts to cut the Gordian knot. We are ready, as we have always been, to examine sympathetically and in a constructive spirit any equitable and control-

lable proposals—since only such proposals will permit progress toward our goal.

While we are exploring these new ideas we must not forget the practical smaller steps which we might now be able to take and which can lay the basis for further progress. We must not be such perfectionists that we reject useful ideas. We must not fall victim to the fallacy that nothing can be done in the field of disarmament until everything is done. In this field there are many urgent goals which are both practicable and significant.

Conference on Surprise Attack

This past year has seen some important developments in this area of limited measures. The first was in surprise attack. The Assembly has before it in document A/4078 of January 5 the report of the conference of experts on surprise attack. As members of this committee know, this meeting did not result in agreement among the participating nations. Unfortunately the two sides involved came to the conference with radically different conceptions of what it was to accomplish. While the results are disappointing, it should not be said that the talks were useless.

This conference was proposed by the United States to study the technical aspects of safeguards against surprise attack. We had hoped that the successful conference of experts on nuclear testing could point the way to an equally successful consideration of this more difficult problem.

Accordingly the experts of the Western democracies prepared for serious scientific discussion at this conference and presented at the outset a technical survey of the full range of possible instruments of surprise attack and of their capabilities and characteristics. They submitted various illustrative papers suggesting how these techniques could be combined in different systems of observation and inspection to safeguard against attack by different weapons systems. These papers and an analysis of some of the problems of designing an integrated system may be found in the document I cited earlier.

We of the democratic countries believed that these papers could serve as a point of departure for technical discussions to achieve a common understanding of the technical problems and possibilities involved in controlling the danger of surprise attack. We sought this understanding in

⁷ BULLETIN of Aug. 17, 1959, p. 237.

order to lay a sound basis for subsequent political negotiations, where the question of the acceptability of various measures and their relationship to other arms-control steps would properly be considered.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union and its allies, in our view, put the cart before the horse. They proposed conclusions before agreement was even reached on the facts to be discussed.

After the period of time originally suggested by the Soviet Union for the discussion had elapsed, the meeting recessed to allow further consideration of the terms of reference of the conference by their governments.⁸ There appeared to be little purpose in continuing a meeting in which the two sides did not use a common language.

The United States continues to believe that technical considerations cannot be bypassed if we are to find ways to reduce the dangers of massive surprise attack. However, if we cannot have discussions solely on the technical aspects of this subject, the United States is prepared to join in treating the full range of technical issues along with the political problems. The forthcoming 10-power negotiations seem to offer such an opportunity.

Progress Made in Nuclear Test Talks

Mr. Chairman, there is one issue among the many which make up the disarmament problem which we had already brought a long way toward solution before the 10-nation group was set up. That is the search for a treaty to end nuclear tests under international control. The negotiations on this question have progressed so far in their present form that the United States believes they should be continued under the same auspices and should be vigorously pressed to completion.

Let me stress again the promise which we see in these nuclear test talks. They have been going on for nearly a year, but we are not disheartened. Progress has been considerable.

It is of the highest importance that all three of the powers involved should press on with these nuclear test suspension talks in an earnest effort to reach agreement as soon as possible. Not only is the subject important in its own right; it is also important for its bearing on the whole disarmament

problem and especially the vital question of control. Every step forward taken in these negotiations can break a trail for control of future disarmament agreements.

When the negotiations were expected to begin last year, President Eisenhower announced that the United States would refrain from all nuclear tests for 1 year from October 31—the day the talks began.⁹ That year ends in a few weeks. We so urgently want these talks to succeed that the President of the United States has extended this unilateral pledge to the end of the present year, 1959.¹⁰

The United States regards these negotiations as a key to our ability to deal effectively and realistically with the problem of arms control. For the first time since 1946 we have been able to progress from generalities about disarmament to the long and difficult, but indispensable, process of actually drafting a treaty. This in itself is a significant move ahead. Although many issues of principle remain unsolved, the negotiating powers have been able to reach agreement on a number of important points.

Agreements Reached

First, agreement has been reached that the obligation to stop nuclear weapons testing and the establishment of the control systems must go hand in hand. Acceptance of this key principle by the Soviet Union is definitely encouraging for the broader prospects of arms control.

Secondly, agreement has been reached that the treaty will last indefinitely so long as the obligations and terms of the treaty are being fulfilled and observed. The United States and United Kingdom have dropped their insistence that continuation of the test ban be year by year and dependent upon progress toward general disarmament, a position which the Soviet Union regarded as a fundamental bar to agreements.

Thirdly, agreement has been reached on the broad outlines of an organizational structure for the control system, which will be headed by a seven-nation control commission, to direct its operations. Vienna has been agreed as the headquarters of the organization.

Fourthly, agreement in principle has been reached that nuclear explosions for peaceful pur-

⁸ For a Department statement made when the talks recessed on Dec. 18, 1958, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1958, p. 378.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

poses will be allowed. The United States believes there may be important peaceful applications for nuclear explosives in the future. These explosions should be carried out under carefully prescribed conditions under international observation.

Fifth, agreement has been reached on the specific wording of 17 treaty articles and a preamble. Many of these articles deal with noncontroversial and clearly subordinate matters. However, they represent the first definite treaty provisions in the field of arms control on which agreement has been reached in the 14 years since the United Nations was established.

Sixth, agreement has been reached that the treaty will be open for adherence by other nations and that the common objective is to establish a worldwide control system. Naturally, the treaty will initially come into force when it is ratified by the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R.

Seventh, agreement has been reached that the treaty provisions would be reviewed periodically to evaluate the effectiveness of the controls and to determine the need for specific improvements. Procedures for amendment of the treaty have been agreed.

Finally, scientists representing the three powers met at Geneva and reached agreed technical conclusions on ways and means of detecting high-altitude and outer-space explosions by satellites and certain ground-based instruments. This fills one of the important technical gaps which existed at the outset of the conference. That, Mr. Chairman, is a brief recital of what has been accomplished in this field—things that we and the Soviet Union have agreed to.

Issues Which Remain Unsettled

Let me now turn to the more important of the issues which remain unsettled.

First, there is the question of the makeup of the international staff at the control posts which are to be set up throughout the world. The positions of the negotiating parties have come closer, but an important gap still remains. After much discussion, the Soviet Union has now agreed to the stationing of 10 or 11 foreign specialists at each control post, where the technical personnel will number about 30. The Western Powers have proposed that each control post be made

up of one-third United States-United Kingdom nationals, one-third Soviet nationals, and one-third specialists from countries other than those three and that the post chief not be a national of the host country. If our aim is a worldwide control system, provision must be made for participation from other members of the United Nations. We hope that when the negotiations resume the Soviet Union will agree to this proposal and that this issue can be considered to be "settled."

A second major remaining problem centers on the question of the voting procedure to be used by the control commission in reaching decisions. There has been a great deal of discussion of this question, with movement on both sides. The Soviets continue to demand a veto over budgetary, financial, administrative, and economic matters, and their position on the veto in certain other cases is not entirely clear to us. We have repeatedly stated we are not willing to subject to the veto the day-to-day operations of the system designed to make sure that nuclear weapons tests have in fact ceased.

Finally—and by far the most important—is the question of inspection. Let me sketch briefly the technical facts about this issue.

When a nuclear weapon is exploded underground, no radioactive debris is put into the atmosphere. The only clue left by such explosions is in the form of seismic signals, which would be recorded under normal conditions on control post instruments. The difficulty is that these signals are indistinguishable from those created by natural disturbances such as earthquakes, which occur in great numbers throughout the world. Accordingly in many instances the only way to tell whether the signals received come from earthquakes or from underground tests conducted in violation of an agreement is to go to the spot and conduct an inspection.

The experts' report of August 1958¹¹ had this to say about these disturbances—manmade or natural—which could not be identified on the basis of control post readings:

For those cases which remain unidentified inspection of the region will be necessary. . . . the international control organ can send an inspection group to the site . . . in order to determine whether a nuclear explosion had taken place or not.

The experts estimated there would be between

¹¹ For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 22, 1958, p. 453.

20 and 100 such unidentified events a year, but this applied only to those having a signal equivalent in strength to a weapon of 5,000 tons of TNT yield or above. There would be a much larger number below this yield. This estimate was based almost entirely on the data presented by United States experts about the one underground nuclear explosion which, so far as we know, had then taken place. Between that time and 31 October 1958 the United States conducted further underground nuclear explosions which indicated that this estimate was in error and that the problem of identifying underground events is more difficult than we had previously believed.

We presented these data to the conference last January 5.¹² Further, on July 12 we presented our ideas on how the control system instruments might be improved to compensate to some degree for these difficulties.¹³ We proposed that this problem be discussed at an early date by scientists from the three powers. We also suggested that these scientists should examine the possibilities of artificially muffling nuclear explosions conducted underground and the countermeasures which could be taken to protect against evasion of an agreement in this way.

The Soviet Union has not yet consented to this technical discussion. It is of great importance that the discussion take place. Only in this way can we be sure that the complex and costly control system which we propose to set up will not be obsolete from the start and will actually do the job for which it is intended.

U.S. Position on Inspection of Unidentified Events

The United States position, in a nutshell, is this: We must discuss the data which have been accumulated since the experts' report and decide on what, if any, improvements are to be made in the system before we can decide on the precise level of inspection needed to assure adequate control. We do not believe that every unidentified event must be inspected. But we do believe that if the control system is to be effective there must be some reasonable relation between the number of inspections and the number of unidentified events recorded by the system's instruments. We

believe a violator would gain a substantial military advantage if he could, with no real chance of getting caught, conduct secret nuclear explosions even in the small-yield ranges.

If the Soviet Union will accept this principle, a major step will have been taken toward successful conclusion of the Geneva negotiations.

If the Soviet Union is not yet ready to accept what is required to provide an adequate system of control for underground tests—and we hope this will not be the case—I would remind the committee of the alternative set forward by President Eisenhower in his letters of April 13¹⁴ and May 5¹⁵ to Mr. Khrushchev.

In his letter of May 5 the President wrote that, if it proved impossible to reach early agreement on all aspects of a comprehensive test ban, we need not allow this to result in complete failure of the negotiations. He stated an alternative, which the United States is still prepared to stand by, in these words:

It is that starting now we register and put into effect agreements looking toward the permanent discontinuance of all nuclear weapons tests in phases, expanding the agreement as rapidly as corresponding measures of control can be incorporated in the treaty. I would again propose that toward this end we take now the first and readily attainable step of an agreed suspension of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere up to the greatest height to which effective controls can under present circumstances be extended.

This first step would immediately reduce the fears of fallout which have been so frequently expressed.

U.S. Eager for Progress on Disarmament

I conclude.

The United States is eager for progress toward disarmament. We have been striving for 14 years, and we are not going to give up now. We are willing to take large steps or small steps—as long as they are real steps taken in confidence and all concerned take equal steps together.

The road to complete disarmament is long. The United States will be happy to travel to the end of it.

We will rejoice over savings from reduced armaments that can be spent instead to heal the sick, to feed the hungry, and to erase poverty from the world. Only yesterday, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Eisen-

¹² *Ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1959, p. 118.

¹³ For a summary of the conclusions reported by the Panel on Seismic Improvement, see *ibid.*, July 6, 1959, p. 16.

¹⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, p. 704.

¹⁵ For text, see *ibid.*, June 8, 1959, p. 825.

hower, when he was in Abilene, Kansas, reasserted his belief in this goal in these words:

No other aspiration dominates my own being so much as this: that the nations of East and West will find dependable, self-guaranteeing methods to reduce the vast and essentially wasteful expenditures for armaments, so that part of the savings may be used in a comprehensive and effective effort for world improvement.

If all nations lay down their arms, there must be institutions to preserve international peace and security and promote the rule of law.

It seems to the United States Government that there are three questions in particular to which detailed answers should be sought:

1. What type of international police force should be established to preserve international peace and security?
2. What principles of international law should govern the use of such a force?
3. What internal security forces, in precise terms, would be required by nations of the world if existing armaments are abolished?

We would welcome the views of members of this committee on how these complex and important questions might best be studied. The Disarmament Commission may well be the proper body to examine these matters.

We should not overlook the many other practical steps which lie right before us and not fall victims to the all-or-nothing theory of disarmament. We welcome the Soviet Union's expression of willingness to seek progress through limited steps. For our part, the United States is willing and anxious to move forward on any aspect of this great problem, including the following:

Reducing the threat of surprise attack;

Gaining experience in the actual operation of workable systems of international control;

Lightening the great weight of all armaments, both nuclear and other types;

And—first in priority because nearest to realization—a controlled cessation of nuclear tests.

We hope the Assembly will encourage us in our approach to these goals. And we assure the Soviet Union that, in the process of translating words into action for disarmament and peace, the Soviet Union will find the United States unflagging in its determination to get results.

President Eisenhower Dedicates Library at Abilene

Address by President Eisenhower¹

I am glad indeed to come again to Abilene. Whenever I return here, I invariably sense in these surroundings an atmosphere of simplicity and peace. This is not because Abilene is any less involved in the turbulent affairs of our interdependent world than are all other places my duties take me. Rather it is because each homecoming causes my mind to go back nostalgically to the conditions I knew as a boy. We did not then know the term "world tension"; life was peaceful, serene, and happy!

It was here that my parents spent most of their lives and my brothers and I grew to adulthood. The years of our youth preceded the exacting interdependence of the world as we know it today.

Even more than the memory of those tranquil years, it was the abiding truths we learned at home that prompted my brothers and me some years ago to give our parents' home to a foundation, organized initially by citizens of this town. Later, as you know, the foundation brought into being the beautiful museum we see across the street. Their action and ours were not taken with any intention of glorifying a name, but an idea—an idea that visits by individuals to this simple home and this museum might serve to remind us all of some of the concepts that underlie the American way.

Our parents, like most American parents of the period, were concerned primarily with the cardinal features of their religious philosophy—beliefs which shaped their own lives and their guidance of their children. Love of God, fairness in human relations, independence and responsibility, concern for the welfare of others, and conviction that each free individual could through his own efforts achieve a full life—these were all included in an idea which was as much a part of our home as the food we ate and the clothes we wore.

These concepts are foremost in my thinking now as I help break ground for this additional structure, a library.

¹ Made at ground-breaking ceremonies for the Eisenhower Presidential Library at Abilene, Kans., on Oct. 13 (White House press release).

Studying the Past for the Future

In this library will be placed initially most of the written records of my military and Presidential service. As time passes, other documents pertaining to American development in this same period may gradually be added. One important addition already committed comprises many of the papers of John Foster Dulles during the years he was Secretary of State. All of these documents will, I hope, help to deepen understanding and demonstrate the application of the concepts that were basic to life in Abilene 50 years ago. In spite of the revolutionary changes that have come to us during the half century, I believe these fundamentals are as valid for today as they were then.

The generosity of the American people in providing the beautiful structure that will rise on this land is highly gratifying to me. No gesture could touch me more deeply than centering this meaningful enterprise in the heartland of America and having it bear my name. I feel a deep sense of obligation to my personal friends and to all others who are cooperating in this enterprise, even though I realize that their participation is motivated by concern for the perpetuation of ideas rather than the records of any individual.

Now we have no illusions that a mere study by research workers of the letters, messages, memoranda, and books deposited by many individuals here will miraculously endow their readers with wisdom. Factual information must be energized by the force of reason, understanding, and interpretation. To the true historian, trends are more important than the recorded deeds of any period. A study of events of the past half century shows that the compelling forces have been at work, causing trends which will carry into decades ahead with persistent momentum.

We need not dwell on the disappearance of physical earthbound frontiers and the opening of frontiers of outer space; or on the shattering of blissful self-sufficiency and the growth of exacting interdependence; or on the development of power so awesome that nations now have no logical alternative to replace coercion with honest negotiation and cooperation. These and other great changes are obvious, but whether they will lead us to disaster or to an era of hope and accomplishment will depend on the degree of un-

derstanding and wisdom we apply in solving a vast array of problems.

Because upon our powerful Nation the mantle of free-world leadership has fallen, our responsibility in the search for solutions is inescapable. And, since in our country the basic social power is in the hands of all the people, each citizen bears directly a part of the responsibility for right action. Each of you here today must help make the fateful decisions of the future. Study of the past and the present will help to assure that these decisions are made wisely.

Answering the Questions of a Changing World

Think for a moment of the type of decision you will be forced to make in the light of just one obvious trend in the world scene.

When you of my age were youngsters, William Allen White was disturbed by the fact that Kansas was losing population. What would he say today about the rapid growth of Kansas and the swelling population of the Nation? What would be his reaction to present estimates that, while our country's population is increasing to 275 million in the next 30 years, the world's population will be nearly 5 billion people?

Many peoples of the world, once dominated and submissive, are now and will continue to be involved in a great ferment, explosive in its potential. Everywhere knowledge and ideas, spread by modern communications, are routing centuries of ignorance and superstition. Peoples now know that poverty and suppression are neither universal nor are they inevitable.

Increasingly and insistently they are demanding the elimination of the human indignities of starvation, ill-health, and peonage. They want independence, individual freedom, and responsible government. These increasingly numerous peoples of tomorrow's world will multiply those wants, and they will have at their disposal both more constructive and more destructive capacity than the world has known before.

Now how do you believe this capacity will be used? What decisions will you make in this regard?

These are sobering questions. They deserve your most earnest consideration. For if the growing power of free men is wisely and skillfully ap-

plied toward the common aspirations of humanity, then a world of peace and plenty becomes a high probability. But if power is used recklessly, or is employed in the pursuit of false, selfish goals, then civilization will risk its own destruction.

You know that the free nations of the world have the capacity and can develop the will to overcome together the powerful, perplexing forces which for thousands of years have yielded hate, distrust, poverty. Humanity's upward climb involves complex economic, educational, and political problems, all of which cry for wisdom as we seek solutions, as we search for world understanding.

I cite one homely example.

A common miracle is the telephone. You can speak into it, and with the speed of light your words will be carried around the world. Yet even this technological triumph encounters serious impediments to true, free communication among populations. Most people in the world do not have access to a telephone. This is an economic problem. Among those who do, you would not be able to understand many because of language barriers—an educational problem. And even if these difficulties were surmounted, almost a third of the world's peoples would be forbidden to talk with you—a political problem.

Achieving Progress Through Cooperation

Obviously a program for peaceful progress calls for intelligent economic, educational, and political cooperation: economic cooperation which promises that peoples everywhere may, by concerted effort, conquer hunger and disease and lift their levels of living; educational cooperation to develop that genuine human understanding on which all other cooperative activity must be based; and political cooperation not only to settle disputes which continuously arise in an imperfect world but also to build the social structures that encourage man in his striving for a better life.

Now, any reasonable person will recognize that no one nation, even with the legendary strength of an Atlas, could long support the world on its shoulders. Each nation will progress only if its own people and leaders recognize that the major responsibility for improvement is theirs. Even if every other nation were as generous as the United

States has been in recent years, this would still be so.

But this does not imply that we or any other fortunate people may be indifferent to the welfare of others. We cannot today live, either in domestic or international life, with the long-obsolete picture of the factory owner living on a hilltop in isolated riches and splendor, wholly indifferent to the aspirations and just demands of the oppressed multitudes in the plains below.

Clearly one objective of American foreign policy is and must be to help build a world economy in which each nation finds it possible to earn its own keep and to pay its own way, and do so in a manner which brings meaning and fulfillment to the lives of its citizens. Such a policy is crucial to our own prosperity and security; it is vital to the cause of a just and lasting peace.

I believe, and I trust you believe, that every free nation should have this policy. I further believe, and hope you agree, that the free nations of the world, motivated by both humanitarianism and self-interest, should cooperate voluntarily in a long-range program aimed at helping the presently less privileged peoples work step by step toward a better life. Every nation should contribute to the common enterprise in whatever way it can. No nation should be deemed incapable of contributing in some fashion to the worldwide goal.

The ingredients of this assistance must be technical services, private and public loans, dependable, mutually helpful trade relationships, grants in emergency situations, security help in transition years, and, above all, continuing efforts to build true understanding among nations and peoples, without which all else will fail.

Foreign capital helped our own country make spectacular progress during the first three quarters of the 19th century—capital which over a 40-year period we repaid with interest. So too can private and public capital, under the right conditions, now assist the less developed nations make sound progress toward the achievement of their goals. Those "right conditions" must include both an honorable and responsible attitude within the nations needing the capital and intelligent trade relations among all free nations.

No other aspiration dominates my own being so much as this: that the nations of East and West

will find dependable, self-guaranteeing methods to reduce the vast and essentially wasteful expenditures for armaments, so that part of the savings may be used in a comprehensive and effective effort for world improvement.

As the less developed nations succeed in establishing viable economies and raising their living standards, our own economy will soar to new heights and our technology will be challenged as never before. Burdensome surpluses—even those of wheat—will disappear. Indeed, the world may then be threatened with very real deficits—of food, energy, minerals. Enlarged demand throughout the world will have to be met by new methods and more effective use of resources everywhere.

The world must learn to work together—or finally it will not work at all.

This is not a problem for the distant future. Within the lifetime of many of you here today, the global population will be 5 billion. You must now help determine how such a vast humanity may, in freedom, achieve stupendous increases in economic output and increase the sum of human happiness on this earth.

Allegiance to the Free-World Community

The task ahead is not for the fainthearted.

But does anyone of central Kansas need to be told that our parents and grandparents who first worked this black soil were not fainthearted? They had faith—faith in the religious concepts that dominated their beings, faith in the virtue and success of their own labor, faith in their neighbors and in the inexhaustible potential of free men.

If they were here today they would, I'm sure, wonder whether we possess for our time, as they did for theirs, a comprehension of the concepts and basic principles which, universally applied, can lead mankind toward a world community of free nations, characterized by peace and justice.

Our forefathers who pioneered this land were concerned initially with individual family welfare. Soon, however, they developed allegiance to larger communities—the State and Nation—and in doing so they did not diminish their devotion to family or local community; indeed, they strengthened it. If they saw the world as it is today, they would be the first to realize that peoples everywhere must now achieve an allegiance to the wider, free-world community, and doing so they will thereby strengthen—make more meaningful—their devotion to family, to State, and Nation.

When this library is filled with documents and scholars come here to probe into some of the facts of the past half century, I hope that they, as we today, are concerned primarily with the ideals, principles, and trends that provide guides to a free, rich, peaceful future, in which all peoples can achieve ever-rising levels of human well-being.

Those who have so generously made possible the construction of this library do not seek reward or acclaim. Yet I profoundly believe that they will feel deep gratification in the knowledge that thus they may have helped in some small measure to assure the Nation's eternal adherence to these simple ideals and principles as free men shape historic trends toward noble goals.

May God grant that this may be so.

Thank you very much.

Letters of Credence

Argentine Republic

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Argentine Republic, Emilio Donato del Carril, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on October 15. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 724 dated October 15.

Presidents of Mexico and United States Reaffirm Ties of Friendship

Adolfo López Mateos, President of the United Mexican States, returning the visit of President Eisenhower to Acapulco in February 1959, made a state visit to the United States October 9-15, 1959. After 3 days in Washington, President López Mateos and his party traveled to Chicago, New York, Ottawa and Niagara Falls, Canada, and the LBJ Ranch near Stonewall, Texas, where they were guests of Senator Lyndon Johnson. Following are texts of the exchange of greetings at the Washington National Airport on October 9 and a joint statement released on October 12, together with a list of the members of the official party.

EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS

White House press release dated October 9

President Eisenhower

Mr. President, the people of the United States extend a very warm welcome to you, to Mrs. López Mateos, and to your lovely daughter. We feel that we are more than merely your geographical neighbor. We are proud to call you our friend. And we devoutly hope that you feel in that same fashion toward us.

We have very much in common—more than a common boundary of 1,600 miles in length; we live by the same values; we believe in human dignity and human rights and human freedom. We have the same objectives in our countries, of protecting and furthering the interests of each citizen, the humble and the great.

Through the years there has developed between our two countries a greater understanding, a greater affection, and for these things we are exceedingly grateful. Moreover, one of our great objectives is that in search for peace. We are determined between ourselves to handle our prob-

lems, that inevitably occur between friends and neighbors, on the basis of fairness and justice to both sides.

Now, for you today, I hope as you start this visit you will experience, every minute you are here, the same warm feelings of cordial friendship on every side that I experienced when I was your guest in Acapulco¹—one of the brightest and most cherished memories that I have in my entire tour in this Office—they are those days that I spent with you. And if the American people can make you feel that same deep satisfaction that comes from being surrounded by cordial friendship, I assure you, sir, they will try—there is no question about that.

So again, *bienvenido*. [Welcome.]

President López Mateos

Translation

Mr. President, distinguished friends: Your Excellency's cordial welcome to the beautiful Capital of the United States of America and the friendly words which with characteristic warmth you have addressed to Mexico, its people and its President, have moved me as a Mexican. As such, and Chief of State, I thank you for this kind reception.

Once again Your Excellency has shown your friendship toward my country. On your visits to Mexico you have had occasion to come into contact with the Mexican people. You thereby became better acquainted with the history of my country, its character and aspirations. You know, consequently, that the Mexican, through pride in his heritage and courage in the defense of his country's sovereignty—to him not merely a legal concept but an integral part of his historical makeup—has developed a mental attitude favorably disposed toward peaceful relations with the

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 9, 1959, p. 331.

other peoples of the earth. Especially is this true with the United States of America, for whom Mexico in this new era of mutual respect and of increasing reciprocal understanding has feelings of friendship in which we can justly take pride. It is a friendship untarnished, pure in its simplicity, free of the bitterness and misunderstandings of the past, free of burdening commitments in the present, and free to determine a future which shall be rich in joint accomplishments, all within the dignity and respect which enhance every truly friendly relationship.

Because of this existing friendship between Mexico and the United States of America, and because it is a living, tangible fact, you were able during your trips to my country—and especially in the course of your visit to Acapulco—to perceive that the people of Mexico appreciate and admire the great people of the United States, whose immense creative spirit and high moral virtues they fully recognize.

Thousands of Mexicans live in the United States. Two or three hundred thousand come every year to work temporarily in your agriculture. On my arrival to the United States I salute them with affection. Thousands of your citizens also live, study, work, and travel in Mexico. Both of these groups of Mexicans and Americans, through their cooperation, their efforts and labors, constitute living testimony that relations between our countries are an example of genuine good-neighborliness.

You know, Mr. President, and I know that between us there are no secrets. This is because the friendship between Mexico and the United States is crystal clear. No problem exists or can exist between our Governments capable of weakening or jeopardizing this friendship. Our two countries surged into independence and live in freedom, inspired by identical ideals of justice and liberty.

We have problems, undoubtedly. No two countries as large as ours, with a common boundary of 3,000 kilometers in length, and with so many and so diverse contacts, can fail to have problems. Some of these are intrinsically difficult, and others are made difficult by the conflicting interests involved. All of these problems are entrusted to diplomatic channels and eventually, though sometimes after brief periods of stagnation, follow the course toward a solution in a normal manner.

I am ready to talk about these problems and about all matters which our advisers may consider appropriate to bring to our attention. I firmly believe that in the conversations between the Chiefs of State of the United States and Mexico, that is, in talks between friends, the most important subject always will be: the United States and Mexico, our present-day relationships, our capacity for growth, and our place in a world with respect to which the necessary economic and social changes should be foreseen.

Those who govern are in essence nothing more than the lookouts who during the dawn of Greek civilization manned the watchtowers of their primitive cities. From a height they were able to encompass a larger portion of the surrounding territory. Even if other factors were not present, this position by itself endows the meetings between Chiefs of State, as you have so successfully maintained, with great possibilities for fruitful progress.

It is particularly gratifying for me to assure Your Excellency that I return your visit in Acapulco with the greatest satisfaction. In fact, through me the whole people of Mexico are returning the visit of the man they admire, as the soldier of World War II, who never knew defeat, and as the wise statesman who with clarity of vision has dedicated his best efforts to strengthening the bonds between our countries. They recognize you as their friend.

Being at the service of the people of Mexico, I ask Your Excellency to accept the expression of their friendship toward the people of the United States and their best wishes for the prosperity and happiness of your country and its citizens.

JOINT STATEMENT

White House press release dated October 12

During the visit of President Adolfo López Mateos to Washington, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the President of Mexico renewed and strengthened the friendship which began at their meeting at Acapulco, Mexico, last February. Informally and without an agenda they exchanged views on general subjects of mutual interest to Mexico and the United States and on subjects of hemispheric and world concern in that atmosphere

of cordiality and frankness which characterizes true friendship.

With regard to economic problems of much interest to public opinion in Mexico the two Presidents noted with satisfaction the recent strengthening of the Mexican economy. Special mention was made of the fact that although Mexico has had at its disposal since January of the current year a balance of payments credit from the Export-Import Bank in the amount of 100 million dollars, it has proved unnecessary to make use of more than a small part of this credit.

The Presidents were also heartened by the progress made towards resolving important commodity problems and consequent improvements in world market conditions with respect to basic commodities produced in Mexico and the United States, including the strengthening of cotton prices, the signature of the coffee agreement and the improved outlook for a better balance of supply and demand in world markets for lead and zinc.

The Presidents agreed that maintenance of the productive capacity of the Mexican mining industry is essential to Mexico's economic progress and to the security of the United States. Consequently, the Governments of both countries will continue to consult each other and the other lead and zinc producing countries with regard to the measures necessary to achieve these objectives.

The problems of the United States and Mexico regarding the exploitation and conservation of the economic resources of the seas were explored by the two Presidents, and they agreed that efforts should be made to provide for the orderly use of these resources.

It was agreed that the Mexican and American scientific communities should work more closely together.

The two Presidents also expressed gratification at the cooperation which has developed in seeking solutions to common health problems and they will instruct the health authorities of the two countries to broaden the area of joint action to the greatest possible extent. The excellent progress made in the eradication of malaria in Mexico was noted, and the hope was expressed that through international cooperation similar success could be achieved in the other countries of the hemisphere where malaria is still a significant problem.

At Camp David, the two Presidents chose the

name Amistad Dam to designate the dam proposed to be constructed near Del Rio, Texas, and Villa Acuna, Coahuila, for flood control, conservation and storage of the waters of the Rio Grande, and possibly power generation.

Like the Acapulco meeting, the Washington visit demonstrated the firm resolve of the two Chiefs of State and of the two Governments to continue to examine their problems with understanding of and respect for each other's points of view in efforts to find solutions that are mutually beneficial to the peoples of Mexico and the United States.

The two Presidents are convinced of the value of continuing a personal relationship between the Chiefs of State of Mexico and the United States, not merely to provide an opportunity for cordial and frank exchanges of views on common problems, but more importantly, to sponsor the continued growth of friendship between the two countries and their Governments.

Lastly, the two Presidents expressed their belief that their personal friendship and the growing cooperation between their two countries in all fields of human endeavor will be an example to the world of how two nations can live independently side by side in friendship, cooperative effort and mutual understanding.

MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL PARTY

The Department of State announced on October 7 (press release 705) that the following persons would be accompanying President López Mateos as members of the official party:

Mrs. López Mateos

Miss Eva López Mateos, daughter of President and Mrs. López Mateos

Mmanuel Tello, Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico

Mrs. Tello

Antonio Carrillo Flores, Ambassador of Mexico

Mrs. Antonio Carrillo Flores

Nabor Carrillo Flores, Rector of the National University of Mexico

Mrs. Nabor Carrillo Flores

Eugenio Mendez Docurro, Director General of the National Polytechnical Institute

Mrs. Mendez Docurro

Federico Mariscal, Chief of Protocol of Mexico

Justo Sierra, special assistant to President López Mateos

Mrs. Sierra

Brig. Gen. José Gomez Huerta, Chief of the President's Military Household

Humberto Romero, private secretary to President López Mateos
Mrs. Romero
Dr. Xavier de la Riva, the President's personal physician
Wiley T. Buchanan, Jr., Chief of Protocol of the United States
Mrs. Buchanan
Robert C. Hill, American Ambassador to Mexico

Mrs. Hill
Brig. Gen. Tom R. Stoughton, USA, American aide to President López Mateos (Washington only)
Robert F. Corrigan, Deputy Chief of Protocol, Department of State
David J. Waters, press officer, Department of State
Jerald Clemans, press officer, Department of State
Arthur Diggle, USIS press officer

The Cold War and the Khrushchev Visit

by Andrew H. Berding
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs¹

There has been an improvement in the international atmosphere, following upon Chairman Khrushchev's visit to the United States.² This is a welcome development. Surely the whole world wishes to see the cold war end. Surely everyone wants to channel productive efforts into peaceful endeavors rather than armament, especially in view of the present-day potential for mutual destruction.

We Americans are justifiably proud of the kind of life we have in our country. Our free institutions have produced the greatest material good for the greatest number ever known in history. And they have assured the dignity and rights of the individual in a society which is probably as nearly classless as the world has ever known. We do not want the fruits of our still-expanding economy largely erased in catastrophic modern war. In addition, we have a deep abhorrence of the settlement of issues by force, since recourse to force is by its very nature a denial of the democratic processes in which we believe so strongly.

There is reason to conclude that the Soviet Government as well as the Soviet people now are aware that they have a practical, vested interest in preservation of the peace. Their own material accomplishments in recent years have been considerable. We believe that this progress in material things has been achieved at a cost in other, and

higher, values which we deplore. Nevertheless we may assume that the Soviet people also do not want to see their achievements wiped out in modern warfare. We share the hopes of the Soviet people that their economy may now turn more to the satisfaction of consumer needs. We have ever greater evidence that their demand for more consumer goods is becoming increasingly insistent. For our part we will continue to work for disarmament with adequate controls, so that the entire world community may more fully turn its energies toward conquering its true enemies: poverty, disease, ignorance, and intolerance.

Ending the Cold War

During Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States and since, we have heard a great deal about the need to end the cold war. Soviet spokesmen, and first and foremost Mr. Khrushchev himself, say that, in order to avoid a "hot" war, with its terrible consequences, we must end the cold war and establish our relations with the Soviet Union on a basis of international friendship, mutual respect, and nonintervention in each other's domestic affairs.

This sounds very reasonable, and all of us can wholeheartedly subscribe to this goal. But international relations, like all human endeavors, consist of something more than words. Behind the words lie actions. And it is only by contemplating these actions that we can reach an understanding of what the words mean.

¹ Address made before the National Association of Broadcasters at Washington, D.C., on Oct. 16 (press release 727).

² BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

The words "cold war" evoke important aspects of the history of the postwar period. In seeking to understand these words, we must examine that history.

Following World War II the Western Allies rapidly disbanded their armed forces. However, Soviet occupation troops and puppet political authorities began to take actions in Eastern Europe which directly contradicted the proclaimed common Allied intention of liberating the peoples enslaved by Hitler and permitting them to determine for themselves under what political, economic, and social systems they would live.

Stalin in effect declared the cold war in his speech of February 9, 1946. He demanded "a mighty new upsurge" of Soviet heavy industrial production so that the Soviet Union would "be guaranteed against all possible accidents." The rest of the world was disarming, but the Soviet leadership looked toward new military contingencies.

We all know how the drama unfolded. The engulfment of east Europe was accompanied by threats to the security of Iran, Turkey, and Greece. It had hardly been completed when the Soviet Government posed its first threat to West Berlin. Then came Korea, conceived by the Communists as a major test of the free world's will to defend itself.

Now we are asked to forget the cold war. In bidding us to do this, the Soviet leadership by implication blandly offers to agree that they as well as we have made mistakes. But, they say, let the dead past bury its dead. Let us wipe the slate clean and start afresh. And let those who persist in remembering the lessons of history and applying them to our relations today be the Gadarene swine whose drowning will seal our bargain.

There is something beguiling in this approach. But it is childish to expect that the obscuring of the past in a polite silence can nurture anything more than an eventual worsening of the relations between our world and that of the Communists.

The essence of the cold war lies in the threat to the security, the welfare, the preservation and extension of the freedom to choose, of all who live outside the closed system of communism. That threat stems from the irrational and unattainable dream of a world in thrall to those Communists who profess to carry the key to the future.

Ending the cold war is more than a matter of

polite agreement to pass over in silence the grave issues that divide the world. It requires the removal of the causes of the cold war. It requires the just and equitable solution of the legacy of injustice which the past 14 years have produced. It requires the assurance that the future will not unfold under the menace of an arbitrary power that can be wielded by a few over the many.

Chairman Khrushchev calls for an end to the cold war. It lies within his power to prove that he means what he says. His visit here, and particularly its successful conclusion in the talks with the President at Camp David, have created the conditions in which he can demonstrate the sincerity of his intentions. If he does that, he will certainly find us ready cordially to meet him halfway on any issue.

Meaning of Peaceful Coexistence

One of the phrases most often used by Chairman Khrushchev in the United States was "peaceful coexistence." He sought during his trip, as often in the past, to prove that this is the only solution for relations between our two countries.

Peaceful coexistence has a seductive flavor. Many people who have not taken the trouble to look into it have embraced it. It is therefore very important for us to know what it means.

In the first place, peaceful coexistence must not be equated with peace as we understand it. Rather it is a prolonged armistice while the political and ideological struggle, as well as the economic competition, goes on.

Mr. Khrushchev has again made this very plain in just the last few days. In a speech released the day before yesterday [October 14] but made last Saturday [October 10] at Novosibirsk, Siberia, he said:

Peaceful coexistence means continuation of the struggle between the two social systems—but by peaceful means, without war, without interference by one state in the internal affairs of another. We consider it to be an economic, political, and ideological struggle, but not a military one.

Since Chairman Khrushchev predicts the triumph of communism over capitalism, it is obvious that peaceful coexistence means only a truce. The concept of peaceful coexistence also implies that, although the Soviet Union puts aside, at least for the time being, the traditional thesis of war as an instrument of foreign policy, Moscow will con-

duct the bloodless struggle far more subtly but, even so, relentlessly.

Peaceful coexistence might endure for a long time if the free world remains strong and united, militarily, technologically, economically, and politically. If the free-world allies were to become weak or disunited, peaceful coexistence would probably become less peaceful in proportion to the degree of our weakness or disunity. Until we have concrete reason to believe otherwise, we must realistically conclude that peaceful coexistence is a Soviet device to stay out of war, or to postpone conflict, while the international Communist movement continues its manifest and manifold efforts to bring about the worldwide triumph of communism over capitalism.

People are entitled to something better than peaceful coexistence. The world should not be divided into blocs, even though they do not shoot at each other. Nations should be independent, and nations, rather than blocs, should be at peace one with another.

Moreover, peoples live; they do not simply coexist. In the same way, nations should live and cooperate for the increasing welfare of their peoples. They should not simply coexist, albeit in peace.

Accepting peaceful coexistence means accepting the *status quo* whereby the Soviet Union dominates a Communist bloc of nations. We have given the Soviet Union solemn assurances that we have no desire to turn these nations against Moscow, that we do not seek military alliances with them, that we do not wish to impose the American way of life upon them, that we do not wish a return to their prewar processes of government. But we do desire for their peoples true freedom, genuine national independence, and ability to establish whatever form of government and economic and social institutions they wish. We cannot accept a *status quo* which makes this impossible.

Soviet and Chinese Communist Relations

After his visit to the United States Chairman Khrushchev went to Peiping. We have been encouraged by statements he made in Peiping counseling against "testing the capitalist system by force" or "imposing socialism by force of arms."

We are troubled, however, by the seeming lack of receptivity on the part of the Chinese Commu-

nist leaders. There has not yet been any significant promise of a relaxation of tensions in the Far East. Chinese Communist pronouncements at the celebration of their 10th anniversary of coming to power do not augur well, following on recent developments in Tibet, in Laos, and on the Indian border. An order-of-the-day by Defense Minister Lin Piao accused the United States of "aggressive schemes" and reiterated Chinese Communist determination to take over Taiwan, by force if necessary. Furthermore, Mr. Khrushchev's counsels were omitted by the Chinese Communist radio.

We would seem to be faced with a situation subject to two possible interpretations: Either Peiping at this time does not share Moscow's professed desire for a relaxation of tensions, or Peiping does not regard such professions as genuine.

Close policy association between Communist China and the U.S.S.R. has often been affirmed by both sides. In November 1957 Mao Tse-tung said in Moscow during the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution, "The socialist camp must have a leader, and that leader is the Soviet Union." More recently, Chinese Communist Vice Chairman Soong Ching-ling declared: "The Chinese People's Republic is a component part of the socialist camp led by the Soviet Union."

It is significant that Mr. Khrushchev, in counseling at Peiping against imposing socialism by force, added that "the people would not understand." Certainly no people would understand such use of force, including, I believe, the vast majority of the regimented Chinese people themselves. The disturbing factor, however, is that the Chinese Communist leaders have long displayed contempt for world opinion. Their expansionist aims, backed by fanatical policies, constitute perhaps the greatest single threat to peace in the world today.

The close ideological association of the Soviets and the Chinese Communists has in the past meant mutual propaganda support in times of trouble. The Chinese Communists indicated strong backing for the Soviet action in Hungary and have excoriated Yugoslavia for its policy of independence. The Soviets have usually reciprocated in connection with Chinese Communist adventures. True, this has not been the case concerning the recent Indian border troubles, and there may be other examples of recent Chinese Communist ex-

cesses which have troubled Moscow. Aside from ideological ties and objectives, Communist China is dependent on Soviet economic and military aid. And there are also the values to the Soviet Union and to international communism of having the partnership of the world's most populous nation. Thus it would be foolish to infer from these possible examples of differences that a serious rift is in imminent prospect.

There is an important corollary to the fact of this senior-junior type of bond. Recently this has been described as "the doctrine of partial responsibility," meaning that, since the Soviet Union assumes the leadership of the Communist bloc, it must assume a degree of responsibility for actions of bloc members. There is nothing really new about this. We have long spoken of the close senior-junior aspect of the Sino-Soviet relationship, and a good measure of Soviet responsibility for Chinese Communist conduct has all along been implicit. The recent Soviet interest in a *detente* with the West, concomitant with a multiplicity of trouble spots in the East, has merely highlighted the implications of this major Communist partnership. We believe that, if the Soviet Union is sincere in wanting to safeguard the peace, it has the leverage, through the oft-claimed monolithic nature of the Communist camp, to insure a measure of responsibility on the part of the Chinese Communists. In pointing out this obvious fact we are not engaged in any mischiefmaking. The issues at stake are too serious for that. We simply believe that to remain silent in the face of the present anomaly presented by the Communist world would be to encourage duplicitous conduct affecting the all-important issue of war and peace.

Problems of Arranging Press Coverage for Visit

I believe that one of the most beneficial results of Mr. Khrushchev's visit to this country was the unparalleled opportunity it afforded to the American people to see, hear, and judge this remarkable personality and thereby to evaluate at first hand his significance for themselves and their country. The credit for this belongs to many of you who are here today and to the organizations you represent. I cannot conceive of any more graphic il-

lustration of the unique effectiveness and value of television and radio in disseminating knowledge vital to us all than the coverage you gave to the journey of Mr. Khrushchev and his party in the United States.

The Khrushchev visit confronted us with a problem of special interest to you and to me. I refer to the press arrangements for the visit. This faced the White House and the Department of State with a gigantic task. Its magnitude can be seen in two sets of figures. The first is that the Department issued press credentials for the visit to no fewer than 2,500 news and photo representatives of the American and foreign press, radio, TV, newsreels, and magazines, plus 41 Soviet newsmen. Of this number, about 750 were taken up by the radio and TV networks. The second figure is that we had to make arrangements to transport nearly 300 news and photo representatives throughout the trip—at their own expense—plus News Division officers and communications people. That meant three, and later four, special planes and seven, and later nine, special railroad cars. It meant buses and pool cars, hotel reservations and baggage handling, photographers' stands and pressrooms. Jim Hagerty [Press Secretary to President Eisenhower] and I had to plunge into this problem the moment we got back from the President's trip to Europe,³ to say nothing of before and during the trip, and our News Division officers and White House officers were working night and day for many days before the Khrushchev visit and then, of course, during the visit.

Our problem was immensely complicated by the fact that the final itinerary was not firmed up until the last possible moment. This was because, when the President invited Chairman Khrushchev to come to the United States, he made it clear that the Soviet visitor was free to go wherever he wished and to see anything he liked. The decisions therefore were mostly made by the Soviets. Our problem was further increased by last-minute changes in the itinerary, even after the trip had gotten under way.

I have no doubt that some correspondents felt that the arrangements we made were insufficient,

³For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 435.

although we have subsequently received a number of letters sincerely congratulating us for the facilities extended.

The question here is one the Government by itself cannot solve. The question is that of weight of numbers, expressed by the fact that a minimum of 500 newsmen were on hand at all times for direct coverage. It can only be solved, if at all, by agreement among the media representatives.

It is axiomatic that one newsman in a group of 100 is going to have a better chance to cover a trip of this kind than if he is one of a group of 300, and much better than if he is one of a group of 500.

Recently the *Washington Post* said in an editorial:

We may hope that the State Department learned a few things about arrangements for such visits, even though the Soviet Embassy was responsible for many of the difficulties. We also may hope that the American press, television and radio representatives and their foreign colleagues also learned. The admittedly great interest in the visit did not justify a three-ring circus, with reporters and cameramen stumbling over each other to get a glimpse of the guest. Surely some sort of self-restraint in advance is desirable for future visits.

I think this is a healthy recognition of a serious situation and points the way to a possible solution.

Major international events now attract an overwhelming number of newsmen. I was a member of the U.S. delegation to the summit conference at Geneva in 1955, at which about 1,500 newsmen were accredited. I was likewise a delegation member at the heads-of-government NATO conference at Paris in 1957, at which about 1,700 newsmen were accredited. And finally I was on the U.S. delegation to the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva this year, at which about 1,400 newsmen were accredited.

Perhaps the time has come for serious thinking on the part of the news media as to whether by sheer weight of numbers it is impeding its own efforts to gather news. Yesterday in New Orleans the convention of radio and television news directors conducted a panel discussion entitled: "Is the News Media Threatening Its Own Freedom of Access?" The discussion related to the Khrushchev visit. The title is as good as any to point up the problem.

Continuance of Personal High-Level Diplomacy

All signs point to the continuance of personal high-level diplomacy for some time to come. A summit conference in the reasonably near future is a distinct possibility. A return visit of President Eisenhower to Moscow is planned for late next spring. Meantime there will be numerous visits of other chiefs of state and heads of government to this and other countries.

Personal diplomacy at top level offers distinct advantages, provided it occurs in accordance with certain criteria.

The first of these is that a meeting of heads of government, whether bilateral or multilateral, must not occur under the prospect of a Soviet threat or following a Soviet threat or as a result of an inimical Soviet action. Otherwise the Soviets could force such a meeting any time they wished simply by stirring up a crisis.

The second criterion is that each such meeting should produce some constructive result which would justify the holding of a following meeting. No one can realistically expect a single summit meeting to solve all problems. We may have to have a series of such meetings in the years to come. But there should be a progression of achievement, with each meeting an upward step to the next meeting rather than proceeding on a level or a descent.

We believe as much as anyone else in the value of personal talks at high level. But we do not believe so much in talking just for the sake of talking. It is, of course, as Winston Churchill is reported to have said, better to jaw-jaw than to war-war. But, when the heads of important governments meet together, the eyes of the world are focused upon them and peoples in all corners of the earth expect constructive results. If the talks are fruitless, the basic issues seem more insoluble than before, peoples are disappointed, perhaps alarmed, and fear increases that war may ensue.

But let no one doubt our sincere willingness to try the method of high-level talks. The President repeatedly has said he is willing to go anywhere at any time if thereby he could promote the cause of peace. The goal of peace with justice will always be a cardinal element of American foreign policy.

U.S. Protests Soviet Actions Against American Attaché

Press release 731 dated October 17

On the morning of October 16, 1959, unidentified Soviet authorities seized Russell A. Langelles, attaché of the Embassy of the United States of America at Moscow, and forcibly detained him for about 1 hour and 45 minutes.

The Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Moscow, Edward L. Freers, delivered to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the afternoon of October 16 a note of protest reading as follows:

The Embassy of the United States of America presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and has the honor to protest the forcible seizure of Mr. Russell A. Langelles, Attaché of the United States Embassy in Moscow, on the morning of October 16, 1959, by non-identified Soviet authorities. Mr. Langelles was subjected to forcible detention, to threats of violence against himself and against his family, to forcible search, to attempted interrogation, and to attempts to enlist his cooperation in intelligence activities against the United States.

The following is a factual account of the incident:

Approximately at nine o'clock on the morning of October 16, Mr. Langelles alighted from a bus, No. 107, at the stop at Chaikovskovo Street and Vorovskovo Street. He was immediately surrounded by five men in civilian clothing who seized his arms, covered his mouth, and forcibly dragged and carried him to a Zim automobile parked in a near-by alley. He was then driven to a near-by building on Vorovskovo Street, where the men forced him to leave the automobile and enter the building.

Mr. Langelles produced his diplomatic card, protested the forcible seizure, and asked to be allowed to communicate with the American Embassy. The Soviet individuals laughed at the document and ignored Mr. Langelles's request.

Mr. Langelles was then forced to remove his topcoat, which was searched by the men. One of the men produced a notebook, which he said belonged to Mr. Langelles, but which, in fact, Mr. Langelles had never seen before. The man used a chemical solution on the pages of the notebook to develop supposedly concealed writing and then identified the writing as referring to Soviet state secrets. Thereupon he accused Mr. Langelles of engaging in espionage activities against the Soviet Union.

Thereupon the men attempted to interrogate Mr. Langelles about his duties in the Embassy. When Mr. Langelles refused to enter into any conversation with them, they began to threaten him. They asserted that Mr. Langelles's diplomatic immunity had been revoked and that he therefore was subject to imprisonment. They threatened him with physical violence. They also threatened to take unspecified action against his wife and three small children, who reside with him in Moscow.

When Mr. Langelles continued to refuse to enter into

conversation, the men then sought at length to enlist his cooperation in undertaking intelligence activities on behalf of the Soviet Union against the United States and promised him monetary reward.

After approximately one hour and forty-five minutes of such threats and promises, the men escorted Mr. Langelles from the building to the same automobile. He was driven to Vostaniya Square, where he was permitted to leave the automobile.

The Embassy strongly protests this flagrant violation of diplomatic immunity. It expects the Ministry to take the necessary measures to prevent any repetition of such an incident and to bring to account those responsible.

At the time of delivery of the note, the deputy chief of the American Countries' Section of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated orally to Mr. Freers that "competent" Soviet authorities had informed the Ministry Mr. Langelles had used his stay in the U.S.S.R. to carry out intelligence work not compatible with his diplomatic status and that, in view of the impermissibility of such action, the Soviet Government considered Mr. Langelles's further stay in the U.S.S.R. undesirable.

Although Mr. Langelles is thus obliged to leave the Soviet Union, the U.S. Government rejects the Soviet accusation against him and protests these improper actions of the Soviet authorities.

Soviet Composers Visit U.S.

Press release 726 dated October 15

As provided in the United States-Soviet exchange agreement of January 27, 1958,¹ a delegation of five Soviet composers and one music critic will visit the United States to establish contacts and exchange experiences in the music field.

The Soviet delegation, headed by Dmitri Shostakovich, is expected to arrive in the United States on October 23. The visit, to last about 1 month, is under the auspices of the cultural exchange program of the Department of State.

In addition to Mr. Shostakovich the delegation will include Dmitri Kabalevsky, Konstantin Dankevich, Fikret Amirov, Tikhon Khrennikov, and Boris Yarustovsky. Dr. Yarustovsky is a music scholar, critic, and professor at the Moscow State Conservatory. In addition to being an active com-

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 17, 1958, p. 243.

poser, Mr. Khrennikov is the general secretary of the Union of Composers of the U.S.S.R. and president of the Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

The group will probably visit New York, Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Louisville, Philadelphia, and Boston. It is expected that the members of the delegation will be honored guests at several concerts at which their compositions will be played. Two such concerts are scheduled for November 6 and 7, when the Philadelphia Orchestra will present the American premiere of the cello concerto of Dmitri Shostakovich.

A delegation of four American composers visited the Soviet Union under the same agreement during the summer of 1958. The American group included Roy Harris, Ulysses Kay, Peter Mennin, and Roger Sessions.

The Committee on Leaders and Specialists of the American Council on Education is cooperating with the International Educational Exchange Service of the Department of State in preparing a program for the Soviet delegation.

Under Secretary Dillon Departs for GATT Meeting at Tokyo

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

The Department of State announced on October 9 (press release 714) that Under Secretary Dillon would leave Washington October 13 for Japan, where he will represent the United States at the Ministerial Meeting of the 15th session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which convenes at Tokyo on October 26.

En route Mr. Dillon will visit Okinawa, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Seoul to discuss matters of mutual interest with local officials and U.S. representatives.

The Under Secretary will be accompanied by Mrs. Dillon, and members of his party will include: Graham Martin, special assistant to the Under Secretary; John Leddy, special assistant to the Under Secretary; James Wilson, deputy special assistant for mutual security coordination;

and David M. Bane, director, Office of Northeast Asian Affairs.

DEPARTURE STATEMENT BY MR. DILLON

Press release 717 dated October 13

I am looking forward to taking part in the Ministerial Meeting at Tokyo of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The GATT is playing an increasingly important role in international economic growth by helping to break down barriers to world trade. It is my hope that out of our deliberations in Tokyo will come further fruitful steps in eliminating trade discriminations, which have particularly affected American exports.

It is fitting that the 15th session of the GATT—the first to be held away from Geneva in many years—should take place in Japan, a nation whose very lifeblood is trade and whose people have made truly remarkable economic progress through trade since World War II. While in Japan, I anticipate opportunities to review with Japanese officials some of the economic and other aspects of the friendly relations between Japan and the United States.

En route to Tokyo I shall visit Okinawa, Hong Kong, Taipei, and Seoul to discuss matters of mutual interest with Government officials and U.S. representatives. I welcome these visits as occasions to make new friendships in the Far East and as opportunities to learn more of the problems common to that important area of the world.

Prime Minister of Morocco Tours United States

The Department of State announced on October 14 (press release 721) that Prime Minister Mouley Abdullah Ibrahim of Morocco, head of the Moroccan delegation to the United Nations, will call on President Eisenhower on October 15, lunch with Secretary Herter at the State Department that same day, and confer with other Department officials.

Thereafter, the Prime Minister will leave Washington on a short tour of the United States. His trip will take him to the Tennessee Valley Authority; Dallas, Tex.; Phoenix, Ariz.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Detroit, Mich.; and Niagara Falls, N.Y.

President of Guinea Visits U.S.

The Department of State announced on October 16 (press release 729) that arrangements had been completed for the arrival at Washington on October 26 of Sékou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, and Mrs. Touré, who will make a 10-day state visit to the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower.

President Touré and his party will remain at Washington until October 28, when they will begin a tour that will include visits at Raleigh, N.C., Chicago, Ill., Los Angeles, Calif., Wheeling, W.Va., Omal, Ohio, and New York, N.Y.

National Academy Completes Survey on Africa for ICA

Press release 728 dated October 16 for release October 17

"Africa's greatest resource is manpower—now largely illiterate and untrained. The rate at which it can be further developed and utilized will establish the tempo of progress."

This is one of the major conclusions of a survey just completed by the National Academy of Sciences for the International Cooperation Administration. The stated objective of the survey was

... to identify those problems of basic importance to the future development of sub-Sahara Africa which can be attacked to some significant degree through the techniques of foreign aid.

Heavy investments in education at all levels will be required to develop Africa's potential of manpower, the Academy's report states.

Begun in November 1958,¹ the study deals specifically with the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia.

The report of the Academy's survey, entitled "Recommendations for Strengthening Science and Technology in Selected Areas of Africa South of the Sahara,"² covers the fields of education, medical and public-health services, agriculture, natural resources, engineering, technology, and industry. It submits recommendations, both specific and general in character, on how fu-

ture technical cooperation programs can most effectively contribute to the development of the African countries included in the study.

Agricultural development is considered second in order of priority, while raising the general level of health is of critical importance to achieving maximum utilization of human resources.

In the area of capital production the report asserts that, for the present and for a considerable period in the future, the development of Africa's metallic and nonmetallic mineral resources, fuels, and water resources should offer attractive opportunities for foreign investment.

"Emphasis should be placed on those industrial developments which will most rapidly increase national wealth and hence stimulate economic growth," the report states.

Improvement of systems of transportation and communications, increased public, private, and industrial construction, and exploitation of power resources are cited as applications of engineering which are vital to economic development and human welfare.

In its observations on the foreign assistance program as a whole the report asserts that "the philosophy of technical assistance on a government-to-government basis is sound" and "as old as human society itself." It recommends that the foreign aid service be organized on a career basis and suggests that the appointment of a group of scientific consultants to the executive corps of the technical assistance agency would be highly desirable.

Financed by ICA, the study was conducted by NAS through a steering committee named by the Academy and chaired by W. Albert Noyes, Jr., of the University of Rochester. The executive director of the study was J. George Harrar, vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation, who accompanied former ICA Director James H. Smith, Jr., and leading British scientists on a survey tour of Africa last November.³

A panel of British scientists was named by the U.K. Government to serve as a consulting body. The U.K. panel was headed by Sir Alexander Todd, chairman of the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy to the Privy Council, and included a number of distinguished British scientists in the fields of agriculture and tropical medicine as well as general research.

³ BULLETIN of Nov. 17, 1958, p. 782.

¹ BULLETIN of Feb. 16, 1959, p. 246.

² Copies of the report are available from the Office of International Relations, National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington 25, D.C.

The Future Course of the Development Loan Fund

by Vance Brand

*Managing Director, Development Loan Fund*¹

Of the 5 weeks elapsed since I was sworn in as Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, I have spent almost 2 in the Near East. You will understand therefore that I am not yet in a position to describe steps taken and actions accomplished. However, long before I was sworn in, I had begun thinking about the DLF and the challenge that it presents. Today I am going to tell you some of the ideas that are in my mind, some of the directions in which I shall be aiming, as I set about taking advantage of the opportunity which has been given me.

Function and Objective of DLF

First, let's size up the agency. The Development Loan Fund is about 2 years old. So far Congress has appropriated for it a total of \$1,400,000,000 in capital funds, of which about \$835,000,000 had been committed before I took office. This money is to be used in loans for specific undertakings, public and private, which upon thorough investigation are found to be economically and technically sound and which will contribute to the economic growth and development of free underdeveloped nations. The major outstanding characteristic that distinguishes the Development Loan Fund from other financing agencies is that it can accept repayment in currencies other than those lent. The DLF, by statute, does not make loans which other free-world financial institutions are prepared to consider, including private capital, Eximbank, and the IBRD. There are other stipulations and limitations on the

agency, but I don't mean to go into descriptive details in my talk today.

The Development Loan Fund was established as part of the United States policy of assisting free friendly nations and is an important arm of the country's foreign policy. This is manifested by the fact that the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Douglas Dillon, is the Chairman of its Board of Directors. The other directors are the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Export-Import Bank, Mr. Samuel C. Waugh; the United States Executive Director on the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Mr. T. Graydon Upton; the Director of the International Cooperation Administration, Mr. James W. Riddleberger; and myself.

DLF's Field of Operations

Next, I shall endeavor to size up the Development Loan Fund's field of operations.

I think of the free world as being divided into three areas. There are the developed countries, where private enterprise is already active and there is no place for an agency like the Development Loan Fund.

Then there is the other extreme. Certain countries in Asia, Africa, and even Latin America are still so undeveloped that free enterprise and mobilized industry find only a limited field in which to work and grow. Here the Development Loan Fund's program should first exert itself. It can help finance the provision of basic facilities, like highways, harbors, waterways, communications, and power systems, which are necessary for the continuous growth of private enterprise. Certainly the technical know-how of American industry should be brought to bear in establish-

¹ Address made before the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry, Inc., New York, N.Y., on Oct. 6 (press release 699 dated Oct. 5).

ing these facilities, but, at present, it is used mainly on an employed or consultant basis. The basic development activities generally are non-profit activities and hence do not provide a proper field for the exercise of the creative vitality of American enterprise. But I am satisfied that a way can and must be found for American industry to take added interest and more responsibility in the other important development processes in those underdeveloped countries—of course, always in cooperation with their people.

This leaves most of the free world's area, the bulk of its population, and a large part of its natural resources in a third intermediate category made up of ambitiously developing but still incompletely developed countries. Here there is still need for basic facilities, and the Development Loan Fund can properly help to provide them. At the same time, these countries are already reaching the stage where American free enterprise is exercising its creative role in cooperation with people of the countries concerned. The problem here, as I see it, is to make sure that the efforts of the Development Loan Fund and other public agencies do not in any way preempt or interfere with but, on the other hand, consciously and energetically assist and promote the activities of private industry and enterprise, American and other.

Cooperation With American Private Enterprise

With such considerations as a background, I ask myself: How can I guide the Development Loan Fund's efforts so as best to carry out its assigned economic-development tasks within its proper field of action?

Let me begin answering that question by saying something that may strike you as rather trite. A man cannot help bringing into any task his own background and experience, and my background happens to be that of a smalltown banker, lawyer, and businessman. Urbana, Ohio, was once an agricultural economy with good banking facilities sufficient for the community without any need to go to Cincinnati or New York for money. I think you know what happened, because it's happened to thousands of similar towns all over the United States. Industries were established and built up. Over the agricultural economy was superimposed a thriving industrial economy. The local banks were no longer able to meet the needs of the com-

munity, and people and industries began to borrow funds outside.

I saw all this happen and helped it happen. I went to Cincinnati and New York with these people and helped set up joint accounts with the larger city banks. And I know from my own knowledge that the business relationships thus established did more to draw Cincinnati, New York, and Urbana together and make them parts of a strong, well-knit economic system than all the studies on rural-urban sociology ever published.

During my service with the Export-Import Bank I saw one new underdeveloped country after another becoming more active and capable. I saw new industries established and commercial activity broaden. And I came to realize more and more that those countries were going through essentially the same experience that my own community had gone through. In the one case as in the other, it is largely through business relationships that the newly developing areas are being bound together with the more industrialized areas in a strong, well-knit, free-world community. Flourishing business ties constitute a people-to-people kind of relationship that may be more effective in the long run than any other kind.

So first and foremost I want the Development Loan Fund to be an effective instrument for helping create and cement closer business ties between the United States and the underdeveloped or developing countries in which it operates. In other words, I want the considerable powers and resources of the Development Loan Fund to be used to the utmost to help bring the vitality, intelligence, and experience of American private enterprise into those countries to participate in their own development efforts and those of other nations. This is the best way I know of to stimulate economic growth and development.

When I say *American private enterprise*, I mean every one of the three words. *American* enterprise, simply because the record proves as a fact that American industry has unexcelled resourcefulness, initiative, and creativity. Its qualities have been forged by a century and a half of experience in developing our own large and varied continent, and its record in developmental activities is unmatched. *Private* enterprise, because I believe the peculiar problems of economic development require the talents of men who have proven themselves as producers and enterprisers.

The Development Loan Fund is not interested in promoting statism, primarily because we believe that statism is a blind alley for any developing nation that aims at sound progress. And *enterprise*—that word is perhaps the key to the whole concept, because, without the spirit of drive and initiative which it implies, development simply cannot take place. Economic growth is as vital a process as bodily growth. It cannot be accomplished with a mechanically conceived set of plans mechanically carried out.

So when you put all three words together—*American private enterprise*—you have what to my mind is unquestionably the most powerful and effective force, although not the only one, that can be applied to any problem or task of economic development. My desire to have the Development Loan Fund work as closely as possible with this force is not due to any narrow or chauvinistic or doctrinaire reasons. DLF's job is to stimulate economic development; I want it to do its job; I want it to use the best means available in doing so; and American private enterprise is the best means. That is all there is to it.

Now, the profit motive is the driving power of American private enterprise. One of the first things I looked at in my new job is the fact that I do not have to make a profit because I am heading a Government agency. Lacking the inspiration of the profit motive and the guidance and discipline of profit considerations, it is all too easy to make decisions that otherwise might not be made—decisions that in economic affairs at least may lead into blind alleys because they are outside the stream of economic life.

It is true that the Development Loan Fund is a nonprofit agency, but it is also true that its purpose is to stimulate economic development; and I am skeptical of any kind of economic development in the business and industrial sector that does not have the profit motive at its heart and center. In fact, I believe that without profits there will be no effective development. As Dr. Milton Eisenhower said last winter: "Private capital cannot be driven. It must be attracted." So one of the main objectives of the Development Loan Fund, insofar as I am concerned, will be to make sure that each loan opens the legitimate possibility of a reasonable profit for somebody, either directly or indirectly.

Another consideration I am bearing in mind is

the fact that the dollar position of the leading friendly developed countries has changed very much for the better during the past decade. Our free-world allies are now able to take a much bigger part in the worldwide economic development effort. It is as much to their interest to do so as it is to ours. I see no need for assuming that the United States must always pay most of the cost of international undertakings. The Development Loan Fund is not supposed to make loans for any projects for which financing is available on reasonable terms from any other source. I would like very much to see some of the other industrialized nations become alternative sources of financing to an increasing extent.

The International Development Association, now in process of formation by the World Bank countries,² will bring additional funds into the development field but will not eliminate the need for bilateral assistance by all industrialized nations. I cannot help entertaining the hope that in addition to supporting such institutions, as we do, the other industrialized nations will also expand their own development financing efforts, as we have.

Uniqueness of Role

Meanwhile, I would like to see the Development Loan Fund stick very closely to its own particular job, which is to work in the areas where the Export-Import Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and other sources do not reach. The essence of cooperation is to know where one agency's task leaves off and the other's begins. I earnestly believe the Development Loan Fund must become established in the minds of everyone not as a supplementary adjunct to the Export-Import Bank or the World Bank or the ICA but rather as a unique agency entitled to the solid consideration and backing of American enterprise on its own merits.

I look forward to seeing the Development Loan Fund work hand in hand with representatives of American industry in exploring investment opportunities in the underdeveloped and developing parts of the world. I would like to see a group formed to represent American enterprise—not another advisory committee but an effective work-

² For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

ing group which would cooperate with the Development Loan Fund and the Government but would form its own programs and goals and be responsible for its own actions. Its members would be willing to send their engineers and their other bright people into the world to see what they can do toward establishing free-enterprise activities in partnership with the nationals of other countries.

I would want the Development Loan Fund to be in a position to back up such an effort by American business with all its powers and resources, to be a cooperative and reliable partner which, when the risks appear substantial, would stand ready to help industry shoulder the financing burden. I believe that, with backing of the kind the DLF conceivably might provide, American industry, with all its energy and vitality, might make quick progress in solving the problems which impede the growth of many ambitious new nations.

I know from my experience in the Export-Import Bank that one of the main problems confronting American enterprise in such nations is the need for government backing and sharing the unusual risks in coping with situations that are beyond the scope of any private firm. On the other hand, when proper governmental support is available, I have seen American firms go into countries like Argentina and work wonders.

There is no doubt that manifold economic opportunities exist in the areas we are talking about and that these opportunities can be exploited once we find means of getting around difficulties that are basically irrelevant to the economics of the situation—problems that arise mainly from the fact that the world is divided into separate nations and hence can be dealt with only by national and international bodies.

Repayment Problem

One such problem concerns the method of repaying development loans. In both the underdeveloped and developing areas there are countries which cannot digest any further dollar-repayable financing. Such countries for the time being need financial assistance in forms adapted to their current position. Such assistance may take the form of local-currency repayment, on fairly long terms, or repayment partly in one currency and partly in another. The point is that repayment problems may have only a very indirect connection with

the soundness of a given project from the engineering and economic standpoints.

For example, a plant to manufacture soda ash and related chemicals is being established in Korea. All of the products to be made are needed in Korea and at present are being imported. All of the raw materials except salt are available in the immediate vicinity of the plant, and salt is available elsewhere in Korea. The management of the firm is experienced, and an American firm of engineering consultants has approved the plant plans and confirmed the existence of a market for its output. Labor and technical supervision are no problem. The plant would save more than \$2 million a year—ultimately perhaps more than \$4 million—in foreign exchange in a country whose foreign exchange deficits are now largely met by grants from the United States. In spite of all this, the investment climate in Korea is such that neither private sources nor such public sources of credit as the Export-Import Bank, the IBRD, or the International Finance Corporation are interested. The Development Loan Fund has approved a loan of \$5,600,000 to help this plant get started, and we regard it as a sound project in spite of the fact that the loan necessarily has to be repaid in local currency.

As I say, this loan is an example of those that have already been made. It illustrates the kind of backing that the Development Loan Fund can provide in support of private enterprise in the face of problems that no private institution can solve by itself. I would like to see such backing placed behind an organized effort by American business in a cooperative drive to open the opportunities of developing regions.

With a mobilized body of American business and industrial talent probing into the underdeveloped and developing countries to search out the many ways in which free enterprise, both American and local, can be established and put to work; with the Development Loan Fund and other financial agencies ready to back up the sound projects that emerge, each in its own appropriate way; with increased effort by other industrialized countries; and with the incalculable power and drive of American free enterprise available to help those countries exploit every opportunity that is opened, the problem of developing the world's economic frontiers into strong, contributing parts of a worldwide free-enterprise

community can be cut down to manageable proportions.

At any rate the Development Loan Fund and American industry are going to cooperate as one team in using United States business talent, engineers, economists, brains, and tools for extending the creative ferment of the American industrial revolution into the areas where it is needed. That is the resolution I have formed as I take over my new duties, and time will prove to you that I have not formed it in vain.

Not long ago Mr. Douglas Dillon, the Under Secretary of State, who is also the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Development Loan Fund, said:³

An increased flow of United States private investment into underdeveloped countries, accompanied by the ingenuity and dynamism that has always characterized United States private enterprise, could mean an injection of vitality into the underdeveloped countries that would set off an unparalleled process of economic growth.

That is and will remain our guiding thought in the Development Loan Fund.

New Zealand To Relax Restrictions on Dollar Imports

Press release 725 dated October 15

Following is a joint statement by the Departments of Commerce and State regarding the recent relaxation by New Zealand of its controls against dollar imports.

The United States welcomes the announcement by the Government of New Zealand that a further reduction of discrimination against imports from the dollar area will take place in 1960. Under the new import licensing schedule, New Zealand importers will be free to purchase their assigned quotas of almost all commodities from any area in the world. Only motor vehicles and timber will be retained in a special category requiring individual consideration and authorization prior to importation from the dollar area.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 29, 1958, p. 1056.

The new licensing schedule will raise the level of imports for 1960. Further changes will abolish import licensing requirements for approximately 14 percent of New Zealand's imports. New administrative procedures authorized for 1960 are designed to provide more flexibility in the issuance of licenses, allowing growing businesses to expand imports, new importers to enter the market, and token imports of previously prohibited products to enter New Zealand.

This move improves the opportunity of United States firms to compete on equal terms with firms from other countries for sales in the New Zealand market and should increase trade between New Zealand and the United States.

President Defers Investigation of Tariffs on Certain Imports

White House press release dated October 13

The President has concurred with the U.S. Tariff Commission's recent findings that no formal investigation should be instituted at this time to determine whether the tariff should be reduced on imports of linen toweling and watch movements. The President found, with the Tariff Commission, that there is not sufficient reason at this time to reopen the escape-clause actions of several previous years, which resulted in increases in the tariffs on these items. The President's decision means that the increased rates of duty previously established as the result of escape-clause actions will continue to apply without reduction or other modification.

The President's action was taken after consultation with the Trade Policy Committee. The Tariff Commission studies were made pursuant to Executive Order 10401, which requires the periodic review of affirmative actions taken under the escape clause. The Commission's conclusions on two such reviews were stated in the following reports, which it submitted to the President: (a) second review of the 1956 tariff increase on linen toweling, reported July 24, 1959, and (b) fourth review of the 1954 increase in duty on watch movements, reported July 27, 1959.

Calendar of International Conferences ¹

Adjourned During October 1959

ICAO Meteorological Division: 5th Session (joint session with WMO Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology).	Montreal	Sept. 1-Oct. 7
IAEA Board of Governors: 13th Session	Vienna	Sept. 14-Oct. 6
11th International Road Congress	Rio de Janeiro	Sept. 21-Oct. 3
FAO Experts on Fisheries Statistics in North Atlantic Area	Edinburgh	Sept. 22-Oct. 2
IAEA General Conference: 3d Regular Session	Vienna	Sept. 22-Oct. 2
International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Finance Corporation: Annual Meetings of Boards of Governors.	Washington	Sept. 28-Oct. 2
GATT Committee III on Expansion of International Trade	Geneva	Sept. 28-Oct. 6
Conference of Experts for the Revision of the Hague Arrangements for the International Deposit of Designs and Models.	The Hague	Sept. 28-Oct. 8
U.N. ECA Conference of African Statisticians: 1st Session	Addis Ababa	Sept. 28-Oct. 8
ICAO Jet Operations Requirements Panel: 4th Meeting	Montreal	Sept. 28-Oct. 9
U.N. ECAFE Subcommittee on Electric Power: 7th Session	Tokyo	Sept. 29-Oct. 6
PAHO Executive Committee: 39th Meeting	Washington	Oct. 1 (1 day)
International Council for the Exploration of the Sea: 47th Annual Meeting.	Copenhagen	Oct. 5-10
Program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees: Executive Committee.	Geneva	Oct. 6-10
CENTO Ministerial Council: 7th Meeting	Washington	Oct. 7-9
U.N. ECE Working Party on Construction of Road Vehicles	Geneva	Oct. 12-16
ILO Panel of Consultants on the Problems of Women Workers . . .	Geneva	Oct. 12-17
South Pacific Commission: 20th Session	Nouméa, New Caledonia	Oct. 12-24
GATT Committee on Balance-of-Payments Restrictions	Tokyo	Oct. 12-24
ITU Administrative Council: Special Session	Geneva	Oct. 12-13
U.N. ECE Timber Committee: 17th Session	Geneva	Oct. 12-16
UNESCO Intergovernmental Copyright Committee: 4th Session . .	Munich	Oct. 12-17
IAEA Symposium on Metrology of Radionuclides	Vienna	Oct. 14-16
FAO/ILO Technical Meeting on Cooperatives for the Near East . .	Cairo	Oct. 17-31
ILO Building, Civil Engineering, and Public Works Committee: 6th Session.	Geneva	Oct. 19-30
International Wheat Council: 28th Session	London	Oct. 19-20
Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission: 1st Meeting	Washington	Oct. 20-24
FAO Experts on Standardization of Time Reference in Agricultural Statistics.	Rome	Oct. 22-31
FAO Committee on Commodity Problems: 32d Session	Rome	Oct. 22-27
FAO Group on Cocoa: 5th Meeting of Committee on Statistics . .	Rome	Oct. 23-24
ANZUS Council: 7th Meeting	Washington	Oct. 24 (1 day)
GATT Working Party on Commodities	Tokyo	Oct. 26-28
U.N. ECAFE Zonal Meeting of Experts on International Highways.	Bangkok	Oct. 27-30
U.N. ECAFE Inland Transport and Communications Committee: 2d Meeting of Experts on International Highways.	Bangkok	Oct. 27-30
U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy	New York	Oct. 28-29
FAO Council: 32d Session	Rome	Oct. 29-30

In Session as of October 31, 1959

Political Discussions on Suspension of Nuclear Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
PAHO Subcommittee To Study the Constitution and Rules of Procedure.	Washington	Apr. 13-
ITU Administrative Radio Conference	Geneva	Aug. 17-
U.N. General Assembly: 14th Session	New York	Sept. 15-
ITU Plenipotentiary Conference	Geneva	Oct. 14-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Oct. 15, 1959. Asterisks indicate tentative places or dates. Following is a list of abbreviations: ANZUS, Australia, New Zealand, and United States; CENTO, Central Treaty Organization; ECA, Economic Commission for Africa; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; PAHO, Pan American Health Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; WHO, World Health Organization; WMO, World Meteorological Organization.

Conference on Antarctica
 Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development
 in South and Southeast Asia: 11th Meeting.
 GATT Contracting Parties: 15th Session
 U.N. ECE Committee on Development of Trade and East-West
 Trade Consultations.
 FAO Conference: 10th Session

Washington Oct. 15-
 Jogjakarta Oct. 26-
 Tokyo Oct. 26-
 Geneva Oct. 26-
 Rome Oct. 31-

Scheduled November 1, 1959, Through January 31, 1960

International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: 6th Session . .
 ICEM Executive Committee: 13th Session
 ILO Experts on Statistics of Industrial Injuries
 WMO Regional Association for Asia: 2d Session
 U.N. ECAFE Inland Waterways Subcommittee: 5th Session . . .
 ILO Governing Body: 143d Session (and Committees)
 UNESCO Executive Board: 55th Session
 ICEM Council: 11th Session
 IAEA Conference on Radioactive Waste Disposal
 NATO Parliamentary Conference
 South Pacific Commission: Regional Seminar on Education . . .
 U.N. ECAFE Working Group of Experts on Capital Formation . . .
 U.N. ECE Conference of European Statisticians: Working Group
 on Statistics of Private Consumption Expenditure.
 U.N. ECAFE Committee on Inland Transport and Communica-
 tions: 8th Session.
 Inter-American Children's Institute: 40th Meeting of Directing
 Council.
 International Union of Official Travel Organizations: 14th General
 Assembly.
 FAO Council: 33d Session
 11th Pan American Child Congress
 Inter-American Cultural Council: 3d Meeting
 ILO Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional
 Workers: 5th Session.
 International Sugar Council: 4th Session
 International Sugar Council: Executive and Statistical Com-
 mittees.
 FAO Meeting on Hemorrhagic Septicemia in Livestock
 ILO African Advisory Committee: 1st Session
 International Rubber Study Group: 61st Meeting of the Manage-
 ment Committee.
 U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: 11th Session . .
 U.N. Seminar on the Evaluation and Utilization of Population
 Census Results.
 ICAO Facilitation Division: 5th Session
 U.N. ECAFE Zonal Meeting of Experts on International High-
 ways.
 1st FAO International Meeting on Date Production and Process-
 ing.
 U.N. ECAFE Zonal Meeting of Experts on International High-
 ways.
 FAO Plant Protection Committee for Southeast Asia and Pacific
 Region: 3d Meeting.
 U.N. ECE Housing Committee and Working Parties
 ILO Technical Meeting Concerning Certain Aspects of Industrial
 Relations Inside Undertakings.
 FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Pro-
 duction and Protection.
 FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Soil,
 Water, and Fertilizer Practices.
 U.N. ECAFE Railway Subcommittee: 6th Session; and Working
 Party of Railway Mechanical Engineers.
 U.N. ECE Coal Trade Subcommittee
 U.N. ECE Inland Transport Committee: 19th Session
 NATO Council: Ministerial Session
 U.N. ECE Coal Committee
 Caribbean Commission: 29th Meeting
 South Pacific Commission: Study Group on Filariasis and Ele-
 phantiasis.
 U.N. Economic and Social Council: 28th Session (resumed) . . .
 U.N. Special Fund Governing Council: 3d Session
 U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: Semi-
 nar on Aerial Survey Methods and Equipment.
 U.N. ECAFE Intraregional Trade Promotion Talks
 U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 7th
 Session.

Seattle Nov. 2-
 Geneva Nov. 3-
 Geneva Nov. 3-
 Rangoon Nov. 3-
 Bangkok Nov. 4-
 Geneva Nov. 9-
 Paris Nov. 9-
 Geneva Nov. 12-
 Monaco Nov. 16-
 Washington Nov. 16-
 Brisbane Nov. 16-
 Bangkok Nov. 16-
 Geneva Nov. 16-
 Bangkok Nov. 18-
 Bogotá Nov. 20-
 Manila Nov. 20-
 Rome Nov. 21-
 Bogotá Nov. 22-
 San Juan Nov. 22-
 Cologne Nov. 23-
 Tangier Nov. 23-
 Tangier Nov. 23-
 Manila Nov. 30-
 Luanda, Angola Nov. 30-
 London Nov. 30-
 Geneva Nov. 30-
 Santiago Nov. 30-
 Rome Dec. 1-
 New Delhi Dec. 1-
 Tripoli Dec. 5-
 Lahore Dec. 7-
 New Delhi Dec. 7-
 Geneva Dec. 7-
 Geneva Dec. 10-
 Peradeniya, Ceylon Dec. 14-
 Peradeniya, Ceylon Dec. 14-
 Lahore Dec. 14-
 Geneva Dec. 14-
 Geneva Dec. 14-
 Paris Dec. 15-
 Geneva Dec. 15-
 Cayenne, French Guiana December
 Nuoméa, New Caledonia December
 New York December
 New York December
 Bangkok Jan. 4-
 Bangkok Jan. 5-
 New York Jan. 11-

Scheduled November 1, 1959, Through January 31, 1960—Continued

U.N. ECOSOC Subcommission on Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: 12th Session.	New York	Jan. 11-
U.N. ECE Steel Committee and Working Parties	Geneva	Jan. 12-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 3d Session	Bangkok	Jan. 18-
U.N. ECE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	Jan. 20-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 12th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 23-
ICAO African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation: 3d Meeting .	Rome	Jan. 26-
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 2d Session	Tangier	Jan. 27-
U.N. ECE Electric Power Committee	Geneva	Jan. 27-
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 25th Session	New York	Jan. 29*-
FAO Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission: 5th Session	India	January
North Pacific Fur Seal Commission: 3d Meeting	Moscow	January
WHO Executive Board: 25th Session	Geneva	January
Program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees: Executive Committee.	Geneva	January

The United States and the International Atomic Energy Agency

Statement by John F. Floberg

*Commissioner, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission*¹

Mr. President, our delegation warmly commends you for assuming the task of president of this conference and for the manner in which you have presided over our meetings. It is a great honor to represent my country on this occasion.

In spite of the great temptation to debate political questions of consuming personal interest to all of us in this hall, I shall exclude from this discussion those questions properly within the jurisdiction and already on the agenda of other international forums.

The problems to be solved to make the atom serve the peaceful purposes contemplated by the statute of the Agency and to achieve the goals we have established are formidable. Their solution can only be delayed by confusing them with political issues, and especially we deplore hearing such issues dragged before this conference.

I am sure all of us also regret the lack of constructive suggestions or offers of additional support of the Agency from the Soviet delegate. Instead, we heard a polemical diatribe against the Agency and all of its works. This attitude contrasts sharply with the spirit of the conversation held last week between Professor Yemelyanov² and Chairman [John A.] McCone of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, where the attitude was one of cooperation to assist the Agency.

For our part, Mr. President, we shall confine our remarks to a discussion which we hope will be constructive and helpful to the coming year's work of this Agency.

It is a high purpose that brings us again to this beautiful city of Vienna. Our Governments send us here to talk to each other as friends united in the common cause so well stated in the statute of

¹ Made before the third general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna, Austria, on Sept. 24. Mr. Floberg was Acting Alternate U.S. Representative to the conference.

² Prof. Vasily S. Yemelyanov, chief of the Main Administration for Atomic Energy in the Soviet Union, was a member of the party which accompanied Chairman Nikita S. Khrushchev to the United States Sept. 15-27.

the Agency, namely, to "seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world."

My Government reaffirms its steadfast faith in that objective. We are confident that, given the support it deserves from all members, this still very young international organization will fulfill that goal.

Since we met last year, the Agency has grown steadily in usefulness and made substantial progress in many of the programs endorsed by the second conference to the Board of Governors. An excellent review of this progress is provided in the annual report of the Board.

Among the activities that seem particularly worthy of commendation are the expansion of the training and education program made possible by more member states offering fellowships; sponsorship by the Agency on its own initiative, or in cooperation with other organizations, of conferences and symposia; the good work done in the area of health and safety; and the establishment of constructive working relationships with a number of international organizations having a specialized interest in the peaceful applications of nuclear energy.

It is especially significant, it seems to us, that so many member states are making well qualified experts available to serve on the special Agency panels and to take part in the symposia. For example, the work done by the Agency panel on civil liability and state responsibilities for nuclear hazards has resulted in a constructive draft convention dealing with the difficult question of third-party liability.

The Government of Austria is especially to be commended for placing its reactor facilities at the disposal of the Agency for use on a cooperative basis along with the Agency's laboratory. This commonsense arrangement will benefit both parties by reducing costs through the sharing of services and facilities. We hope that it presages the continued growth of Vienna as an increasingly important center of nuclear technology.

In preparation for this conference we have made a thorough study of Agency opportunities and responsibilities. We have tried to take into consideration significant changes that have occurred since the idea of an international body to promote peaceful uses of atomic energy was

put forward nearly 6 years ago by President Eisenhower.

Naturally, changing economic conditions and atomic developments have brought about some shifts in emphasis. This is best illustrated in the area of nuclear power.

Six years ago it appeared likely that the short supply of uranium would be a limitation on the development of nuclear reactors. Today uranium is plentiful, even in oversupply, and its availability as reactor fuel has not become a problem.

Six years ago many of us felt that the advancing nuclear technology shortly would put the atom in competition with conventional fuels in meeting world energy demands. Since then, a surplus and related drop in price of coal in some regions and discovery of new reserves of oil and natural gas have, temporarily at least, lessened the urgency in many parts of the world for emergency-type nuclear power programs to meet immediate energy needs.

Also experience has shown that some of the early optimistic cost estimates on nuclear power plants could not be realized in the first or second generation of reactors. Nevertheless there have been notable advances in nuclear power technology. When the nuclear power plants being built or definitely planned are added to those now in operation, there will be several million kilowatts of electrical generating capacity being used to supplement present power resources. But we have not yet reached the point where nuclear power is generally competitive, except possibly in very high cost areas.

These conditions give us the opportunity to press forward with a more thorough and diversified effort to bring us closer to the goal of economic power throughout the world. As you know, one of the specific objectives of the United States national program is to develop reactors that will be competitive with conventional fuels in high cost power areas outside of our country.

In other vital areas of peaceful uses, this still experimental phase of nuclear power development gives the Agency the opportunity for further development of its programs in other pressing fields. These include experimental and training equipment; increase of radioisotope production facilities and their better utilization; health and safety programs; assistance to members in the organiza-

tion and administration of their atomic energy programs; and a steady flow of skilled manpower specifically trained to take important places in the programs of their respective countries.

Special Needs of Underdeveloped Areas

From our considerations of these factors at this conference, and from the free exchange of ideas on this floor and in the committees, we believe there will come recommendations to the Board of Governors for strengthening present Agency programs where necessary and projecting activities that will serve all members. The most important thing is to give help where it is needed most. This responsibility is shared by all, but it rests most heavily on those member states that are relatively advanced in technology and resources.

We believe that optimum progress can be made by a fully cooperative effort within the framework of the Agency. Most of the problems involved are international in scope. We must face the fact that it takes money and technical resources, including manpower, to achieve a satisfactory rate of progress in any peaceful-uses program. In relative terms, with respect to fulfillment of their needs, the more technically advanced nations are moving ahead at a more rapid rate than the underdeveloped countries. This condition puts a new emphasis on the words that occur several times in the Agency statute—"bearing in mind the special needs of the underdeveloped areas of the world."

The United States has demonstrated consistently its special concern for the welfare of the lesser developed countries, including those which have become new and independent states in the recent postwar period. Many of these states are members of this organization. We hope that as other peoples organize their own governments—notably in Africa—they, too, will turn to the Agency for guidance as to *when* and *how* to launch nuclear programs best suited to their respective needs.

To an increasing degree the Agency will become the repository of information that reflects the experience of its members. Its guidance and advice can serve well in those situations where faith in the potential of the peaceful atom to do big things quickly sometimes does not take into account the hard realities of the atomic age.

I am confident that most of us will agree that the technical competence of the Agency has increased to the point where it is ready to expand its present assistance into a coordinated effort that best will serve the underdeveloped areas. For this reason the United States will rely more and more on the Agency as a major institution for making U.S. technical aid generally available to peaceful atomic uses programs especially in the less advanced areas.

We also view the increasing capacity of the Agency to deal with international matters such as safeguards and health and safety as widening the opportunity for *all* members to use it as the chosen instrument to make a united attack on these problems.

We are presenting for your consideration recommendations in seven areas of Agency program activity: expanded technical assistance, training, radioisotopes, research, information, nuclear power, and health and safety. Wherever the United States can offer some special help to an Agency activity, we will specify it in discussing that program.

Most of our proposals are concerned primarily with the overall Agency program in 1961. As for the coming year, the United States supports the 1960 program and budget recommended by the Board of Governors. They are based on the best estimates of Agency needs and capabilities for the coming year.

At the same time we urge the Director General and the Board to continue their efforts to keep the size of the secretariat to the minimum needed to carry out Agency programs effectively. We believe this is being done in the 1960 budget.

The level set for the operational budget is modest. The goal set at the second conference also was modest, but, with the 1959 year nearing its close, it has not been fully met. We strongly hope that the total \$1,500,000 sought will be achieved before the end of this year.

Meanwhile all of us face the challenge of the 1960 operational budget. We will be asked to make new financial commitments. When this item is reached on the conference agenda, the United States will make its 1960 pledge. We urge every member government to support the operational budget to assure the success of the program which has been planned.

We turn now to a discussion of Agency activi-

ties in specific fields. We have given much thought to the nature and scope of services and projects which seem to us to merit special effort in view of current needs. Some of our proposals deal directly with the strengthening of Agency assistance to underdeveloped areas. Others embrace problems that are worldwide in scope.

Increased Technical Assistance

The Agency has assumed a major responsibility for furnishing experts to assist member states. This is being done in part through its own staff, but it still is necessary for members having specialized personnel to continue to make their services available.

The program is going well. What is lacking is some method of providing the necessary equipment that would make it possible for the countries assisted to make the best use of the advice being furnished through Agency auspices.

Therefore the United States recommends that the Agency begin *now* to plan for an enlarged technical assistance program that will include the offering of equipment to members through the Agency. This effort can be shaped especially for the underdeveloped areas. Specifically we are thinking about items such as subcritical assemblies, radioisotope irradiation sources, irradiation facilities, and the kinds of laboratory equipment that can be used to the best advantage in each particular situation.

The Agency already has made a start in this field. We hope that this effort can be expanded in 1961. The United States would encourage its friends to seek this kind of help from the Agency. We believe that, with support from those members having appropriate resources, the Agency can enlarge this program.

The methods to be used to carry out the equipment program can be worked out cooperatively by the contributing members with the Board and the secretariat. There might be grants, loans of equipment, or lease arrangements—or some combination of methods. We would look to the Agency staff to survey the needs and evaluate the requests as to scope and timing so that each piece of equipment made available would fill a pressing need.

For the immediate future, and to the extent that funds are available, the United States will, through

the Agency, supplement Agency efforts to meet as many equipment requests of members as it can.

Training

The rapid growth of the Agency program for the training of scientists and technicians is gratifying. The figure in the Board of Governors' report shows that, through June 30 of this year, the total nominations for fellowships had passed the 500 mark—to be exact, 526 from 41 countries. Of these, 349 had at that time been selected for placement in facilities made available by member states. This program should be continued, and the United States will maintain its support of this effort in 1960 with fellowships for Agency-selected students.

The Agency also should encourage the development of independent training capacity in more member states. Emphasis would be on sponsorship of summer institutes for university and secondary-school faculty members. The successful seminar held at Saclay [France] in cooperation with UNESCO in July is an example of a useful exchange of ideas in this field.

An Expanded Radioisotopes Program

The present Agency effort should be expanded, especially in making the most efficient use of its mobile training laboratories for the training of cadres of technicians in radioisotope techniques and safe handling. The effort should be concentrated more and more in underdeveloped regions.

A new requirement is developing. Research reactors are coming into operation rapidly. Many of these reactors can produce radioisotopes in useful quantities. What we suggest as needed is Agency assistance in planning the production of radioisotopes in these reactors and providing for their most effective use. In some cases this may involve equipment to process the radioisotopes for specific needs of the country where they are produced. Perhaps a technical advisory service could be set up to assist members with newly acquired facilities.

The Agency also can assist many members importantly by suggesting the adaptation to their special needs of the accumulated experience of other members in the radioisotope field. I am sure there will come to the minds of many of you

examples of this. In my country the attacks on certain noxious insects have been sufficiently successful to lead us to believe that the techniques developed will find use in other areas and against other pests.

The standardization program will receive more attention when the Agency service laboratory comes into operation. We suggest planning can begin now on at least one problem. At present there do not exist uniform methods for making precise measurements of radioactivity, especially the isotopic distribution in low-level activity in food, plants, and water. The evaluation and adaptation of present methods to produce agreed-upon standard measurements of radioactivity are of great importance. They are essential to the development of Agency health and safety programs, especially in the waste-disposal study which we shall propose. Such standardization also is necessary in international investigations of natural and reactor-induced radioactivity and of nuclear accidents.

Research Activities

Our country believes that the fostering and coordination of research is one of the most important responsibilities of the Agency. For example, in the important investigations into the possibility of controlled thermonuclear reactions, the Agency should assume a commanding role in coordinating this effort and in disseminating the accumulating data.

Already we have found, as we had hoped, that the international character of the Agency staff brings to light scientific resources of other members that can be used in joint research efforts. We feel as we did last year that there exists a wealth of scientific and technical competence that the Agency can draw on for the benefit of all members.

The Agency-U.S. program we proposed last year is progressing and will be continued in 1960. A contract has been signed to support an attack on the difficult problem of producing calcium 47, an important radioisotope in nuclear medicine that is in short supply. Other contracts being negotiated include studies in plant breeding and in population and human genetics.

The results of this research work done for the United States through the Agency will be made available to the entire membership. We hope that

other members will initiate similar programs through the Agency.

Distribution of Technical Information

The useful work being done here should be continued and expanded. The forthcoming Agency journal in the field of controlled thermonuclear research represents a unique opportunity for the Agency to assume leadership in this field of technical literature. We urge that it be expedited.

The Agency is becoming an important source for international directories such as those covering the availability of radioisotopes and power reactors. A special field lies in the collating of data being received from the technically advanced members for the use of the entire membership.

Data on nuclear cross sections, for example, are accumulating. As more countries acquire the capability to contribute to this specialized field, the Agency will be the logical instrument to use for collecting the data on a global basis.

Reactor Development and Nuclear Power

We feel that the Agency is following a most practical course in carrying out the mandate of the second conference to survey the needs of the less developed countries and make a continuing study of small- and medium-scale nuclear power reactors best suited to their economic development. I am sure that all of us have noted the interim report. For our part we will continue to assist the Agency in its field studies and evaluations with personnel and information.

We have previously discussed the changed economic situation with respect to the rate of development of nuclear power in many important areas. Do not, however, mistake our realism for pessimism. In my own country there are reactor concepts and experiments that give promise of success including several small- and medium-sized reactors.

In addition to the U.S. work on many types and sizes of reactors, our program specifically includes the early construction of a small prototype reactor of the pressurized water type—the system with which we have had the most experience. This project will be devoted exclusively to developing a true small-size power producer.

We have had the Agency program specifically in mind in planning this reactor. The aim is to

produce a nuclear plant with favorable power-generating costs, that would be suitable for use in places where the economic factor of heavy industrial demand is not immediately present. We do not, however, underestimate the difficulties to be overcome in attaining this objective.

We believe that this pressurized water project, like the other small- or medium-sized power reactors that are part of the U.S. effort, will be a stimulus—in fact, an adjunct—to the Agency reactor survey program. Accordingly we will discuss with the Agency the establishment of a program under which Agency technical personnel could participate in this project from design stage through startup and operation. We also will provide the Agency prompt information on these reactors, including cost data, plans, and specifications.

We also recommend that a study of the economics of reactor systems using thorium be undertaken. We are willing to participate in such a study and make available to the Agency the information accumulated in this field, including designs of various thorium reactor systems.

Health and Safety

We wish to emphasize our strong feeling that a high priority should be given to the problem of disposal of radioactive wastes from the very low level discharge from small laboratories to the highly radioactive fission products from nuclear reactors. The work done so far by the Agency in waste disposal serves to point up the urgency of this problem, and the forthcoming conference at Monaco in November is a constructive step.³

A number of factors contribute to the waste problem. The number of radioisotope users is now in the thousands and is increasing. Uranium mining and milling operations are growing. Chemical processing plants to handle the spent fuel from reactors will increase. There are already, according to a conservative estimate, more than 300 civilian reactors now or soon to be in operation.

The disposition of wastes from these operations is an international problem. The Agency has a unique opportunity to deal with a matter that is not susceptible to solution by individual states.

³ An IAEA Conference on Radioactive Waste Disposal will be convened at Monaco on Nov. 16.

Therefore we urge the Agency to take the leadership in finding the answers to this problem. We offer the following five-point proposal for an immediate attack:

1. Initiate a program designed to determine the feasibility of establishing regional or international burial grounds for packaged and solid radioactive wastes. This would involve an investigation of disposal requirements and lead to the evaluation of suitable disposal sites.

2. Investigate the designation of specific sea disposal sites and establish an international registry for sea disposal operations.

3. Begin field studies, in cooperation with member states and regional groups, to determine the fate of radioactive materials that may find their way into international rivers. Generally these would be wastes of low levels of activity generated by isotope users and diluted in sewage systems. The object would be to determine the safe capacity of these waterways to receive such materials, particularly where the rivers were drawn on to provide drinking water or for irrigation.

4. Develop basic criteria and design for radioisotope laboratories with emphasis on health, safety, and waste disposal and prepare a handbook on the treatment and disposal of low-level wastes. This document would be valuable in countries contemplating the beginning of small-scale nuclear operations.

5. Undertake an analysis of the aspects of waste disposal to emphasize the international nature of the problem.

The United States is prepared to give this undertaking full support. We are ready to send our own scientists, engineers, and equipment to assist Agency research and development projects launched under this program. Effective Agency leadership in the next 3 or 4 years in this critical area holds the promise of major and specific accomplishment of which the Agency could be proud.

Obviously this effort would be a major part of the Agency health and safety programs. My Government also believes the Agency should consider assuming responsibility in the field of reactor hazards evaluations.

Over the past few years the United States has rendered important advisory assistance to a number of countries. Without approving or disap-

proving a particular project, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission has made these evaluations on the basis of the factors it uses in judging the safety of a reactor in the United States.

The Agency has received requests for such assistance and is building a staff competent in the field of reactor safety. One could expect that, on the basis of a demonstrated competence, an increasing number of countries would turn to the Agency for this service.

The waste disposal and reactor safety evaluation programs would lead the Agency into the area of coordination with other appropriate international organizations and member government authorities in the adoption of standards for maximum permissible radiation exposure resulting from the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Agency should assist, to the extent possible, in securing adoption of these standards so that its findings, especially in waste disposal investigations, can be related properly to minimal worker and environmental exposure.

We believe that the proposals we have made in these seven areas of Agency program effort, plus other ideas that will be placed before you, form a challenging panorama of the opportunities that lie before this organization. They would provide the best possible means for the more developed members to help all other members and assist small and new nations in bringing the proven benefits of the atomic age to their peoples.

Agency System of Safeguards

We turn now to the question of an adequate Agency system of safeguards.

The rapid increase in the use of fissionable materials makes it imperative that steps be taken to put article XII of the Agency statute into effect. During the past year *ad hoc* safeguards procedures were adopted for the fuel transaction handled between the Agency and Japan.

The Board of Governors is currently facing the problem of adopting principles and realistic procedures to carry out the intent of the statute. That clearly expressed intent is to assure at least that assistance provided by the Agency will not be used to further any military purpose.

My Government wishes to compliment the Board of Governors on the excellent progress made thus far. We are confident that a safeguards system will evolve that is in accord with

the statute ratified by all 70 member governments.

We understand that the Board is now completing the task of approving a statement of safeguards principles. We anticipate that during the ensuing year the Board will adopt a set of regulations based on these principles and that both the principles and the regulations will be transmitted to all members well in advance of the fourth general conference for discussion at that time.

A sound and workable safeguards system is of great importance to our common hopes for the peaceful development of atomic energy. The position of my Government on safeguards has been clear from the earliest negotiations that led to the successful international effort to create this important organization.

Many of you here today will recall that at the 1958 conference our delegation endorsed the request of the Government of Japan for the Agency to take over as soon as possible the administration of the safeguards provisions in the agreement for cooperation between our two countries.⁴ We are confident that other countries which are signatories to bilateral agreements will decide to follow the same course.

The United States has accumulated a significant body of information based on its own experience with respect to the accounting for and the controlling of materials which it is prepared to make available to the Agency.

Overall Distribution System

The rapid rise in the quantity of nuclear materials being committed for use in large-scale power reactors and fueling of the truly remarkable increase in the number of research reactors in many parts of the world illustrates the marked change in the supply situation with respect to reactor fuel.

Uranium, the basic raw material of the atomic age, is fast becoming a commodity of international trade. Its present abundance contrasts sharply with its scarcity in 1953. Its availability, either in enriched or natural form, is not a limitation on its use. This means that an Agency function initially considered of primary importance—that of allocating a presumably scarce supply of nuclear material on a worldwide basis—has changed in character.

In our view the Agency has a vital role to play

⁴ BULLETIN of Oct. 27, 1958, p. 668.

in the overall distribution system. Its ability to supply substantial quantities of materials serves as an additional alternative source of procurement for all nations and thus reduces the dependency on individual suppliers. Many nations may wish to satisfy their requirements through the Agency rather than through bilateral arrangements. Finally, the Agency must accommodate the needs of projects developed under its own initiative.

The United States intends more and more to encourage our bilateral partners to draw upon the Agency's available pool of materials to satisfy their requirements. One result of using the Agency would be to give it important experience in building up its materials distribution activities.

In this connection we welcome the Director General's announcement of inquiries from two Governments concerning the supply of enriched uranium by the IAEA. We understand—and are most gratified to learn—that the Government of Austria has now decided to proceed with the development of an arrangement with the Agency for the supply of fuel required for the Seibersdorf research reactor. We are confident that this requirement will be accommodated in a way which will insure that it is only the forerunner of many such transactions between the Agency and its members.

As all of you know, under the U.S.-IAEA agreement, which came into effect on August 7, 1959,⁵ 5,000 kilograms of uranium 235, plus any amounts required to match the contributions by other members to July 1960, is now available to the Agency at published charges applicable to users in the United States.

As a matter of general long-term policy, the United States, subject to appropriate authorizations and development of an adequate Agency safeguards system, is prepared to channel through the Agency as much of its material allocated for foreign distribution as the Agency needs to meet the requests of its members. For fueling-research and materials-testing reactors, reactor experiments, and subcritical assemblies, the United States will lease to the Agency such portion of the 5,070 kilograms of uranium 235 already allocated as may be assigned by the Agency for such projects. The United States is prepared also to donate in the coming year up to \$50,000 of enriched

uranium for use in Agency-sponsored research projects, including research reactors. At current charges this would mean that nearly 3 kilograms of enriched material will be available as a gift to the Agency.

It should be noted here that the initial cost of fuel can be a deterrent to nuclear power development. Therefore it was announced in February of this year that, as part of a total worldwide program of 500 megawatts, Agency-sponsored power projects may acquire enriched uranium from the United States under a system of deferred payments that assists in meeting the problem of initial capital outlay. The fuel cost under this plan is spread out over a period of 20 years.

Fellow delegates, that completes our presentation. To summarize, with respect to our estimate of the Agency's progress and our support of its programs, we have reached the following conclusions:

1. The Agency is now ready and able to become a principal channel through which the more advanced nations can pool their efforts most effectively to provide expert advice, materials, and equipment to the peaceful uses programs of the underdeveloped areas.
2. The Agency should embrace the opportunities to expand its programs that contribute to this goal, including nuclear power studies, into a major coordinated effort based on the proposals which the member states are putting forward at this conference.
3. The Agency now has the competence to assume vital responsibilities in the areas of safeguards and in health and safety, especially in the urgent problem of waste disposal.
4. The Agency has a continuing and important role as a supplier of source and special nuclear materials.
5. The United States believes that the Agency is achieving its objective of accelerating the peaceful applications of nuclear energy throughout the world.

Finally, we believe that all of us now recognize that the Agency is indispensable in this atomic age. Its growth should be steady and commensurate with the emerging problems which it best can solve. We hope that every member nation will reexamine its plans for future contributions—in money, materials, and manpower—so that the Agency can be assured of adequate resources to

⁵ For an announcement of the signing of the agreement, see *ibid.*, June 8, 1959, p. 852.

cope with the expanding international aspects of the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

Thus will all of us share our nuclear knowledge and experience to the end that—to use the often repeated but still inspiring words—the atom will become truly the servant of man.

Conference on Antarctica Opens at Washington

A 12-nation Conference on Antarctica, called to negotiate a treaty to insure the same kind of cooperation in Antarctica as obtained during the International Geophysical Year, began at Washington, D.C., on October 15. Following is an address of welcome made by Secretary Herter at the opening session, an announcement of the heads of the 12 delegations, and a list of the U.S. delegation.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY SECRETARY HERTER

Press release 723 dated October 15

It is a pleasure and an honor for me, on behalf of the Government of the United States, to welcome to Washington the distinguished representatives and advisers who compose the delegations to the Conference on Antarctica.

We are meeting here for the purpose of reaching an agreement concerning a vast continent. Long a mystery, later the scene of heroic adventure and exploration, this continent is now an area of the world in which international scientific cooperation, for the benefit of mankind, has been successfully demonstrated to an outstanding degree by the brave men of the nations here represented who participated in the Antarctic programs of the International Geophysical Year.

My Government is dedicated to the principle that the continuation of this cooperation should be assured and that Antarctica should be used for peaceful purposes only, should not become an object of political conflict, and should be open for the conduct of scientific investigations.

The exertions of the explorers and scientists of nations represented here have made possible this opportunity to formulate and give legal effect to certain high principles which, in consonance with the charter of the United Nations, would insure

peace and cooperation in a vast area of the world. The conference will undertake this task with confidence.

The United States, as host country, welcomes you. We wish you a pleasant stay here and look forward to a successful conference.

HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

The Department of State announced on October 13 (press release 719) that the heads of delegations to the Conference on Antarctica are as follows:

Argentina: Adolfo Scilingo, Special Adviser to the President, Buenos Aires

Australia: Richard Gardiner Casey, C. H., Minister for External Affairs, Canberra

Belgium: Viscount Aubert de Thieusies, Brussels

Chile: Marcial Mora, Member, Senate of Chile, Ambassador, Santiago

France: Pierre Charpentier, Ambassador, Paris

Japan: Koichiro Asakai, Ambassador, Embassy of Japan, Washington, D.C.

New Zealand: W. Nash, C.H., Prime Minister, Wellington
Norway: Paul Koht, Ambassador, Royal Norwegian Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Union of South Africa: Eric H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, Pretoria

U.S.S.R.: Vasily V. Kuznetsov, First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

United Kingdom: Sir Esler Dening, G.C.M.G., O.B.E., London

United States: Herman Phleger, U.S. Representative

U.S. DELEGATION

The Department of State announced on October 9 (press release 713) the membership of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Antarctica, which convened at Washington on October 15:

U.S. Representative

Herman Phleger (with personal rank of ambassador)

U.S. Alternative Representatives

Paul C. Daniels, special adviser on Antarctica, Department of State

George H. Owen, director, Antarctica Staff, Department of State

Congressional Adviser

Frank Carlson, U.S. Senate¹

¹The Department of State announced on Oct. 14 (press release 720) that Senator Gale W. McGee had also been named to serve as a congressional adviser to the U.S. delegation.

Advisers

Capt. Eugene W. Davis, USN, Department of Defense
Larkin W. Farinholt, Office of the Science Adviser, Department of State
Milan W. Jerabek, Bureau of European Affairs, Department of State
Alan F. Neidle, Office of the Legal Adviser, Department of State
Henry C. Reed, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department of State
Arthur H. Rosen, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State
Robert M. Schneider, Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

Secretary of Delegation

Wayne W. Fisher, Antarctica Staff, Department of State

Participating nations will be the 12 nations which cooperated in the Antarctica program of the International Geophysical Year: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The Conference has as its task the conclusion of a treaty for the purpose of insuring the same kind of cooperation in Antarctica which obtained during the International Geophysical Year.

SCIENCE ADVISERS TO U.S. DELEGATION

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 736) that at its request the National Academy of Sciences has appointed a committee of six distinguished scientists, headed by Laurence M. Gould, president of Carleton College, to advise the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Antarctica. Other members of the committee are Albert P. Crary, Lloyd V. Berkner, Francis W. Reichelderfer, Merle A. Tuve, and Harry Wexler.

All the individuals selected for this committee by Detlev W. Bronk, president of the National Academy of Sciences, have an active interest in the scientific investigations which are being carried out in Antarctica. Because of their experience and background they will be able to assist the delegation in matters which may arise involving science.

The U.S. delegation will also receive advice directly from the National Science Foundation, the Government agency responsible for coordinat-

ing the planning and management of the U.S. scientific program in Antarctica.

U.S. Hopes for Soviet Cooperation in U.N. Outer-Space Activities

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*

U.S. delegation press release 3238 dated October 7

Mr. [V. V.] Kuznetsov has said that the Soviet Union will propose a United Nations sponsored conference to exchange experience in the exploration of outer space. We welcome this new departure in Soviet policy and hope that it means cooperation in the future work of the United Nations in the field of outer space.

The United States, for its part, strongly supports the establishment by this General Assembly of a United Nations space committee. The idea of exchange of experience in exploring outer space advanced by Mr. Kuznetsov is illustrative of the many useful things which might be achieved through cooperative action in such a United Nations body.

U.S. Allocates Funds for Refugee Relief

The Department of State announced on October 9 (press release 711) that the United States had allocated \$100,000 for the assistance of Tibetan refugees, \$80,000 to aid Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, and another \$150,000 for the emergency relief of Algerians in Tunisia and Morocco. Announcement of this was made at Geneva on that day by Robert S. McCollum, U.S. delegate to the Executive Committee meeting of the Program of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Mr. McCollum, Deputy Administrator of the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State, disclosed that the \$80,000 would be used to expand refugee food production. The food project in Hong Kong is being carried on with the cooperation of private organizations, in-

cluding Church World Service, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Lutheran World Federation.

Mr. McCollum also explained that the \$150,000 is being provided through the U.N. High Commissioner to aid many Algerians in Tunisia and Morocco, almost all of whom are women, children, and aged persons. These contributions bring to almost \$2,500,000 the sums advanced so far by the United States for the U.N.-sponsored World Refugee Year. It also brings to over \$6,500,000 the sums allocated both in funds and in surplus foods for the relief of the Algerian refugees.

Supplementary Items Added to Agenda of General Assembly

U.N. doc. A/4230/Add. 1

Note: At its 826th plenary meeting on 12 October 1959, the General Assembly decided, on the recommendation of the General Committee (A/4237), to include the following items in the agenda of its fourteenth session:¹

71. International encouragement of scientific research into the control of cancerous diseases.
72. The United Nations Library: gift of the Ford Foundation.
73. The question of Tibet.

President To Nominate Mr. Cutler to Inter-American Bank Board

The White House announced on October 14 that the President had made known his intention to nominate Robert Cutler as the U.S. member of the seven-man Board of Executive Directors of the Inter-American Development Bank.

On October 14, under legislation approved in the last session of Congress, Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson formally signed the Bank agreement, thus accepting membership on behalf of the United States. Secretary Anderson will be appointed by the President to serve as Governor of the Bank, and Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon will be named Alternate Governor.

¹ For the agenda adopted on Sept. 22, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 522.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

ITU Plenipotentiary Conference

The Department of State announced on October 12 (press release 716) the designation of Francis Colt de Wolf as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union, which convened at Geneva October 14, 1959. The Department also announced the designation of Commissioner Rosel H. Hyde of the Federal Communications Commission as vice chairman of the delegation.

Other members of the delegation include:

Members

Edwin W. Bemis, American Telephone and Telegraph Co.
Sidney S. Cummins, Office of International Administration, Department of State

Ronald G. Egan, European director, International Communications, Western Union Telegraph Co., London, England.

Paul Goldsborough, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Supply and Logistics

Raymond L. Harrell, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

Alfred A. Hemminge, American Cable and Radio Corp.

Frederic E. Meinholz, American Newspaper Publishers Association

Paul D. Miles, executive secretary, Interdepartmental Radio Advisory Committee, Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization

Charles H. Owsley, Deputy U.S. Representative at the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations, Geneva

Francis W. Ryan, American Telephone and Telegraph Co.

Philip F. Siling, Radio Corporation of America

Raymond E. Simonds, Radio Corporation of America

Marion H. Woodward, Chief, International Division, Common Carrier Bureau, Federal Communications Commission

Secretary of Delegation

Eugene R. Schelp, Office of International Conferences, Department of State

The International Telegraph Union was formed in 1865. In 1906, after a small preliminary meeting in Berlin in 1903, the Berlin Conference on Radiotelegraph formulated a convention. In 1912 at London and in 1927 at Washington, conferences were held that covered radiotelegraph and utilized the Bern Bureau of the ITU for administration. The Telecommunication Convention of Madrid in 1932 canceled all previous conventions and changed the old International Telegraph Union to the International Telecommunication

Union. Because of delay incident to World War II, a plenipotentiary conference did not meet to revise the Madrid convention until the Atlantic City conference in 1947. This conference introduced fundamental changes in the organization of the Union; new permanent organs of the Union were created and old ones expanded, and it became a specialized agency of the United Nations. The International Telecommunication Convention of 1952, signed at Buenos Aires, came into effect in 1954 and is the present charter of the Union.

The purpose of this plenipotentiary conference is to revise the Buenos Aires convention. The conference is expected to be in session until the middle of December.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Copyright

Universal copyright convention. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force September 16, 1955. TIAS 3324.

Accession deposited: Czechoslovakia, October 6, 1959.

Protocol 2 to the universal copyright convention concerning the application of that convention to the works of certain international organizations. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force September 16, 1955. TIAS 3324.

Accession deposited: Czechoslovakia, October 6, 1959.

Protocol 3 to the universal copyright convention concerning the effective date of instruments of ratification or acceptance of or accession to that convention. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force August 19, 1954. TIAS 3324.

Accession deposited: Czechoslovakia, October 6, 1959.

Finance

Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank, with annexes. Done at Washington April 8, 1959.¹ *Signatures and acceptances:* Argentina, United States, October 14, 1959.

BILATERAL

Colombia

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709), with memorandum of understanding. Effected by exchange of notes at Bogotá October 6, 1959. Entered into force October 6, 1959.

¹ Not in force.

Norway

Convention modifying and supplementing the convention of June 13, 1949 (TIAS 2357), for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Oslo July 10, 1958.¹

Ratified by the President: September 4, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Exemption of Functions Under Mutual Security Act

White House press release dated October 12

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on October 12 signed an Executive order waiving one provision of law which otherwise would apply to contracts made under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.

The provision waived by this order is one requiring that Government contracts include provision for the examination of records of contractors by the General Accounting Office. The waiver is restricted to contracts of the Department of Defense and is further restricted to those contracts for procurement abroad in the case of which compliance with the inspection of records requirement is deemed impracticable.

The waiver is made under authority of section 533 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and is made in furtherance of purposes declared in that act. A similar requirement under a predecessor statute, now expired, was formerly waived. The new order is thus occasioned by the enactment of the new statute and the expiration of the old and is in the nature of a reinstatement of the earlier waiver.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10845¹

FURTHER SPECIFICATION OF LAWS FROM WHICH FUNCTIONS AUTHORIZED BY THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954, AS AMENDED, SHALL BE EXEMPT

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 533 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, 68 Stat. 860 (22 U.S.C. 1793) it is ordered as follows:

¹ 24 Fed. Reg. 8317.

SECTION 1. It is hereby determined that, to the extent indicated in the preamble of section 2 of Executive Order No. 10784 of October 1, 1958,² and in section 2(e) of that order as added by this order, the performance of functions authorized by the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, without regard to the provisions of section 3 (b) of the act entitled "An Act to authorize the making, amendment, and modification of contracts to facilitate the national defense" (72 Stat. 972; 50 U.S.C. 1433(b)) will further the purposes of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended.

SEC. 2. Executive Order No. 10784 of October 1, 1958, is hereby amended:

(a) By substituting the following for that portion of section 2 thereof which precedes the lettered items of section 2:

"SEC. 2. With respect to purchases authorized to be made outside the limits of the United States or the District of Columbia under the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended:"

(b) By adding the following paragraph (e) at the end of section 2 thereof:

"(e) Section 3(b) of the act entitled 'An Act to authorize the making, amendment, and modification of contracts to facilitate the national defense' (Public Law 85-804, approved August 28, 1958, 72 Stat. 972; 50 U.S.C. 1433(b)), but only with respect to contracts in which the inclusion of the clause required by section 3(b), or the compliance with that clause, if included in a contract, is deemed by the executive or military department concerned to be impracticable."



THE WHITE HOUSE,
October 12, 1959.

Recess Appointments

The President on October 13 appointed John D. Hickerson to be Ambassador to the Philippines. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 718 dated October 13.)

² For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 27, 1958, p. 664.

Designations

Edward A. Bolster as deputy director, Office of Transport and Communications, effective October 12.

Gardner E. Palmer as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Japan, and Minister for Economic Affairs, Tokyo, effective November 1. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 488 dated July 7.)

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: October 12-18

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to October 12 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 699 of October 5, 705 of October 7, and 711, 713, and 714 of October 9.

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716	10/12	ITU delegation (rewrite).
717	10/13	Dillon: departure for GATT meeting, Tokyo.
*718	10/13	Hickerson appointed Ambassador to Philippines (biographic details).
719	10/13	Delegation to Conference on Antarctica (rewrite).
720	10/14	McGee named delegate to Conference on Antarctica (rewrite).
721	10/14	Prime Minister of Morocco visits U.S.
*722	10/14	Itinerary for Crown Prince of Ethiopia.
723	10/15	Herter: Conference on Antarctica.
724	10/15	Argentina credentials (rewrite).
725	10/15	Relaxation by New Zealand of controls against dollar imports.
726	10/15	Soviet composers visit U.S.
727	10/16	Berding: National Association of Broadcasters.
728	10/16	NAS survey of Africa.
729	10/16	President of Guinea visits U.S. (rewrite).
*730	10/16	Herter: death of Gen. George C. Marshall.
731	10/17	Soviet violation of diplomatic immunity of Russell Langelle.
†732	10/18	Wilcox: "Great-Power Cooperation in the United Nations."

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

The Shape of American Policy

*by Under Secretary Murphy*¹

This is an interesting moment in the history of American foreign relations, and a discussion of some aspects of it may be timely. Your interest in these problems is most encouraging to all of us in the State Department and is an index of the spread of interest in foreign affairs so noticeable around the country. This of course was not always so. Not so many years ago a crisis in Laos or Tibet or even Hungary would have provoked little interest. In those earlier days there was no sense of threat to our way of life. Distance lent a certain enchantment to our views on foreign policy, so much of which seemed remote and absorbed in the vastness of the oceans which then gave us protection in the development of this great country. In those days we depended on the military strength of the European powers, which provided a sort of police protection and enabled us to remain aloof. After 1812 there was never a serious threat of invasion. We were largely occupied with domestic problems and not ambitious to be a great world power. Even during two world wars in which we reluctantly participated there was little or no fear that this country would be invaded or directly attacked. Our situation at home was solid and impregnable.

Factors Shaping Soviet Policy

Now if that was our own situation, in the light of the competitive position we now occupy in the world it might be profitable to make a rough comparison with the development of our principal rival. Quite apart from the Communist revolution of 1917, the history of Russia is replete

with periodic invasions of its territory and the grim tragedy of war in its homeland. It has not enjoyed the protection of the oceans, but, situated as it is in the midst of the Eurasian land mass, it has been exposed to the incursions of the Genghis Khans from the east and the Napoleons and the Hitlers from the west. Its vast stretches of territory, to be sure, gave some form of relative protection but imposed quite a different security problem from our own. During the last world war there were many millions of casualties and immeasurable destruction.

The reason I refer to this historical difference between the two countries is that I consider it fundamental in East-West relations today. The impact on the Russian mentality of these historical experiences has its reflection in the attitudes of their leaders to questions having to do with war and peace. This is quite separate from, and yet it is intertwined with, all Soviet Communist Party ideological matters and Communist plans for world domination. The mass of the Russian population may not share the party's enthusiasms for the promotion of communism, but it is acutely and instinctively aware of conditions which relate to Russian security. Thus what faces this country of ours is a difficult combination of an intense Russian popular and patriotic desire for national security coupled with an exploitation of this understandable yearning by a comparatively small but implacable Communist Party leadership seeking to foist their brand of socialism not only on the Russian people themselves but on the world at large, including the United States.

It was at least partly this desire for security in depth which motivated the Soviet Union, in violation of its pledges to the West, to fasten on to the large area in eastern Europe which its

¹ Address made before the Institute of World Affairs at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 20 (press release 738).

armies—supported by our own forces—overran at the end of World War II. The ideological or Communist motive was incidental or purely secondary. It is true that Communist doctrine teaches that, while capitalist states remain in existence, the Soviet Union as the homeland of communism can never be really secure. But party leaders are aided in promoting this doctrine among the Russian people because of the historical reasons to which I have just alluded. Otherwise it would be most difficult for the Russian people to believe, as the Soviet radio and press have so often told them, that capitalist American warmongers are poised for the attack and that our intentions are hostile and warlike. This historical conditioning has provided a readymade element of solidarity, enabling the party leadership to put over an ambitious new 7-year plan for heavy industry—and to some extent consumer goods—a huge military establishment on the land, a costly submarine fleet, an expensive intercontinental ballistic missile program, and a satellite program.

Mr. Khrushchev seems to be so enthusiastic about the potential of the satellite program that everything else, even intercontinental missiles, begins in his active imagination to be old-fashioned. This extraordinarily able Soviet leader seems determined to pull the Russian peasant right up by his bootstraps directly into outer space. Perhaps Ivan at the moment would settle for an extra suit and a pair of shoes in addition to his boots—as mentioned by Mr. Khrushchev the other day in traveling from Vladivostok—with a little better assortment of groceries for Ivan's wife. I noted one Russian comment out of Moscow by a worker who said he really did not need a TU-114, as he managed very well riding on the trolley car, but he would like some consumer goods for himself and his family and he would like them cheaper and of better quality.

Now this is very good and healthy. It provides the Soviet leadership with increasing problems. In their soaring ambition to surpass the United States, to dominate not only the world but outer space, the party leadership has neglected the daily needs of their subjects to a degree which our people could not even imagine. As the Russian people become more sophisticated and aware of the standards of living prevailing among "capitalistic slaves," their pressures on the leadership will, I believe, become unavoidable. Whatever

the political system, fundamental laws of economics apply and available man-hours can produce just so many things. I have no doubt that the Russian people want peace just as American citizens desire it. The only conflicts between the two nations are artificially created.

That is why our Government has promoted a program of exchange of persons on a reciprocal basis in the fields of science, culture, and industry. Sometimes that program is criticized for different reasons: that it is inadequate and very tardy; that we are opening our society to subversive influences and in effect doing business with the Devil; that the exchanges are unfair because of state control in the Soviet Union as compared to our open system and in view of the susceptibility of our hospitable people. It is true that, apart from the exchanges which are agreed on a reciprocal basis, there is practically no private travel by Russian citizens to the United States, whereas many thousands of American tourists are visiting the Soviet Union. But if we waited for the perfect arrangement it would probably never happen.

It is our opinion that the present agreement which is now under negotiation for renewal for an additional 2-year period is achieving mutually interesting results. It is too early to say whether the advantage is greater on one side than on the other. Perhaps in the field of the performing arts the financial advantage is on the Soviet side. Their performances, as is the case of the ballet and the folk dances, have earned far more dollars for them than the rubles earned by our performers and orchestras. Politically and psychologically I believe the program is mutually advantageous and could have profound effects favorable to peace over the longer term.

Peiping-Moscow Relationship

There is another factor of considerable interest to us in our contemplation of the international scene. It is the Peiping-Moscow relationship, a major feature of our present-day world. During Chairman Khrushchev's recent visit we gained perhaps some slight additional insight into the nature of that relationship, many features of which are obscure. It is an intriguing question as to how long a close fraternal relationship can endure. Allegiance to Marxism-Leninism, of course, and the common experience of postrevolutionary problems form a tie between the Soviet

leadership and their extreme doctrinaire counterparts in Peiping. But we may well ask ourselves if in the long run this is enough to overcome so many conflicts of a historical and social nature, conflicts of culture and custom and antipathies inherent in the makeup of the Chinese and Russian leaders and people. The Chinese Communist seizure of power is later in time than the Russian, and the spirit and immediate ambitions of the radical brand of Chinese doctrine and chauvinism perhaps do not always synchronize with the current aspirations of the Soviet leadership. This seemed apparent in Russian disapproval of Mao's [Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee and Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party] insistence on adoption of the brutal commune system, with its disregard of human values. The Soviet Union had long since discarded the theory as unworkable. The drain on Russian resources required by the vast and insatiable demands of the backward Chinese economy, its hungry millions, and Chinese ambitious expansionism undoubtedly provide food for thought in high Soviet councils. Communist China is not a satellite but a near equal, able to dream, with its potential for the future, of exercising a certain hegemony in the Eurasian land mass, not tomorrow certainly but some day.

In the past we have had reason to link Moscow and Peiping in aggressive moves in Korea and Quemoy and Matsu. No doubt Ho Chi Minh consulted the Moscow leadership as well as Peiping before the Viet Minh launched the guerrilla attacks in northern Laos. But are the Russians entirely comfortable with these Chinese adventures in aggressive warfare if they believe one of them might be the spark of a much larger conflagration? There is no doubt that publicly Mr. Khrushchev feels obliged to support Red China, no matter how outrageous its conduct might be in Tibet. I would question that privately he would be happy over the world effect of this adventure in brutality or its impact on Indian public opinion.

It is not always certain that Russian aspirations coincide with Chinese ambitions and methods. Some day this might become a most uneasy partnership. However, this day seems far in the future, and in the present in which we must operate there is little doubt but that both Moscow and Peiping regard the continuation of their close alliance as being of overriding importance. Peiping

in particular would be hard pressed to do without the critical economic and military assistance it receives from the Soviet Union. In turn this is a drain on the Soviet economy which delays the day when the Soviet people may achieve a better standard of living. As an indication of its dedication to its alliance with the U.S.S.R., the Peiping regime publicly accepts the latter's leadership over the world Communist movement.

Impact of Disarmament on U.S.-Soviet Relations

One area where better understanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could have a substantial impact is that of disarmament. We are all aware of the proposal made by Chairman Khrushchev in his speech to the General Assembly of the United Nations for complete and total disarmament.² Huge armaments are usually built either for aggressive purpose or for self-defense against such purpose, real or imaginary. There is usually a desire to dominate somebody else's territory or a deep fear and suspicion of attack. Certainly the United States gave proof of our peaceful intentions after World War II by achieving almost total disarmament in this country. This imprudent though idealistic action had wide popular support. But for our pains we were exposed to the blockade of Berlin and hostilities in Korea. We discovered that the Soviet bloc had not wasted a day nor spared expense in building a vast military apparatus. Every German rocket expert they could lay their hands on was recruited in the development of a missile and satellite program, and this plus other factors put their technology in some respects ahead of ours.

It is well to remember this historical development in assessing Chairman Khrushchev's broad and sweeping proposals, which are receiving very careful study by our Government. These proposals point to the fact that disarmament measures must be undertaken in a balanced way, fair to both sides, and that they must be subject at every stage to effective international control.

But there is a further aspect to total disarmament of great importance. This is the answer to the question: If nations give up their arms, who keeps the peace? Private citizens in organized communities have given up their firearms because they have an armed police which keeps the peace. As our able Ambassador to the United Nations,

² For text, see U.N. doc. A/PV. 799.

Henry Cabot Lodge, said recently,³ "If all nations lay down their arms, there must be institutions to preserve international peace and security and promote the rule of law."

In this connection we are seeking in the United Nations to determine what type of international police force should be established to preserve international peace and security; what principles of international law should govern the use of such a force; and, finally, what internal security forces, in precise terms, would be required by nations of the world if existing armaments are abolished.

We yield to no one in our eagerness to achieve disarmament, which we know is generally desired by peoples everywhere. Our President said the other day at Abilene⁴ that no other aspiration dominates him as much as that the nations of East and West will find dependable, self-guaranteeing methods to reduce the vast and essentially wasteful expenditures for armaments. He earnestly wishes to devote at least some of the funds now spent for arms to improvement not only in our own living conditions but especially to the millions living in poverty in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

What is important is agreement with built-in safeguards, self-enforcing safeguards of inspection and control. As Ambassador Lodge has stated,⁵ in any disarmament program, whether it be 100 percent or 1 percent disarmament, adequate and timely inspection and control must be built into the system, so that both sides reduce their armaments in plain sight of each other, every step of the way. That kind of program creates confidence; anything less creates fear and suspicion and increases the danger of war. As yet we do not know what inspection and control the Soviet Union would accept on its own proposal for complete disarmament. Neither the statement of Chairman Khrushchev nor the subsequent statement of Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov enlightened us on this vital point. Your Government is leaving no stone unturned to progress toward relief from the huge armaments burden.

Other Areas of Negotiation With Soviet Union

In a related field, as you know, we have had real negotiations aimed at agreement to stop tests of

nuclear weapons.⁶ In fact these talks were first proposed by the United States. They have been in progress at Geneva since 1958. For the moment they are in recess, but later this month the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union will again take up where they left off this summer.

Then, as you also know, the United States considered with nine other powers at Geneva last November the question of safeguarding against surprise attack.⁷ While these discussions did not accomplish their intended purpose, the frank exchange of views will serve as a useful basis for future negotiations on this problem.

As you undoubtedly know, too, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the Soviet Union have agreed on the establishment of a 10-nation disarmament committee to resume general disarmament negotiations early next year.⁸ This step has been warmly welcomed by the 82-member Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.⁹ Finally, inside our own Government we are now conducting an intensive review of our basic disarmament policy¹⁰ in anticipation of this Committee of Ten meeting scheduled to convene early in 1960.

I have touched on the two subjects which seem to me of greatest significance to our world position today, i.e. East-West relations and disarmament. No doubt they occupy much of the thought of the membership of the Institute of World Affairs. They overshadow regional and country problems to a greater or lesser extent everywhere. They affect the basic purpose of American foreign policy, which is the promotion of the welfare and security of the American people. During the coming months I believe we shall witness a number of conferences and negotiations during the course of which it is not impossible that an improvement in East-West relations may develop. If that is true, then there is no reason to despair on the subject of disarmament. I would like to close on that note of relative, cautious optimism, convinced that these problems are not insoluble.

⁶ For background, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, pp. 700 and 704; June 8, 1959, p. 825; and Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1958, p. 648; Nov. 24, 1958, p. 815; Jan. 5, 1959, p. 13; and Feb. 2, 1959, p. 163.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 1959, p. 237.

³ BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 615.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 620.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 615.

Great-Power Cooperation in the United Nations

by Francis O. Wilcox

*Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs*¹

It is a great pleasure for me to meet with you here in this city of sunshine in order to help celebrate United Nations Day. Support for the United Nations is, as you know, fundamental to our country's approach to its international responsibilities and objectives. It is through the efforts of organizations such as the Greater Miami Association for the United Nations and the other national organizations represented here that the message of the United Nations reaches the American public. Their understanding of and their interest in the United Nations are essential. We in the Government are deeply appreciative of the splendid work your organizations are doing to help achieve this end.

The Khrushchev Visit

This year the opening of the United Nations General Assembly coincided with the visit of Chairman Khrushchev to this country,² as the first part of an exchange of visits between President Eisenhower and the Soviet leader.

The decision to invite the leader of the Communist world to the United States was made in the hope that this might promote some understanding, ease world tensions, and perhaps lay the groundwork for new and more productive efforts in the cause of peace. From the beginning

it was stressed that we could not expect that the major issues between the Soviet Union and ourselves would thereby be resolved.

There is no need for me to rehearse the chronology of Mr. Khrushchev's visit, in which he traveled the length of the land, inspecting our industry, conferring with our leaders, and judging at first hand the temper of our people. It was a full 2 weeks for all of us, and particularly for those like Ambassador Lodge who accompanied the tireless Soviet leader on his tour.

Now that he has come and gone it may be useful to assess the effect of his visit, to estimate its advantages and disadvantages from the standpoint of the aims of our foreign policy in the promotion of world peace.

One thing is quite clear. We would all agree that Mr. Khrushchev might not deserve a very good mark in a course in American history. But it has been a helpful and sobering experience for all of us to see, at first hand, this shrewd and redoubtable opponent in action.

Obviously one immediate gain, which flowed from the talks at Camp David between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev, was the agreement that the negotiations on Germany and Berlin should not and must not be conducted under a threat or ultimatum. The implied Soviet threat to Berlin, it appears, has largely been removed, and negotiations on Germany and Berlin can be resumed, provided our allies agree.

I believe the visit of Mr. Khrushchev was fruitful in other ways which are less clear but in the long run may be no less important. No one can measure exactly the effect upon the Soviet leader of seeing the great industrial and agricultural potential of the United States, of viewing at first

¹Address made before the Greater Miami Association for the United Nations at Miami Beach, Fla., on Oct. 18 (press release 732).

²Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., visited the United States Sept. 15-27. For statements made at the time of his arrival, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476; for text of the communique released following his talks with President Eisenhower at Camp David, see *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

hand how our people really live, their support of our form of government, and their keen desire for peace. No one can calculate the effects of those experiences upon a man trained in a doctrine alien to ours and conditioned to think of us in the distorted terms of Soviet propaganda.

Moreover some statements of Chairman Khrushchev appear to reflect a new understanding of this country. He has told the Soviet people that President Eisenhower earnestly desires peace and that this Government has the support of the great majority of the American people. Moreover he did not talk about burying us; instead he urged us to keep our system and let him keep his. He even declared that "the slaves of capitalism live very well," and both here and in the Soviet Union he praised the accomplishments of American industry and agriculture.

Let us not underestimate the effect of these statements upon a people which for years has heard from their leadership little but odious comparisons and misrepresentations concerning the United States. In this regard the fact that the Soviet Government has, even if temporarily, reduced its jamming of the Voice of America in the Soviet Union is a welcome development.

I believe that what Mr. Khrushchev has learned about the United States during his visit here may have lessened the danger that he will misjudge the deep attachment which we have to our way of life. In this nuclear age there is grave peril in the possibility that one side will misinterpret the will of the other to defend itself or its interests, that it will miscalculate the reactions of the other side and take steps that might lead to an armed conflict. The danger of such a miscalculation is real, and the effects could be disastrous for all of us.

I believe that our deep resolve to defend our liberty and to honor our international commitments was brought home to Mr. Khrushchev in a direct way and that he is less likely to make a fatal mistake in the direction of Soviet policy. However, we cannot expect a broad understanding of this kind to come about quickly. It can only proceed from sustained contact at all levels. It could never, however, be achieved by the system of quarantine in which we previously found ourselves.

We are hopeful that a very modest beginning has been made. We are left with the practical question as to how far this beginning will lead us. Another of the hopeful signs, therefore, to emerge from Mr. Khrushchev's visit is the prospect of renewed

discussions and negotiations at various levels on such issues as Berlin, disarmament, trade, cultural exchange, and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The conduct of negotiations seems less likely to be interrupted by major violence than would be an armed truce of silence.

In any event it appears that we have gained the opportunity for further discussions of outstanding differences. What results, if any, these discussions will bring, I cannot say. If the Soviets are sincere in their desire to relax tensions, as they claim, we will present them every opportunity for doing so, as we have in the past. However, we must see deeds on their part—not just words—before we can realistically assess whether Mr. Khrushchev has simply been seeking to lull us into a false sense of tranquillity, knowing how much we welcome better relations with the Soviet Union, or whether he truly means to improve the international atmosphere by meaningful agreements to ease and eliminate present troublesome problems.

Of one thing, however, we can be sure. Mr. Khrushchev sincerely believes in his system. He is dedicated to the goal of surpassing the United States. His view is that our system and communism remain essentially competitive. We certainly cannot let down our guard as the result of a 2-week trip. We must never forget that Communist doctrine still has world domination as its goal. But we will continue to seek agreements with the Soviet Union which will reduce present tensions while maintaining free-world security.

Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

There is one further point that may be very important. Recently Mr. Khrushchev has made statements subscribing to the thesis that threats and force should not be used to settle differences between nations. This point was highlighted in the joint communique at Camp David, in which President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev agreed that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiations."

While such statements have been made before, this recent expression could be a significant development. But just as interesting perhaps are the speeches Mr. Khrushchev made during the 10th anniversary celebration of the Chinese Communist regime. In three major addresses he counseled against the use of force, repeating many of the

peace and disarmament themes he had used in this country.

Is it possible that the Chinese Communists will accept Mr. Khrushchev's sound advice? If their recent record of aggressive acts—including Tibet, Taiwan, and the Indian border areas—is any indication, we cannot afford to be very optimistic on this score. We can continue to hope, however, inasmuch as the Communist Chinese have recognized Mr. Khrushchev as the leader of the international Communist movement, that they will eventually accept the principle that differences should be settled by negotiation and not by force—a principle to which Mr. Khrushchev has publicly subscribed.

The U.S.S.R. and the U.N.

With this background in mind I would like to turn to some of the problems now pending before the United Nations. The rolleall of important political issues is an impressive one—disarmament, outer space, Tibet, Hungary, Laos, the U.N. Emergency Force—to mention only a few. It occurs to me that the Soviet Union has a very good opportunity to demonstrate, in connection with many of these issues, that it is really interested in working for world peace.

Fourteen years ago the U.N. was created with the hope that the great powers would work together to win the peace as they had cooperated to win the war. But the cold war soon set in, and the cleavage between the Communist and the free world became wider and deeper. At that time our people believed that a strong United Nations, buttressed by great-power cooperation, constituted the best possible guarantee for world peace. We still believe so. And we have done what we could over the years to strengthen the United Nations in its eternal quest for peace.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union, prompted by motives of its own, moved in the opposite direction. They apparently did not want a strong United Nations. As a part of their goal of winning the world to communism, they decided that a weak world organization would serve their interest better. Their membership was obviously a marriage of convenience.

So far as the United States is concerned, we would welcome genuine Soviet support for the United Nations Charter. I hasten to add that we should not expect any miracles in New York

as a result of Mr. Khrushchev's visit. Even so, there are a number of things the Soviets could do to ease tensions and to make the United Nations a more effective instrumentality for peace if they chose to do so.

The Problem of Disarmament

In the first place they could accept a workable system of international inspection and controls and thus make possible a break in the disarmament deadlock. Disarmament is without doubt the most important single problem facing the world today. And time after time during these last 14 years our discussions have bogged down largely over the kind of inspection system that would be both practical and effective.

So far as the United States is concerned, we remain ready and willing to negotiate effective disarmament agreements. We are quite prepared to permit Soviet representatives to participate in inspection arrangements in our territory. We do not fear their presence. In the circumstances envisaged, we would have nothing to hide.

But we do not believe in mere paper promises. When a nation moves toward disarmament, this is such a vital and important step that both sides are entitled to guarantees that the agreements entered into are not going to be violated.

An Irishman once defined salt as "a white substance that makes potatoes taste bad when you don't put any in." By the same token an adequate system of inspection and control is an absolutely indispensable element in any disarmament recipe.

When Mr. Khrushchev spoke before the General Assembly a few weeks ago, he called for what he termed "general and complete disarmament."³ By this he apparently meant the elimination of all armaments and all armed forces by all governments, except for those arms and forces needed to maintain internal order. To reach this goal he set forth various phases of a disarmament program which, over a period of 4 years, would result in his final objective—complete disarmament. This, in substance, was what Mr. Khrushchev had in mind and what he characterized as a radical new approach to this vital problem.

I would not want to detract from the importance of Mr. Khrushchev's statement, which even now is being given very careful study. It is only fair to

³ For text, see U.N. doc. A/PV. 799.

point out, however, that we and our allies have frequently offered comprehensive disarmament proposals to the Soviet Union in the past, including various phases for their implementation. Unfortunately, up to now at least, agreement with the Soviet Union has not been forthcoming.

In this connection I would like to make one point quite clear. The United States is willing to go as far as other nations will go toward complete disarmament, provided such disarmament is accompanied by a satisfactory system of controls.

Apart from the question of controls, Mr. Khrushchev's proposal for complete disarmament raises several important and complex problems. What armed forces will it be necessary for each state to retain so that internal order can be maintained? Presumably the answer to that question would involve a variety of considerations, including the size, geographical location, and terrain of the country, the size and character of the population, and the degree of political and economic stability it has developed.

Just as important is the essential link between complete disarmament and an international police force strong enough to keep the peace. Sovereign states will not be willing to put their guns on the table unless they can find security from external attack from other sources. True, from a purely humane point of view, it would be a great step forward if we could avoid the mass destruction of civilian populations. But disarmed nations could still fight with bows and arrows or even cornstalks, and probably would do so unless they are restrained by the presence of an international police force.

In presenting his proposal to the United Nations Mr. Khrushchev predicated it on the fact that the distrust which has developed among the nations has resulted in increases in armaments; these in turn develop international tensions. Now the solution he offered was to eliminate armaments and thereby eliminate world tensions. One might ask whether it would be more logical to approach the question of disarmament by first examining the problem of developing a feeling of trust among the nations of the world.

This is a riddle which is almost as difficult as the riddle of the hen and the egg. I do not pretend to have the answer. But I am convinced that, if we could reach agreement on some disarmament controls, this might help develop the

necessary confidence and trust to enable us to move forward.

Meanwhile, we have made some progress in two important respects.

First of all, the talks relating to the cessation of nuclear weapons tests will be resumed in Geneva on October 27. It is our hope that we can reach agreement with the Soviet Union on the inspection and control system necessary to insure that violations of the treaty would be detected. If that can be done, we can move ahead with a treaty on the cessation of nuclear tests and thus give real impetus to further progress in the field of disarmament.

Secondly, we recently reached agreement on a new forum for disarmament negotiation. A new committee has been established outside the United Nations consisting of five representatives from the Western states and five Soviet bloc members.⁴ This group will begin its discussions in Geneva early next year.

All of you know how persistently we have tried to engage in fruitful disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union in the United Nations. These efforts have not been successful. We have decided that we cannot and must not allow a matter as basic to the survival of our civilization as our disarmament efforts are to collapse because of procedural difficulties.

On the assumption that no stone should be left unturned which might bring some progress, we agreed to the creation of this new committee. There is not the slightest intention on our part to bypass the United Nations. We recognize fully that ultimate responsibility for disarmament continues to rest with the United Nations. And we sincerely hope that results achieved by the new committee will provide a useful basis for the renewed consideration of disarmament in that Organization.⁵

Outer Space

A second area where the Soviet Union could use its influence to lessen world tensions and strengthen the United Nations lies in the realm of outer space.

⁴ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

⁵ For a statement on the question of disarmament made by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge in Committee I on Oct. 14, see *ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1959, p. 615.

The United States has called for an international approach to this important question. We were the prime movers back of the establishment of a United Nations Committee on Outer Space.⁶ We sought to have the United Nations take the lead in cooperative international efforts. Surely a United Nations program in the peaceful uses of outer space, in which many members, small and large, participate, can help insure that national rivalries will not be projected into the universe which surrounds us.

But the Soviet response has been to boycott the United Nations committee—a committee which they insist be made up of states half on their side and half on the free-world side. We reject this undesirable concept of parity, as did the General Assembly last year. Such U.N. committees, we feel strongly, should reasonably reflect the makeup of the General Assembly of 82 members. The world is made up of many nations; it is diverse, and it is this diversity which characterizes the United Nations.

There is no questioning the fact that the Soviets, in view of recent accomplishments in penetrating outer space, could make a very helpful contribution to the work of the United Nations. Clearly they cannot argue a lack of technology, as they did some years ago when they refused to cooperate in the development of atomic energy.

Recently Mr. [V. V.] Kuznetsov, head of the Soviet delegation, proposed a United Nations conference to exchange experience in the exploration of outer space. We welcome this proposal.⁷ If this indicates an interest on the part of the Soviet Union to participate in the future in the United Nations efforts to further cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space, this could be a change for the better. International conferences under U.N. auspices which provide an opportunity to exchange experience in the exploration of outer space are illustrative of the many useful things which might be achieved through cooperative action. Our own scientists have shown considerable interest in such conferences, since they and the

⁶ For background and text of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on Dec. 13, 1958, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 24. For U.S. statements made in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, see *ibid.*, June 15, 1959, p. 883; June 29, 1959, p. 972; and July 27, 1959, p. 138.

⁷ For a statement by Ambassador Lodge, see *ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1959, p. 651.

United States Government agree that a maximum exchange of data is necessary if mankind is to benefit fully from the results of exploration of outer space.

For our part we will continue to give our solid support to the United Nations and the work of the Outer Space Committee in this field. We hope the Soviets grasp the opportunity this Assembly affords them to do the same.

Laos

The situation in Laos is still another example where the Soviet attitude could be helpful in easing tensions. During the recent past it has been clear that the Communist bloc has taken actions designed to undermine the freedom and independence of Laos. There has been active support of Communist rebel forces within Laos from Communist north Viet-Nam. There has been Communist propaganda emanating simultaneously from Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow aimed at confusing world opinion. And the fact that the military outbreak in Laos last August followed conferences in Moscow and Peiping between Soviet, Chinese Communist, and Viet Minh leaders is added evidence of the Soviet activity in this matter.

In these circumstances, with its freedom and independence threatened, Laos appealed to the United Nations for help. The Security Council subcommittee of Argentina, Italy, Japan, and Tunisia has been in Laos for the past month looking into the facts.⁸ Its presence there has had a quieting effect—at least for the moment—on Laos. For the time being, fighting has abated, and the immediate threat to Laotian independence has been reduced.

The Soviets vigorously opposed the United Nations' taking any action with respect to Laos. Their solution was the reconvening of an international control commission whose mission the Lao Government regarded as having been fulfilled. The Soviets have also sought to divert effective United Nations action by calling for a conference.⁹ The Lao Government rejected this idea, preferring instead to appeal to the United Nations, where justice could be assured.

Laos, like every free nation, seeks to control its own destiny. Since the United Nations has already taken appropriate action, there is no need

⁸ For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

⁹ For a Department statement on U.S. rejection of the Soviet proposal, see *ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 475.

for a conference which would be disruptive and which would ignore the authority of the United Nations.

The presence of the Security Council subcommittee has been a short-range measure. Now we await the report of that group with considerable interest. Once the report is available, the United Nations will want to consider what further measures it should take to assure a continuation of its tranquilizing influence in Laos. We hope the Soviet Union will cooperate in the United Nations to help maintain the peace there.

Tibet

The Soviet Union could also be helpful, if it would, in connection with the Tibetan situation which is now before the United Nations. Every civilized person has been shocked by the terrible atrocities committed against the Tibetan people. As you know, the Dalai Lama, forced to flee his country, has appealed to the United Nations to consider the tragedy of his people. He told the tragic story of Chinese Communist persecution, forced labor, deportations, and executions, willfully and wantonly carried to such an extent as to threaten the very survival of the Tibetan people. The International Commission of Jurists, a reputable group of international lawyers, has presented a preliminary report showing that the Chinese Communists committed acts violating the Genocide Convention of 1948.

We welcomed the fact that Ireland and Malaya requested discussion of the Tibetan question and that the General Assembly decided to consider this grave issue. Admittedly it is difficult for the United Nations to render direct help to the oppressed people of this far-off and inaccessible corner of the world. It is our hope, nevertheless, that an airing of the Tibetan case before the General Assembly will bring the full weight of public opinion to bear on this flagrant violation of fundamental human rights.

And what has been the Soviet response to the denial of human rights of the Tibetan people? Mr. Kuznetsov's response was a harsh and bitter accusation against the United States that we were launching a campaign to impede better relations between states and to poison the atmosphere in the United Nations.

In brief Mr. Kuznetsov's argument amounts to this: We must ignore the crimes committed in Tibet or else be accused of promoting the cold war.

Or, to put it another way, whenever we raise important issues the Soviet Union does not like, we are accused of engaging in cold-war tactics. Is it those who seek to have the United Nations discuss such crimes that promote the cold war? Or is it those who commit and condone such crimes that are responsible?

If the United Nations were to turn its face away from the gross denial of human rights in Tibet, it would be ignoring one of its fundamental responsibilities under the charter.

For its part, the United States will support the charter of the United Nations. We cannot stand idly by while the Communists try to destroy the Tibetan race, its religion, and its culture. We hope that world opinion as expressed in the Assembly will help in some appropriate way to keep alive the courageous efforts of the Tibetan people to maintain their way of life.

Hungary

When one speaks of Tibet, one cannot help but recall Hungary.

This Assembly is expected once again to consider the situation in that unhappy country. Its consideration will remind people everywhere of the world community's continuing concern over Soviet actions there and its maintenance by force of a puppet regime.

This regime has thus far consistently refused to permit the United Nations Special Representative for Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, to enter the country to investigate the Hungarian situation firsthand. Sir Leslie is expected to report on his recent efforts during this General Assembly.

The continued, deliberate defiance by Hungary of the United Nations augurs ill for our continuing efforts to achieve international peace and security.

UNEF

Soviet support of the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East would be yet another way to improve relations in the world.

You will recall that this force of over 5,000 soldiers from 7 countries patrols the armistice demarcation lines between the United Arab Republic and Israel. Since 1956 it has supervised the cessation of hostilities over the Suez Canal. It is a remarkable demonstration of international cooperation to keep the peace.

The United Nations members are assessed for

its expenses. The Soviet Union, I regret to say, in contradiction to its often repeated desire for the maintenance of peace in the Middle East, has steadfastly refused to pay its share. Just a few days after Mr. Khrushchev left this country, the Soviet Union clearly reemphasized its rigid position in these words:

The Soviet Union has not contributed a single kopeck for the maintenance of the Emergency Force . . . and is not going to make any expenditure for these ends in the future.

As a result, very serious financial difficulties are posed for the Emergency Force and for the United Nations itself. For its part, the United States will continue to support UNEF because we firmly believe it continues to remain a major bulwark of peace in the Middle East. Its splendid record has also strengthened our conviction that it would be desirable for the United Nations to take early steps to provide standby arrangements for a peace force ready to serve immediately in any part of the world.

Economic and Social Work

Before concluding may I say just a few words about the economic and social work of the United Nations. Obviously the most important task of the United Nations is to do what it can to prevent nuclear war. But peace, if it is to be an enduring peace, means far more than the mere absence of conflict. It means positive cooperation in the economic and social fields so that the basic causes of war will ultimately disappear.

That is why I attach so much importance to the economic and social activity of the United Nations. That is why we support to the hilt the work of the specialized agencies in their persistent fight against hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

You know the story well. Today, in the underdeveloped areas of the world, well over a billion people are striving to establish or maintain ways of life which successfully combine economic progress with human liberty. In many countries the average per capita annual income is less than \$100. If these nations are to retain their independence and to improve their standards of life, they need help and they need it badly.

Here again the Soviet Union has a genuine opportunity for helpful action within the framework of the United Nations. By adopting a more constructive approach and by increasing its contribu-

tions to various United Nations programs, it could help enormously in expanding the economic and social work of that Organization.

In this connection let me recall the terrible cost of world armament expenditures and the great opportunity for economic and social progress if this burden could be lifted from our shoulders. During the next decade the nations of the world may well spend in excess of \$1,000 billion on armaments. What could we not accomplish if some of these expenditures could be used for more constructive purposes?

On our part we have told the world that, when sufficient progress has been made toward controlled disarmament, our Government stands ready to ask its people to join with others in devoting a good portion of the savings from such disarmament to a multilateral development fund. Somehow the nations of the world must find a way to divert their expenditures from arms to economic and social development—their own and that of their less developed neighbors.

Concluding Comments

Time alone can tell whether Mr. Khrushchev's visit will have a constructive impact on world events.

In any event the United Nations offers, at the moment, one possible proving ground of Soviet intentions. There are many steps the Soviets could take, if they chose to do so, to help relax tensions and make the United Nations a more effective mechanism for peace.

They could stop their abuse of the veto in the Security Council. They could support the creation of a United Nations peace force. They could take part in United Nations programs for the peaceful uses of outer space. They could approve an effective system of inspection and control for disarmament. They could abide by the resolutions passed by the United Nations on Hungary.

This, I admit, is a large order, and it would be foolish to assume that the Soviet Union is likely to move very far in this direction in the near future.

But the facts also show that it is not impossible to find important areas of agreement with the Soviet Union. Three examples will suffice to make my point. In 1955, after 10 long years of frustrating negotiations, they finally agreed to the Austrian state treaty. In 1957, after considerable opposition, they signed the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Finally, in

1958, after extremely difficult negotiations, we succeeded in concluding with them an exchange agreement.

No one can doubt that the task ahead of us will be a long and tedious one. It will call for many years of determined effort and sustained sacrifice on the part of the free peoples everywhere.

In our negotiations with Soviet officials we should always remember that they are not an impatient people. They are never in a hurry to get away from an international conference. They believe that history is on their side. And they are content to bide their time, constantly testing and probing for soft spots.

On our part, therefore, we must develop an infinite amount of patience. Moreover, if we are to meet the Communist challenge, we must have at least as much firmness, persistence, and determination as the Soviets. If we will pursue this course, Soviet leaders, encouraged by world opinion, may come to realize that it is in their own national interest to relax tensions and to come to further agreement with free-world nations.

Meanwhile some people have been disturbed because Mr. Khrushchev has challenged us to compete with the Soviet Union in the production of worldly goods. I cannot understand why we in the United States need fear such competition. After all, competition is the lifeblood of the free-enterprise system.

Nor should we be alarmed because the Russians want to eat filets mignons and drive convertibles. There is plenty on this planet for everybody if we can only learn to live together as reasonable men should.

I think it is a mistake, however, to imply that in such competition one system will triumph over the other and destroy it. The fact is that there are not just two systems in the world; there are many systems. What we are striving for is the kind of freedom and independence in the world that will permit each nation to work out its own system in accordance with its own needs and its own desires.

Although I am not afraid of friendly competition, in the long run it is only international cooperation that can save mankind from destroying himself. At San Francisco in 1945 it was emphasized time and time again that the United Nations, supported by the teamwork of the great powers, constituted the best possible guarantee for peace. This great concept still embodies, in my opinion, man's best hope for a better world.

Commemoration of Anniversary of Hungarian Revolution

Department Statement

Press release 743 dated October 22

Three years ago, on October 23, 1956, the Hungarian people rose in a spontaneous and valiant effort to achieve their longstanding aspirations for a government which would be free from foreign domination and responsive to their will. This effort failed in the face of ruthless Soviet military intervention. Since then the Hungarian and Soviet Governments have continually defied world opinion by refusing to comply with the terms of resolutions on Hungary adopted by overwhelming majorities in the United Nations General Assembly. The American people, like all others throughout the world who are dedicated to the cause of liberty and national integrity, will today remember and honor the Hungarian patriots who died in this struggle and those who, today, must live under a system which has been imposed upon them. It is due to their bravery that October 23 shall live in history as the symbol of a people's sacrifice in the cause of independence and freedom.

B-29 Case Removed From Calendar of International Court of Justice

Department Statement

Press release 748 dated October 23

It has been learned by the Department of State that on October 10, 1959, the International Court of Justice ordered removed from the calendar of the Court the case brought by the United States against the Soviet Government on account of the destruction of a B-29 aircraft over Hokkaido, Japan, on November 7, 1954, in the course of which one crew member was killed. The facts have been stated in prior Department press releases (No. 631, November 8, 1954,¹ No. 313, May 23, 1957,² and No. 491, July 7, 1959³).

¹ For text, together with texts of a U.S. note of Nov. 17, 1954, and a Soviet note of Nov. 7, 1954, see BULLETIN of Nov. 29, 1954, p. 811.

² For text, see *ibid.*, July 8, 1957, p. 68.

³ For text, together with text of U.S. application to the International Court of Justice, see *ibid.*, July 27, 1959, p. 122.

The United States had been informed on September 3, 1959, that the Soviet Embassy in the Netherlands had informed the Court that the Soviet Government claimed that the B-29 in question had violated the Soviet border and that the B-29 was the first to fire in the encounter. For these reasons, the Soviet Government stated,

... the Government of the U.S.S.R. considers as before that in this case there are no questions which are in need to be solved by the International Court of Justice and does not see bases for the filing of this case with the Court.

The foregoing allegations of the Soviet Government are not accurate. The United States B-29 never shot at the Soviet plane; it did not cross the Soviet border but was shot down over Japanese territory by Soviet planes which intruded into Japanese air space to do this. The U.S. Government was, and is, prepared to prove by evidence the truth of these statements.

The United States regrets again that the Soviet Government continues to disregard the organ of the United Nations set up for the solution of disputes between governments as to facts or issues of law in international matters by the institutions of law and order. It cannot admit the propriety or the wisdom, therefore, of any policy which keeps the Court from hearing the disputes as to facts and law in matters as important as the one involved in this case.

In the Soviet Government's response to the Court, to which reference has been made, the Soviet Government also stated that the United States had ignored warnings by the Soviet Government that the United States air forces should not direct planes "toward the state borders of the U.S.S.R. and violate these borders." The alleged violation, of course, has been denied, and the Soviet Government refused to permit proof on this subject on either side to be placed before an impartial tribunal.

U.S. and U.S.S.R. Show First Films Under Exchange Agreement

Press release 741 dated October 21

The Department of State announced on October 21 that premieres of the first American and Soviet films to be shown under the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. exchange agreement will take place at Moscow and Washington, D.C., on November 10, 1959.

American film stars Gary Cooper and Edward G. Robinson will attend the premiere in Moscow of the United Artists film "Marty." The producer of the film, Harold Hecht, and the film's director, Delbert Mann, will also be present.

Simultaneously a group of motion-picture personalities from the Soviet Union will come to Washington for the premiere on the same evening at the Metropolitan Theatre of the Soviet feature film "The Cranes Are Flying."

These two premieres will mark the inauguration of the showing of theatrical films under the terms of the cultural, technical, and educational agreement signed between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at Washington on January 27, 1958.¹ A number of Soviet and American Government officials are expected to attend the premieres.

Commenting on the exchange, Secretary Herter said:

Our Government is pleased by the response of the American motion-picture industry in supporting the efforts to improve the climate of understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. The American film at its best has always demonstrated its capacity to reach across boundaries of culture, tradition, and language and by so doing has helped to break down mistrusts and misunderstanding and thereby bring about a greater understanding among nations. The United States has always believed in and practiced the doctrine of free and full international communications. We therefore especially welcome the carrying out of this part of the film agreement, which makes it possible for American films to be shown in the Soviet Union on a regular basis.

Three of the leading officials of United Artists also will attend the Moscow premiere. They are Arthur B. Krim, president, United Artists, Robert S. Benjamin, chairman of the board, and Arnold M. Picker, vice president in charge of foreign distribution. The Hollywood personalities attending the premiere will arrive in Moscow on November 9 and remain approximately 1 week.

"Marty," which was one of 10 U.S. films purchased by the Soviet Union from the American film industry under the cultural agreement, will be the first American film shown in the U.S.S.R. in approximately 15 years.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Feb. 17, 1958, p. 243; for text of a memorandum of agreement on film exchanges, see *ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1958, p. 697.

Food for Peace

*by Don Paarlberg
Special Assistant to the President¹*

It is a pleasure to present the first of a series of five discussions on the international age in agriculture. The subject of this series seems to me particularly appropriate in scope and timing.

My purpose in these remarks is to supply the basic logic which underlies agriculture's venture into the international age, a venture already well advanced and, on balance, rather successful. I shall attempt to state the case for our special export programs and for the export of American agricultural technology. It is my feeling that a good job has been done. While more might be done and some things perhaps better done, it is important to see the rightness of the direction that has been taken. I am more interested in putting a positive and confident face on agriculture's venture into the international age than in attempting to rechart its course.

It would be easy to prepare a paper painting in rosy hue the great attainments which agriculture might achieve in its international venture. It would also be easy to develop a paper which holds up to ridicule some of our unorthodox international activities. The difficult task, and the one I have undertaken, is to show the opportunities without being carried away thereby and to show the hazards without constructing a rationale for inaction.

In his special message to Congress on agriculture last January,² the President of the United States had in mind matters similar to those under review in this program. He said,

I am setting steps in motion to explore anew with other surplus-producing nations all practical means of utilizing the various agricultural surpluses of each in the interest

¹ Address made at the graduate school of the U.S. Department of Agriculture at Washington, D.C., on Oct. 7 (White House press release dated Oct. 8).

² H. Doc. 59, 86th Cong., 1st sess.

of reinforcing peace and the well-being of friendly peoples throughout the world—in short, using food for peace.

Thus the President expressed his interest in the subject matter before us.

Our generation, in the mid-20th century, is witness to a conjunction of great, historic events:

First, we see the reawakening of the underdeveloped nations after many centuries of slumber.

Second, we see efforts by both the East and the West to assist these countries in economic advancement.

Third, we see a breakthrough in agricultural technology.

I shall elaborate briefly on each of these.

Reawakening of Underdeveloped Nations

First, the reawakening:

In Asia, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America, many peoples are making the exciting discovery that life can mean more for their children than it has meant for them. Thanks to modern travel and communication, the people of many nations are learning that poverty, hunger, and misery are not the universal lot of mankind nor a burden that they need permanently to bear. Awareness has been increased; aspirations have been raised; hopes have been kindled; promises have been made. This is an outstanding fact of the 20th century. It is a new dimension in our dealings with these people from this time forward.

East-West Rivalry

Our second overriding historic event at this mid-century point is the great issue between the East and the West. This is a complication of incalculable significance.

Not simply do the people in the less developed countries aspire to economic advancement; also

there is intense and growing rivalry between the free world and the Communist bloc in assisting these people to attain the goals to which they aspire and, in the case of the Communist effort, some additional goals to which the people do not aspire. This rivalry springs from the fact that many governments in the less developed parts of the world, in their pursuit of economic betterment, hesitate between the free and the authoritarian route.

Approximately one-third of the people of the world are presently in the Sino-Soviet bloc. Clearly these people are committed, by their governments if not by their own wills, to authoritarian principles in charting their course to better economic and political life.

Approximately one-third of the earth's people are of the free world. Clearly these millions are presently committed to reliance upon representative government and the enterprise system in reaching for a brighter future.

The remaining third are in varying degree uncommitted in the East-West struggle. Their decision may in time to come determine the balance of power. The strategic importance, not to mention the humanistic implications, of the ideological struggle for the minds of these uncommitted people is clearly seen by the two great contestants. Rivalry between East and West during most of the past decade has been direct, firsthand, and on occasion violent. In recent years this rivalry has shifted into a new area, in the direction of the less developed countries. Most people would agree that this form of rivalry is superior to an arms race. But let us not be deluded. It is a more subtle, softer, longer range but no less meaningful contest. This shift of technique and of emphasis in the world struggle is of profound significance from every point of view: philosophical, military, political, economic, and, indeed, spiritual.

Agricultural Breakthrough

Third, I will briefly comment on the agricultural breakthrough:

The breathtaking changes in agricultural technology of the recent past deserve to be characterized by a term seldom used in scientific circles—one reserved, in fact, for only the most far-reaching and significant developments—a major breakthrough. The realization of this monu-

mental change is gradually making itself felt in scientific circles, among practical farmers, and among government officials.

Forty years ago it took 106 man-hours to grow and harvest 100 bushels of wheat. In recent years it has taken not 106 man-hours but only 22. During this period the yield of wheat has doubled. For other crops similar dramatic changes have occurred.

As recently as a decade ago the country was concerned about its ability to supply the food needs of our rapidly growing population. These were the days of the so-called "fifth plate." Today we're not worrying about filling the "fifth plate"; we're hunting instead for a "sixth customer."

Traditional Viewpoint "Problem-Prone"

It is considered by many people that the re-awakening of the underdeveloped countries, the international rivalry to assist them, and the agricultural breakthrough are all major problems.

Many people have dwelt upon problems created by the growing aspirations and expectations, and indeed the actual achievements, of the developing countries. New areas have come into production to rival our export trade. Economic advancement has carried with it political and social upheavals which have disturbed relationships among the great powers. Twenty-two new countries have come into being since World War II. There are new faces at the conference table; there are new power blocs with which to deal.

Helping these developing nations is unquestionably a problem. It has imposed considerable cost upon the American people. Rivalry with the Soviet Union in helping these nations is viewed by some as simply an additional cost. Technical assistance, economic support, loans for economic development, gifts and grants add to a considerable sum, variously characterized, depending on the attitude, as "giveaway," "foreign aid," or "mutual security." The great food needs of these people, as measured in physical or nutritional terms, are in the orthodox economic sense not needs at all since they lack the means with which to buy. Yet reality demands the meeting of at least a part of these needs.

The breakthrough in agricultural technology, the third of the current great events, has likewise been treated primarily as an unresolved and most vexing problem. Indeed anyone who has had

responsibility for dealing with its consequences finds it hard to consider the breakthrough in any other light. The growing stocks of surplus crops, the downward impact upon prices, the mounting costs of farm programs, the painful adjustments required of our farm people, and the bitter legislative battles which both result from and cause or perpetuate these maladjustments—these are clear enough to any observer.

Thus anyone approaching these great historical events in a conventional manner finds in them many grave and difficult problems. Looking at them separately and from a traditional point of view leaves one bleak and baffled. This arises from the inclination to be problem-prone rather than opportunity-oriented.

Opportunities in Food Potential

What we need to do is to view these historic events not from a conventional attitude but with a fresh look. We need to see them not separately but in relationship to one another.

Thus seen, the breakthrough in agricultural technology gives us the opportunity to help the developing nations to help themselves, to help build a political, economic, and social structure suited to their aspirations and oriented toward freedom, therewith to strengthen the free world in its struggle with the forces of totalitarianism.

Among the various areas of our rivalry with the Soviet Union there is no economic sector in which our advantage is as clear cut as in agriculture. This is true despite recent Soviet advances in this field. The American farm worker outproduces the farm worker of the Soviet Union by a ratio of about four to one. The status of our agricultural science in most respects is superior to theirs. Our system of agricultural education at all levels is the world's best. Our system of family farming has demonstrated its superiority over the authoritarian system. Our farmers are more skilled, our farms are better equipped, our resources of soil and climate more bountiful than those of the Soviet Union. And, perhaps most important of all, private ownership and freedom of decision give our farmers a tremendous advantage that does not exist among the agricultural workers of the Soviet Union.

In any form of rivalry it is a good principle to join the issue, if one can, where one's relative strength is the greatest. There is no other area

for which our relative strength so greatly exceeds that of the Soviet Union as in the field of agriculture. There is the opportunity to make this sector, rather than some other, a major testing ground in our rivalry, and it is clearly in our interest to do so.

What is this opportunity to utilize, in our rivalry with the Soviet Union, the comparative advantage that we have in the agricultural field? The opportunity is great indeed, and we have gone a long way toward fulfilling it. The people of the developing countries are primarily agricultural. Perhaps 85 percent of the people live on farms or in agricultural villages. Their greatest needs and their greatest understanding are in farming. There is a kinship among farm people throughout the world. There is no better medium by which we can communicate with these people than through the thing they know best: agriculture. They need the fruits of our agricultural sciences; they need what we have learned about agricultural education; they need the food and fiber which fill our warehouses and which our farms are capable of producing in large volume. The beginning of industrialization, also needed, is agricultural improvement, which releases people from food production to nonfarm jobs. We can and do associate our abundant agricultural capacity with their very great needs.

There are opportunities, not just problems, in our food potential.

Reorientating U.S. Farm Policies to Foreign Policy

What I am describing is a matching of our abundant agricultural capacity and knowledge with the great needs of the developing countries. I am trying to describe this operation in its broadest terms, and it should be so considered.

There are some who view the food needs of the developing parts of the world simply as a safety valve to permit the continuation of unsound price-support legislation in the United States. What I am suggesting is something far different: the conscious reorientation of our farm policies with respect to the needs and opportunities of our foreign policy.

This is not a new thought. I claim no originality for it. It has already been partly put into effect. What I am really doing is to provide the logical basis for a recasting of attitudes toward the opportunities which confront us.

Most in need of recasting are the price-support laws. Legislation originally drafted to overcome a recession, retained to fight a war, and grudgingly but insufficiently modified to accommodate a scientific revolution is unlikely to be appropriate to the international age in agriculture. We do not need an export program to bail out our unwise price-support laws; we need farm programs that accommodate the present needs of our farm people, that recognize the breakthrough in agricultural technology, and that enable us to meet the worldwide opportunities presented by the great events that I have described. We have a workable agricultural export law; we need more appropriate domestic programs.

We should cease to hinder the emergence of a rational production pattern. We should cut farm program costs. The public probably will support a reasonable farm export program which fits well into our capacity for abundant production and fits well into our foreign policy; it is not clear that the public will continue to support a price-support program which grows even more costly and seems to fit very little that is rational. There is no need, with the present high level of agricultural output, to use price supports at inducement levels, thereby further stimulating production.

Production controls, on the basis of experience, seem unable to choke off the abundant flow of American farm products. The total cost of purchasing nonproduction, through various programs which have that intent, is a heavy cost indeed. It may well be comparable in cost, bushel for bushel, with the cost of exporting farm products under programs which yield no return whatever.

In other words, it may cost approximately as much to prevent the production of a bushel of wheat as it does to grow the bushel and move it abroad even if no payment is received. Costs are hard to determine accurately, but evidence points in this direction.

Merits of Public Law 480

Many good people have a wary attitude toward farm legislation designed to move increased amounts of American farm products overseas. This is because most such proposals in the past have involved some kind of dumping scheme or some threat to the international price structure. This wariness originally was reflected in a skeptical attitude toward Public Law 480, the chief leg-

islative machinery for surplus disposal. But the experiences of the past 5 years have considerably reduced this apprehension. The idea of insisting that these special export programs move *additional* quantities of farm products, beyond what the regular market will take—this is what distinguishes Public Law 480 from other export programs. It is my feeling that Public Law 480, which has been considered by some to be the province of idealists and temporizers, might better be considered as subject matter for hardheaded realists.

If a special export program enables us to help meet the food needs of the developing nations and at the same time permits us to find a useful outlet for our abundant production, this is all to the good. Public Law 480 is such legislation. It is no discredit to the surplus-disposal aspect of the law that it also meets the needs of our friends abroad. And it is no discredit to its foreign-policy attributes that it also helps move our heavy inventories. That the law serves two purposes rather than one does not diminish the importance of either.

The merits of this approach are increasingly recognized by the countries which receive the products, by the nations of the Soviet bloc, by the various countries of the free world which export agricultural products in competition with us, and by the people of the United States.

We are sending our food abroad and also our agricultural technology, both in significant quantities.

Our agricultural shipments are a combination of conventional commercial sales for dollars and special export programs such as I have been describing.

Last year (fiscal 1959) the United States exported \$3.7 billion worth of farm products, production from the equivalent of approximately 40 million acres. About \$2.4 billion worth were sold for dollars, much of this with the help of export subsidies; \$729 million worth were sold in exchange for the currencies of the nations to whom the goods were shipped; \$189 million worth were donated to needy people; \$144 million worth were bartered for strategic materials, which went into our stockpile.

Most of our exports thus move in the commercial markets, for dollars. We must continue to maximize this kind of trade. When special

export programs must be used, the purpose must continue to be, as soon as possible, to shift to sales for dollars.

Food-for-Peace Program

Some of these programs of necessity are new, unique, and unorthodox. They are not described in the standard texts on international trade. They have grown up out of necessity because our stocks were heavy and because dollars weren't available in the countries which needed our products. The food-for-peace program announced by the President and administered by the Secretary of Agriculture is designed to improve the operation of these special export programs. Let me recognize here the constructive leadership given this program by Clarence Miller, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and by Max Myers, Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service. Excellent cooperation has been given by other persons in the Department of Agriculture and in other agencies.

Food can be a powerful ambassador of good will and hence an effective instrument for peace. The food-exporting nations can associate themselves together helpfully in this endeavor, as with the leadership of Secretary Benson they are now doing.

This is the purpose of the food-for-peace program announced by the President and administered by the Secretary of Agriculture. Specifically, this program involves an expansion of commercial trade in farm products and a strengthening of our special export programs.

It may well be that the food-for-peace effort will yield its greatest returns in improved international understanding rather than in sharp increases in the quantity of food moving under special export programs. This, of itself, would be worth while. Nevertheless every constructive effort is being made to increase the quantities of agricultural products thus moved in a manner helpful both to the nation which exports and the nations which import.

American farm products and agricultural technology move abroad through a variety of mediums and in a great number of programs. In the past they moved chiefly through American business and through our agricultural missionaries. More recently they move through private business, through special programs, through educational

efforts such as those carried on by ICA, through the various foundations, and through multilateral programs such as the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Agriculture's venture into the international age has been along a variety of paths: private and public, unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral. Each of these has its own merit and its own place. If I appear to stress the public programs, it is merely because they are the newest, the most unique, and the most controversial.

Transplanting U.S. Agricultural Science Abroad

We have much to contribute in the form of agricultural science and education as well as in the form of farm products themselves.

American agricultural science is on the march throughout the world. In 54 countries more than a thousand American agricultural scientists are at work under a wide variety of government and private programs. Since the end of World War II, thousands of foreign-born agricultural scientists have returned to their native lands after study and training in the United States. Last year we received more than 3,000 agricultural visitors from abroad. The American system of adult education in agriculture has been adapted and put to use in many countries around the world. Our scientific know-how must be *adapted* rather than *adopted*. The differing conditions abroad make it impossible to transplant our agricultural science directly. Continued ingenuity is needed to modify our American methods.

There is a Danish proverb which says that "you may light another's candle at your own without loss." The net result of assisting other countries is to make our own economic candlepower stronger and brighter.

We often forget that much of our own agricultural science was borrowed from abroad and adapted and improved in this country. In 1820 Thomas Jefferson wrote,

In an infant country like ours, we must depend for improvements on the science of other countries, longer established, possessing better means, and more advanced than we are. To prohibit us from the benefit of foreign light is to consign us to long darkness.

Our own economic progress in the field of agriculture could not have been as rapid as it was—despite our vast wealth of natural resources—without the skills and capital furnished to us by

Europe. We have the opportunity and the responsibility to provide for others the kind of light and knowledge which were so important in our own development.

There are some unique things about transplanting American agricultural science abroad, but in many respects it is similar to the extension work launched so successfully in this country 50 years ago.

Difficult Tasks To Be Faced

Although we have great opportunities in these fields, we face difficult tasks. Further ventures into the international age for agriculture are beset by illusions, problems, and hazards, difficulties sufficiently great to discourage the fainthearted.

First let me cite some illusions.

One illusion is that economic development is a soothing experience and is likely to result in political, social, and economic stability in those developing countries which experience it. This simply is not true. Agricultural advancement carries with it many difficult adjustments, as we have seen in this country: shifts in population, changes in land use, and altered institutions in all the social sciences. These cannot be bypassed, hurdled, or transcended. They are the price of progress. The developing nations have themselves elected the path of progress. It is useless to second-guess their decision. We cannot put the chicken back into the egg. The birth pangs of progress cannot be averted, though by the use of intelligence they may be diminished.

Another illusion is the belief that, if only the material needs of the developing nations can be met, these nations will renounce communism. This is not true; the mind and the spirit are concerned as well as the stomach. Food is an essential but not a sufficient condition for the development of free institutions.

Still another illusion is the thought that the agricultural problems of the developing countries can be met quickly and that the American tendency for excessive production will be of brief duration. This seems unlikely to be true. Programs may well be kept on a temporary basis so as to allow modification as experience is acquired. But programs set up with the expectation that foreign needs will soon diminish and that the conventional market will shortly consume our total production will probably require reexamination.

I have cited some of the illusions. Let me now cite briefly some of the problems.

One of the problems is to convert our thinking in such a manner as to permit us to view the great events of the mid-20th century as steppingstones, not stumbling blocks.

Another problem is to hold to a reasonable level the public cost of agriculture's venture into the international age.

In providing technical assistance our problem is to give this work more status, to make foreign assignments of long enough duration to be genuinely helpful, to be good guests abroad. For problems certain to be of extended duration we need to think in longer terms than 2-year assignments and annual appropriations.

We should avoid sending overdeveloped scientists to underdeveloped countries.

Other problems are to learn better how to distribute our agricultural products without disturbing our commercial markets, how to associate our effort helpfully with the other food-exporting nations, and how to use the foreign currencies generated by our programs.

Another problem, and a great one, is to learn better how to terminate special export programs when the need for them has passed. Assistance must be such as to help these countries stand on their own feet and make their own way. On any other basis the program would be harmful both to the country which supplies the assistance and to the countries which receive the aid.

Helping people to help themselves is not a novelty. We have learned how to do this in a number of sectors. We have learned to graduate farmers from supervised credit—as in the Farmers Home Administration—to competitive commercial credit. Western Europe was graduated from the Marshall plan. Individually we all graduate from dependence as children to responsibility as adults. We can help countries to graduate from our special export programs to commercial trade. Indeed we have already done so. We have shifted from sales for foreign currency to sales for dollars for Italy, for France, for Japan, and for Austria. It will have to be done for other countries as they achieve capability. The speed with which this can be done will vary, of course, from country to country, and the difficulties of accomplishing it will in many cases be very great. That this is a substantial problem, there is no doubt. That it is hopeless, I firmly deny.

A food-for-peace program is beset not only by illusions and operating problems but by positive hazards as well. One of the often-stated hazards is the possibility that the rapidly increasing populations in these countries may swallow up all that we can provide through our special export programs and advancing agricultural technology.

Those pessimistically inclined will say that this risk is so great as to argue against undertaking the venture in any form. Bolder people see in the increasing populations a great need to provide new technology in food production, as well as food itself. There is the need to introduce technology at a more rapid rate than the rate at which the population increases. Indeed this very thing has occurred generally throughout the world during the past decade. There have been no major famines during the past 10 years. History records no previous experience of like duration. Our age is unique in that for the first time in history men in all parts of the world are daring to think seriously in terms of food enough for all. There are indications that voluntary checks on the rate of population growth may in time reduce the dimensions of the problem.

If economic development can go forward with sufficient rapidity, it can become self-generating and in time outgrow the need for reliance upon the United States. This is the hope that draws us on despite the illusions, the problems, and the hazards to which I have referred.

Responsibility Goes With Abundance and Knowledge

The problems of the international age in agriculture are difficult and complex. There is risk in each effort made. But the risks of failing to face up to this opportunity are far greater than those involved in considered action. Political explosions can result, in a shrinking world, from a widening gap between the wealthy and the underdeveloped countries. The embrace of communism by underdeveloped nations which insist upon economic progress and cannot find it within the institutions of the free world—here is a risk that is grave indeed. And to waste our capacity for abundant agricultural production, to make a problem out of what is in fact a great opportunity, this is a severe indictment. Every citizen

senses that food is good and that abundance is a blessing rather than a burden. The problem has its moral as well as its economic and political aspects. This is important in America. The very possession of knowledge and the very capability of abundant production carries with it a responsibility to make these things useful.

There may have been a time and a place at which the responsibility which goes with abundance and knowledge could have been shrugged off, but not in America and not in the mid-20th century. Neither the present voting public nor the future historian will deal kindly with the steward who buries his talent.

This is truly the international age in agriculture. We have, in various ways, propelled agriculture into this age, largely as the result of unmanaged circumstance and without a full consciousness of the possibilities and limitations of this course. The remarkable thing is that we have done as well as we have. Sharing the credit for such success as we have experienced are both the executive and legislative branches of the Government, the business community, and the private citizen, as well as a whole cadre of scientists, educators, and administrators. These same persons bear responsibility for advancing us beyond the stage we now occupy.

What I have endeavored to do in these remarks is to show that the patterns emerging from the venture thus far make a great deal of sense. Having accumulated some years of experience in matching the capabilities of American agriculture with the needs of the uncommitted and underdeveloped nations of the world, we now are reviewing and evaluating our experience to find in it those efforts which have been fruitful, to eliminate or improve those projects which have fallen short of the mark, and to evolve a conscious policy out of what has hitherto been a poorly understood though a rather successful venture.

Agriculture was formerly a stagehand in the dramatic play titled "foreign policy." It is now a legitimate member of the cast.

I commend you on the timeliness and appropriateness of this lecture series and look forward with a great deal of interest to the fruits of your deliberations.

Deputy for Technical Affairs Named to Disarmament Study

Press release 744 dated October 22

The Secretary of State on October 22 appointed Richard S. Leghorn, president of Itek Corp., Waltham, Mass., as Deputy for Technical Affairs to Charles A. Coolidge, who heads the joint disarmament study being undertaken by the State and Defense Departments.

Mr. Leghorn's major responsibility will be analysis and advice on technical matters involved in arms-control proposals and proposals for the organization of continuing technical studies by the Government in the arms-control field.

Mr. Leghorn will serve on a consultative, part-time basis until early 1960.

Assistant Secretary Jones Departs for South Asia

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 735) that G. Lewis Jones, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, planned to depart from Washington on October 21 for a visit to south Asia. His route will take him via Tehran, where he served as Minister-Counselor in 1955 and 1956. The purpose of Mr. Jones' trip is to consult with American chiefs of missions and other U.S. officials in that area. He will also make appropriate calls upon officials of the countries visited. Mr. Jones will be accompanied by Evan M. Wilson, a Foreign Service officer.

American Foreign Service posts to be visited by Mr. Jones and Mr. Wilson include Tehran, Karachi, Kabul, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, New Delhi, Katmandu, Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, and Colombo.

Flood-Relief Aid Sent to India

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 734) that the U.S. Navy frigate *John S. McCain*, scheduled to arrive at Calcutta on an informal courtesy call on October 21, is carrying approximately \$5,000 worth of antibiotics and other drugs which will be turned over to the Calcutta Ministry of Health for use in

the flood-relief measures undertaken by the Government of India.

This brings the total U.S. Government contribution to current flood-relief activities in India to \$10,000. There have been unprecedented floods throughout India this year, particularly in West Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Earlier this month the American Embassy donated 25,000 rupees in answer to a call from Prime Minister Nehru for donations to replenish the national relief fund.

In addition, large quantities of food commodities (milk, wheat, and corn), distributed through U.S. voluntary agencies in India under the U.S. Government's P.L. 480 program, are being allocated to West Bengal flood-relief activities.

Last week the American Red Cross made a grant of \$5,000 to the Indian Red Cross, and the American Junior Red Cross granted \$5,000 for work with children affected by the flood situation.

Letters of Credence

Jordan

The newly appointed Ambassador of Jordan, Yusuf Haikal, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on October 20. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and President Eisenhower's reply, see Department of State press release 737 dated October 20.

GATT Ministerial Meeting To Convene at Tokyo

Press release 747 dated October 23 for release October 25

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

The 15th session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) opens on October 26. This session will be held at Tokyo at the invitation of the Japanese Government.

The GATT is the basic instrument governing commercial relations between the United States and the principal trading nations of the free world and is the cornerstone of U.S. commercial policy. The provisions of the GATT are designed to reduce governmental interference with the flow of trade and with the exercise of private business

initiative. The 37 contracting parties to the GATT account for more than 80 percent of international trade.

Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon will represent the United States at the Ministerial Meeting, which takes place in the first days of the 4-week session.¹ The chairman of the U.S. delegation is W. T. M. Beale, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. Henry Kearns, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs, is vice chairman. The congressional advisers are Representative Hale Boggs and Representative Victor A. Knox.

An important subject of attention at the Ministerial Meeting and during the rest of the session is the relationship between commercial policy and the new financial situation created early this year when, reflecting improved balance-of-payments and reserve positions, all of the European currencies important in international trade were made externally convertible. U.S. representatives will emphasize that, given the new currency situation, discriminatory import restrictions can no longer be justified on financial grounds. A number of countries have accelerated their progress this year in removing quantitative restrictions against exports from the dollar area, but further progress is necessary to complete the job. A major objective of the U.S. delegation to the Tokyo meeting will be to encourage other countries to eliminate rapidly the remaining discriminations against dollar goods and generally to reduce the level of their quantitative import restrictions.

The major agenda items include consideration of the threefold program initiated last year at the 13th session² for the expansion of international trade and being carried out through three special committees:

(1) The Contracting Parties will have before them a report of the committee charged with developing rules and procedures to be used in the new round of multilateral tariff negotiations to be held in 1960-61, as agreed by the Contracting Parties at the 14th session.³ It is expected that the rules

and procedures will generally follow the pattern of those used in 1956 and earlier rounds of GATT tariff negotiations, with some necessary modification to take account of the complexities of the negotiations with the European Common Market (European Economic Community—EEC).

(2) The second committee's examination of the national agricultural policies of contracting parties as they affect trade in agricultural products will continue. The first series of country examinations was held in the latter part of September. There will be a third series of consultations in January 1960, at which time U.S. agricultural policies will be examined.

(3) The third committee's report on its preliminary examination of barriers to the trade of the less developed countries will be discussed. The importance of facilitating the expansion of export earnings by the less developed countries is recognized by both the industrialized and the less developed GATT countries. The work program of this committee calls for another meeting in the first part of 1960.

Poland's request to participate in the work of the GATT will be considered at the Tokyo session. Following consideration of a working party report on this subject, the Contracting Parties are expected to agree upon arrangements for a closer relationship between Poland and the Contracting Parties than that afforded by the observer status which Poland now has.

The continued application to Japan of GATT article XXXV, whereby a number of countries decline to undertake GATT obligations toward that country, will also be considered at this session.

The European Economic Community will report on developments within the Common Market, and one of the Latin American contracting parties will present information concerning a proposed regional trade arrangement in that area.

Early this year a committee of the Contracting Parties held consultations with eight countries that still maintain import restrictions to safeguard their monetary reserves. At the 15th session consultations with six other countries will be completed. In these consultations, required by the provisions of GATT, the Contracting Parties examine the quantitative import restrictions still in force, their effects, the need for their retention, and the prospects for their removal. These consultations constitute one of the several methods utilized by

¹ For a departure statement by Mr. Dillon, see *BULLETIN* of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 633.

² For a review of the 13th session, see *ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1958, p. 930.

³ For a report on the 14th session, see *ibid.*, June 22, 1959, p. 917.

the Contracting Parties to promote nondiscrimination in international trade and the reduction of governmental trade barriers.

Many of the remaining agenda items concern annual reports required by decisions taken in previous years, customs problems, and administrative matters.

U.S. DELEGATION

Ministerial Representative

Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State

Special Assistant to Ministerial Representative

John M. Leddy, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State

Representatives

W. T. M. Beale, *Chairman*, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs

Henry Kearns, *Vice Chairman*, Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs

Douglas MacArthur II, American Ambassador to Japan
Ben H. Thibodeaux, Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs, American Embassy, Tokyo

Herbert F. Propps, *Senior Coordinator*, Commercial Policy and Treaties Division, Department of State

Congressional Advisers

Hale Boggs, House of Representatives

Victor A. Knox, House of Representatives

Advisers

Philip Arceda, Assistant Special Counsel to the President

Saul Baran, Japan-Korea Section, Far Eastern Division, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Emerson M. Brown, Office of International Trade, Department of State

Prentice N. Dean, Associate Chief, Foreign Economic Policy Division, Office of Foreign Economic Affairs, Department of Defense

A. Richard De Felice, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Agricultural Trade Policy and Analysis Division, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture

Ben D. Dorfman, Chief Economist, U.S. Tariff Commission
Morris J. Fields, Chief, Commercial Policy and United Nations Division, Office of International Finance, Department of the Treasury

Walter Hollis, Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for Economic Affairs, Department of State

Dallas L. Jones, Chief, Exchange Restrictions Branch, International Finance Division, Department of State

Leonard R. Linsenmayer, Associate Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Richard L. Mattheisen, Assistant to the Director, Office of Economic Affairs, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Virginia H. McClung, Office of International Resources, Department of State

J. Allen Overton, Vice Chairman, U.S. Tariff Commission
John H. Richter, Chief, European Analysis Branch, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture
Harry Shooshan, International Activities Assistant, Technical Review Staff, Department of the Interior
Clarence Siegel, Deputy Director, European Division, Office of Economic Affairs, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Technical Secretary

Guy A. Wiggins, Commercial Policy and Treaties Division, Office of International Trade, Department of State

Secretary to the Delegation

Leo W. Garvey

IMF Announces Decision on Discriminatory Restrictions

IMF Announcement of October 25

One of the most discussed subjects at the recent annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund¹ was the elimination of discrimination in international trade and payments. Since then, the Executive Directors have considered the subject and have adopted the following unanimous decision, which will be communicated to the member countries of the Fund and to the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade meeting at Tokyo.²

Text of Decision

DISCRIMINATION FOR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS REASONS

The following decision deals exclusively with discriminatory restrictions imposed for balance of payments reasons.

In some countries, considerable progress has already been made toward the elimination of discriminatory restrictions; in others, much remains to be done. Recent international financial developments have established an environment favorable to the elimination of discrimination for balance of payments reasons. There has been a substantial improvement in the reserve positions of the

¹ For statements made by President Eisenhower, Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury T. Graydon Upton during the annual meetings of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and International Finance Corporation, see BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

² See p. 679.

industrial countries in particular and widespread moves to external convertibility have taken place.

Under these circumstances, the Fund considers that there is no longer any balance of payments justification for discrimination by members whose current receipts are largely in externally convertible currencies. However, the Fund recognizes that where such discriminatory restrictions have been long maintained, a reasonable amount of time may be needed fully to eliminate them. But this time should be short and members will be expected to proceed with all feasible speed in eliminating discrimination against member countries, including that arising from bilateralism.

Notwithstanding the extensive moves toward convertibility, a substantial portion of the current receipts of some countries is still subject to limitations on convertibility, particularly in payments relations with state-trading countries. In the case of these countries the Fund will be prepared to consider whether balance of payments considerations would justify the maintenance of some degree of discrimination, although not as between countries having externally convertible currencies. In this connection the Fund wishes to reaffirm its basic policy on bilateralism as stated in its decision of June 22, 1955.

Japanese Trade Mission Visits United States

The Department of State announced on October 24 (press release 751) that an official Japanese trade mission was scheduled to arrive at Washington on October 24 for a 5-day visit before beginning a 1-month tour of the United States which will include stopovers in New York, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Houston, Dallas, Los Angeles, and Honolulu.

The mission consists of eight members, six businessmen and two Government officials, under the leadership of Seitaro Okamatsu, president of the Chiyoda Kogyo Company of Tokyo. Mr. Okamatsu is a former Vice Minister of International Trade and Industry. The other private members of the mission represent a cross section of Japanese industry, while the two public members represent the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

The program of the mission's stay in Washington includes calls on the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Thomas C. Mann, the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, J. Graham Parsons, and officials of the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture. Assistant Secretary Parsons will hold a reception in honor of the mission on October 28.

This is the second Japanese trade mission to come to the United States in postwar years. Its visit corresponds to similar visits which United States trade missions have made to Japan. The purpose of these exchanges is the promotion of trade and good will between the two countries.

British End Exchange Restrictions on Travel to U.S.

Department Statement

Press release 742 dated October 22

On October 19 the British Government announced the removal as of November 1 of exchange restrictions relating to foreign travel by British residents. Although certain formalities remain, these are being maintained only for the purpose of preventing unauthorized capital movements.

The Department of State has noted this announcement with satisfaction. The action of the British Government is welcome not only because it represents further progress in dismantling restrictions on United Kingdom transactions with the United States but also because it will eliminate the foreign-exchange barrier which has tended to limit the expansion of personal contacts between the peoples of the United States and the United Kingdom.

It is to be hoped that other countries which still maintain exchange restrictions on travel to the United States will also find it possible to eliminate them in the near future.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Report on the Operations of the Department of State (Under Public Law 584). Letter from the Under Secretary of State transmitting a report by the Department which contains a summary of developments for the calendar year 1958. H. Doc. 194. July 7, 1959. 100 pp.

U.S. Private Foreign Investment. Hearings before the subcommittee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the effect of private foreign investment on U.S. employment, profits, and markets. July 13-15, 1959. 171 pp.

International Educational and Cultural Relations. Hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. August 19, 1959. 49 pp.

General Assembly Calls for Respect for Rights of Tibetan People

Following are statements on the question of Tibet made by James W. Barco and Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representatives to the U.N. General Assembly, together with the text of a resolution adopted by the Assembly on October 21.

FIRST STATEMENT BY MR. BARCO¹

The United States supports the request of the delegations of Ireland and Malaya² that the item "The question of Tibet" be inscribed on the agenda as an important and urgent matter and that it be allocated to the plenary body of the Assembly.

The Dalai Lama on September 9 appealed to the United Nations for consideration among other things of "the inhuman treatment and crimes against humanity and religion to which the people of Tibet are being subjected." The Dalai Lama reported that Chinese Communist armed forces in Tibet have deprived thousands of Tibetans of their lives and property, have utilized cruel measures with a view to the total extermination of the Tibetan race, and have attempted to destroy the Tibetan religion and culture. The source and nature of these grave charges are in and of themselves sufficient to justify inscription of this item.

The charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small. One of the declared purposes of the United Nations is to promote and encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. In these circumstances

the United Nations cannot fail to heed the Dalai Lama's appeal.

The International Commission of Jurists, a nongovernmental and nonpolitical organization supported by 30,000 lawyers in more than 50 countries and a body which has consultative status with the United Nations, has issued a comprehensive report entitled "The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law." This report is based in part on statements made by Tibetan refugees which were collected under the direction of an eminent jurist, Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas. On August 21, 1959, Mr. Trikamdas told a news conference that a *prima facie* case existed that the Chinese Communists in Tibet had committed atrocities amounting to genocide. One thing which is entirely clear to all unbiased observers is that large-scale violations of fundamental human rights have taken place in Tibet.

The charter of this organization provides a standard for civilized conduct everywhere. The United Nations has demonstrated the deep concern of world public opinion over flagrant violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms wherever they have occurred. Just because the wrongs which our charter seeks to prevent are being suffered by a people in a remote and inaccessible part of the world does not mean that we can ignore the shocking events which are taking place there. To do so would be inconsistent with the purposes and principles of this organization and would expose the United Nations to the charge of indifference to wrongs of a magnitude which strike at the core of human decency. The United States for its part would have welcomed giving the Dalai Lama the opportunity to present his case personally to this body. The United States welcomes the initiative of Ireland and Malaya, members which have traditionally been in the forefront

¹ Made in the General Committee on Oct. 9 during debate on inscription of the item "The question of Tibet" (U.S. delegation press release 3247).

² U.N. doc. A/4234.

of United Nations consideration of violations of human rights. The United States will vote for inscription of "The question of Tibet" and for allocation of this item to the plenary.

SECOND STATEMENT BY MR. BARCO³

We are here today considering a question involving the fate of a whole people, the ancient and courageous people of Tibet. I regret very much the strident note that the representative of the Soviet Union has sought to inject into these proceedings. But for this it would not have been necessary for me to address this committee again.

The representative of the Soviet Union has made astonishing statements here today reflecting on the good faith of all those who are concerned about the fate of the Tibetan people and who stand for the fundamental human rights on which this organization is founded. In particular the representative of the Soviet Union has made an outrageous and unprecedented attack on the sponsors of this item and on the United States. I categorically and utterly deny each and every one of the baseless charges against the United States made this afternoon by Mr. [V. V.]Kuznetsov, and they deserve no further comment.

The question before us is a very simple one: What is the influence of this organization to be on the great issues of our times? Never has the answer to this question been more important than today. I hope we will all ponder that question when we cast our votes for or against the people of Tibet.⁴

STATEMENT BY MR. LODGE⁵

Before making my statement on the Tibetan question, I would like to take a minute under my right of reply—not, I hasten to say, in any heat at all but merely to keep the record straight.

Mr. Kuznetsov this morning mentioned the United States twice in his speech. The first time

³ Made in the General Committee on Oct. 9 (U.S. delegation press release 3248).

⁴ The recommendation to include the item on Tibet in the agenda was approved by the General Committee on Oct. 9, and the item was adopted in plenary session on Oct. 12 by a vote of 43 to 11, with 25 abstentions.

⁵ Made in plenary session on Oct. 20 (U.S. delegation press release 3259).

was a reference to the talks between President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev,⁶ a reference which we appreciate.

The second was a disapproving reference to the presence of United States troops in Korea, a reference which I am bound to admit seems to us inconsistent with the comment on the Eisenhower-Khrushchev talks. Surely the Soviet Union knows that the United States troops are in Korea pursuant to resolutions of the United Nations. This is something which all United Nations members can well understand and support.

Basis for Consideration of Tibet Item

On the initiative of the delegations of Ireland and Malaya the General Committee recommended to the General Assembly the inscription of an item entitled "The question of Tibet." The United States supported this initiative, which was based on the appeal of the Dalai Lama, and we welcome the decision of the General Assembly to consider the terrible ordeal of the Tibetan people.

Opposition to the consideration of this item in the Assembly has been based on two very different positions.

First, there have been the attempts to, in effect, frighten us out of discussing it by the use of strong words. We have been asked to believe that it is all right for Chinese Communists to kill Tibetans but that it is a provocation for us to talk about it. This argument seems to us unworthy of discussion. It is an argument of intimidation by false logic.

Doubts about the Assembly's competence to deal with this matter have stemmed from the view that events taking place in Tibet were an internal matter and thus subject to article 2, paragraph 7, of the charter—that is, the domestic jurisdiction clause. I think the question of the General Assembly's competence can be answered clearly and affirmatively whatever one's views may be as to the legal status of Tibet.

The interest and concern of the United Nations in human rights and fundamental freedom is set forth in article 55 of the charter. That article reads in part as follows:

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and

⁶ For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

... universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

This charter provision is the basis of General Assembly consideration of such a problem as the situation in Tibet.

Article 10, in setting forth the functions and the powers of the General Assembly states this:

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

And obviously the subjects of article 55 are "matters within the scope of the present Charter."

In the years since the establishment of the United Nations certain principles and rules concerning the application of article 2, paragraph 7, have emerged. It has become established, for example, that inscription and then discussion of an agenda item do not constitute intervention in matters which lie essentially within domestic jurisdiction. As to the adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions, the charter in articles 10 and 55 has conferred a clear and well-articulated authority upon the Assembly, which it has exercised on several occasions in the past.

Now, Mr. President, charges of very serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Tibet have been presented to this Assembly. In the context of the charter and of the precedents, the General Assembly is surely competent to express itself concerning such action and to appeal for the observance of liberty. This is what the draft resolution presented by Ireland and Malaya⁷ would do. The United States believes that there is no doubt of the Assembly's authority to adopt it.

Record of Events in Tibet

So much for the question of our competence here. I now proceed to the matter of Tibet.

Toward the end of March this year, reports began to filter out of Tibet that the Tibetan people

had rebelled against the Chinese Communist campaign to destroy their liberties, their religion, and their way of life and that Chinese Communist armed forces in Tibet were battling and killing Tibetans on a large scale. On March 26 the Acting Secretary of State of the United States expressed his deep shock at these reports.⁸

The Chinese Communists told a different story, of a kind which is almost ritualistic in such cases. They said the disorders had been fomented by a "reactionary clique." When the Dalai Lama, the spiritual and temporal leader of the Tibetan people, left Lhasa rather than submit, they announced that this same "reactionary clique" had kidnaped him. This phrase, may I say, is straight out of the Chinese Communist phrasebook.

The world waited anxiously as Chinese Communist troops hunted the Dalai Lama through the mountain passes of the Himalayas. We remember the thankful relief which greeted Prime Minister Nehru's announcement that the Dalai Lama had reached safety in India on March 31.

At his first news conference in Tezpur on April 18 the Dalai Lama gave the first authoritative account of the uprising. He revealed that the Tibetan people have been engaged since 1955 in a struggle against the Chinese Communist army of occupation. He told of the destruction of monasteries, the killing of lamas, and the herding of Tibetan monks and officials into forced labor on road gangs. He told how the situation had deteriorated to a point where his own person was in danger. When his palace was fired upon by the Chinese Communist forces, he decided to leave Lhasa.

The Dalai Lama, in this statement, said that he "came to India of his own free will and not under duress." Given the distances and the terrain involved, no one could doubt the truth of his statement that "it was due to the loyalty and affectionate support of his people that the Dalai Lama was able to find his way through a route which is quite arduous."

If the Tibetan people had not been so fortunate as to have a leader of the stature and the courage of the Dalai Lama, probably the world would never have been certain as to what was actually happening during this period. The result was a

⁷ U.N. doc. A/L. 264.

⁸ BULLETIN of Apr. 13, 1959, p. 514.

complete exposure of the trumped-up and—one must say it—wholly unbelievable charges of the Chinese Communists concerning Tibet.

After a period of rest and meditation the Dalai Lama, at his press conference in Mussoorie on June 20, revealed in moving detail the exact nature and extent of the Chinese Communist reign of terror. This story has been told by the Dalai Lama himself and by the distinguished speakers who have preceded me, and I will not repeat it again.

In response to questions at this press conference the Dalai Lama stated that more than 65,000 Tibetans had been killed fighting the Chinese army of occupation since 1956, that more than 1,000 monasteries had been destroyed, that lamas and monks had been killed, and that a full-scale campaign had been waged for the extermination of religion. He stated that the Chinese Communists had embarked on a large-scale policy of colonization by millions of Chinese settlers. He said the younger generation of Tibetans were being indoctrinated into Chinese communism. The ultimate aim of the Chinese Communists appeared to him to be the extermination of Tibetan religion and culture and even of the Tibetan race.

The Dalai Lama concluded by stating that he would return to Lhasa when he obtained the rights and powers which Tibet had enjoyed and exercised before 1950.

Now, Mr. President, these statements by the Dalai Lama are common knowledge. They are widely known, just as I have quoted them, everywhere in the world where a free press exists. The Chinese Communists recognize full well that the Dalai Lama, no matter where he is, remains the spiritual and temporal leader of all loyal Tibetans. But the propagandists in Peiping constantly picture him as a prisoner under duress—which is a grim irony since the only duress he has known was at their hands. Actually, the freedom and hospitality accorded by the Government of India to the Dalai Lama belie all such insinuations.

On August 30 the Dalai Lama issued a further statement in which he announced his intention to appeal to the United Nations for the verdict of all peace-loving and conscientious nations. His statement also contained “a personal appeal to all civilized countries to lend full support to our cause of freedom and justice.”

Finally, on September 9 the Dalai Lama addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General for United Nations consideration of Tibet's case,

which the distinguished representative of Malaya has already submitted to you.

So much for the record of events.

Report by International Commission of Jurists

Now, Mr. President, it seems to us that there is no reason whatever for doubting one single thing that the Dalai Lama has said. But there are also other witnesses to this tragedy. Prominent among them is the International Commission of Jurists, a nongovernmental organization which has consultative status in the United Nations and is supported by 30,000 jurists in over 50 nations. Last July this group published in Geneva a preliminary report entitled “The Question of Tibet and the Rule of Law.”

Here are some of the salient points in this report:

1. The Chinese Communists have killed tens of thousands of Tibetans and have deported thousands of Tibetan children.

2. They have killed Buddhist monks and lamas on a large scale.

3. They have destroyed Buddhist monasteries, desecrated holy places, and publicly humiliated religious leaders in a manner calculated to shock the people out of their age-old religious faith.

4. They have subjected religious leaders and public officials to forced labor, arbitrary arrest, and torture.

5. They have plundered Tibet on a wide scale, creating widespread hunger.

Mr. President, considering these facts, the authors of the report then wrote these words:

The rights of the Tibetans which appear to have been ruthlessly violated are of the most fundamental—even that of life itself. . . . It is a question of conduct which shocks the civilized world. . . . The evidence points to a systematic design to eradicate the separate national, cultural and religious life of Tibet. . . .

It is submitted, with a full appreciation of the gravity of this accusation, that the evidence points at least to a *prima facie* case of Genocide against the People's Republic of China. This case merits full investigation by the United Nations.

That is the end of the quotation from that report. It was based, let me say, in part on statements collected from Tibetan refugees under the direction of the able Indian jurist, Mr. Purshottam Trikamdas. Further material is being collected which will form the basis of a comprehensive report to be issued at a later date.

Now, Mr. President, let me say a word about the matter of reform and social progress in Tibet. The Soviet representative has sought to discredit the Dalai Lama by characterizing his advisers as "a small band of feudal lords and abbots who have violated the rights of the Tibetan people."

Mr. President, we submit that it is risky, to say the least, to judge a culture by a rigid system of ideas which is alien to that culture and whose advocates consider that everyone else in the world—Buddhists, Christians, Jews, Muslims—are wrong and that they alone have all the answers.

While the Tibetan way of life is permeated by the ideals of Buddhism, visitors to Tibet are struck with the kindness and helpfulness that Tibetans in all walks of life lavish on foreign guests. More than one foreigner who thought of Tibet only as a primitive and backward land—which it is, measured solely by the standards of an industrialized society—has returned from Tibet with a great respect for the spiritual qualities of its people.

Capital punishment used to be virtually unknown in Tibet. Before the arrival of the Chinese Communists other religions, such as that of the Muslims, were not subjected to restrictions. We can gage the atrocities which have been committed in Tibet by the fact that these religious, peaceful, friendly people were driven beyond the limit of their endurance and took up arms against their oppressors.

It is also noteworthy, in view of some of the things that have been said from this rostrum today, that the Chinese Communists should find it necessary to maintain large armies in order to persuade the Tibetan people to accept the so-called benefits which one would have you believe they are trying to confer upon them, because prior to 1950 there were no Chinese armed forces in Tibet. The small local Tibetan forces were adequate for all needs.

The so-called Panchen Lama, at a meeting staged by the Chinese Communists recently in Peiping, said that "the flames"—and this is worth noting because it is an extraordinarily phrased declaration—"the flames of the democratic reform movement are spreading to every corner of Tibet's countryside." That has an incendiary sound which suggests the arsonist more than it does the political reformer. What in reality is happening

is that the flames set by the Chinese Communist army are spreading over Tibet.

This becomes apparent when you note what the vice chairman of the National Affairs Commission of Communist China, whose name is Wang Feng, in discussing what would happen if any of the nationalities under the Commission's control should resist reform, said on September 27, 1959, which is very recent:

It would then be necessary to resolutely pulverize their resistance in order to insure implementation of the reform.

He thus made it clear that when the Communists speak of "reforms" they mean forceful communization.

Mr. President, Tibet's culture is ancient. Its monasteries prior to the advent of the Chinese Communists were considered priceless storehouses of Asian culture. Historians and religious leaders in many countries have acknowledged their debt to the lamas who have preserved through the centuries important documents unobtainable anywhere else. Prior to their looting and destruction, Tibetan monasteries were also museums containing religious statues, paintings, and tapestries of great artistic worth.

The most distinctive feature of Tibetan culture is Lamaism. This is a manifold institution. Lamaism combines into one all the religious, educational, political, economic, and social institutions of Tibetan life. Every phase of existence in Tibet has a religious significance.

A Tibetan monastery, in addition to caring for the spiritual life of the people, was also a comprehensive educational institution. The larger ones were equivalent to universities accommodating thousands of monk-students.

Now, Mr. President, nobody has argued that this way of life could go on forever in isolation from the rest of the world. The Dalai Lama is an enlightened leader. He himself stated on June 22 of this year:

During the last 9 years several reforms were proposed by me and my Government, but every time these measures were strenuously opposed by the Chinese in spite of popular demand for them, with the result that nothing was done for the betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people.

In particular it was my earnest desire that the system of land tenure should be radically changed without further delay and the large landed estates acquired by the state on payment of compensation for distribution amongst the tillers of the soil. But the Chinese authorities deliberately put every obstacle in the way of carry-

ing out this just and reasonable reform. I desire to lay stress on the fact that we, as firm believers in Buddhism, welcome change and progress consistently with the genius of our people and the rich tradition of our country.

But the people of Tibet will stoutly resist any victimization, sacrilege, and plunder in the name of reforms—a policy which is now being enforced by the representatives of the Chinese government in Lhasa.

Surely there can be no better proof that the Chinese Communists came to Tibet not bent on reform but bent on power and domination.

And now we have the spectacle of these deeply religious people, their monasteries laid low and their priests and leaders slaughtered or disgraced, being driven into the so-called people's communes. That cannot be represented as progress; it cannot be represented as reform. It can only be described as a crime which will not be forgotten by the civilized world.

Solemn Obligation of United Nations

Mr. President, on October 5th of this year Mr. Gyalo Thondup, the brother of the Dalai Lama, at a press conference in this city, declared that all that the people of Tibet desired was to be allowed to live their own life in peace and freedom. The Government of the United States wholeheartedly supports this desire, and it was in this spirit that the United States decided after careful consideration to support the initiative of Ireland and Malaya in bringing the question of Tibet before this organization.

The United Nations and the states represented here in the General Assembly have a solemn obligation to stand up for the charter and for the standards of decency in the behavior of nations which it contains. We cannot uphold those standards one day and then ignore them the next day. If we follow such a haphazard course, the community of nations will be undermined and small and weak nations will have nothing to which to appeal against the threat of brute power.

We have no magic, let me say as I conclude, by which we can save Tibet from its sufferings. But we are by no means powerless. We have the facts about the deeds which have been done. We have the standards of the charter by which to judge

those facts. And we have in the General Assembly the world's most influential voice by which to give expression to the opinions of civilized man.

Among the purposes written in the charter is that of

... promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Mr. President, we have an opportunity now to prove that those words mean what they say and that neither thousands of miles of distance nor ingenious arguments nor violent words nor faintness of heart can deter us from our duty to a brave people in their time of agony. If *they* are not afraid to fight and die, let *us* at least not be afraid to speak the truth.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION^a

The General Assembly,

Recalling the principles regarding fundamental human rights and freedoms set out in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948,

Considering that the fundamental human rights and freedoms to which the Tibetan people, like all others, are entitled include the right to civil and religious liberty for all without distinction,

Mindful also of the distinctive cultural and religious heritage of the people of Tibet and of the autonomy which they have traditionally enjoyed,

Gravely concerned at reports, including the official statements of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, to the effect that the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the people of Tibet have been forcibly denied them,

Deploring the effect of these events in increasing international tension and in embittering the relations between peoples at a time when earnest and positive efforts are being made by responsible leaders to reduce tension and improve international relations,

1. *Affirms its belief* that respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law;

2. *Calls* for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life.

^a U.N. doc. A/Res/1353 (XIV) ; adopted by the General Assembly on Oct. 21 by a vote of 45 to 9 (Soviet bloc), with 26 abstentions.

Progress of the U.N. Special Fund

*Statement by Christopher H. Phillips
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

In the 12th session of the General Assembly the United States delegation cosponsored and strongly supported the creation of a new instrument of the United Nations, the Special Fund. We recognized then, as we do now, the need for intensified economic research, for resource surveys, and for technical training—all essential to economic growth in many developing nations. We envisaged the proposed Special Fund as a strong means of paving the way for new investment of all types, public and private, national and international.

Many member governments, in considering the idea of a Special Fund, understood the pertinence of the following quotation from the Technical Assistance Board's statement in its report entitled "A Forward Look":² "Few underdeveloped countries have inventories of their natural resources or the institutions necessary to develop these inventories."

Even where countries know what their resources are, they frequently need help in determining the best uses to make of these resources. Research and experimentation in new and effective ways to use the materials at hand are the essence of economic development. On the basis of our own experience in the United States, we have been convinced that industrial and agricultural research pay off.

On the initiative of many nations which believe, as we do, in the importance of such basic programs for industry and agriculture, the Special

Fund was established on January 1 of this year.³ From the beginning it undertook to concentrate in depth on resource surveys, technical research, and technical training projects. My delegation believes that the Managing Director [Paul Hoffman] and his staff have done a remarkably effective job in inaugurating a program in keeping with the aims envisaged by the General Assembly.

Viewing Fund's Operations in Perspective

It is less than 2 years since the Preparatory Committee for the Special Fund undertook to consider the principles and criteria which would guide the new organization: How should the new agency relate its work to existing United Nations bodies? What could be done to assure sound and carefully executed projects of the kind best calculated to complement other economic programs of the countries aided and thus to lend impetus toward worthwhile development? How much money could the Special Fund expect in contributions from member governments?

These were some of the questions under discussion by representatives of governments interested in this endeavor, and they constitute, of course, some of the principal problems which Mr. Hoffman has faced as Managing Director of the Special Fund.

In May of this year the Managing Director presented the Special Fund's first program to the Governing Council.⁴ Like many other members we expressed our satisfaction with the energetic way in which the Special Fund has undertaken

¹ Made in Committee II (Economic and Financial) on Oct. 5 (U.S. delegation press release 3232). Mr. Phillips is also U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council.

² U.N. doc. E/2885 and Corr. 1.

³ For background and text of the resolution establishing the Fund, see BULLETIN of Nov. 3, 1958, p. 702.

⁴ U.N. doc. SF/L. 18.

its precedent-setting tasks. We indicated our approval of the steps taken to launch the Fund and commended the Managing Director for the vision and leadership he had displayed. Along with other members the United States endorsed the first list of projects approved by the Special Fund, while noting that these initial projects were not intended to constitute a precedent either as to distribution by area or selection of projects by type. We understood, rather, that these were simply all the sound projects that had been processed by the end of March. We also joined in endorsing the criteria and principles proposed by the Managing Director to guide the Fund in its review of projects.

We are gratified that, in the short time which has elapsed since the inception of this program, the record of the Special Fund and its report to ECOSOC clearly reveal that the work has gone forward extremely well. On behalf of the United States delegation may I express our admiration for the dynamic Managing Director and his capable staff for the imagination, energy, and skill which they are devoting to their tasks. I would hesitate to praise a fellow American if he were not someone of the stature of Paul Hoffman, whose friends and admirers may be found all over the world.

In the light of its energetic performance during the very short period of its existence, we are, even now, able to view the early operations of this promising United Nations activity in some perspective. There is reason to expect that projects now under consideration will demonstrate the unique value of the Special Fund. We are confident that useful projects will be extended to additional underdeveloped areas of the world whenever nations which seek help can develop and submit projects of a type which the Fund can appropriately undertake.

Both General Assembly resolution 1219⁵ of the 12th session and the report of the Preparatory Committee⁶ state that the Fund shall "provide systematic and sustained assistance in fields essential to the integrated technical, economic and social development of the less developed countries."

This guiding principle accepts the fact of a close relationship between social development and

economic development. By direct inference the General Assembly and the Special Fund itself recognize the likelihood that social projects will frequently be given a high priority where such projects "provide systematic and sustained assistance" to an integrated development program. We would therefore anticipate that, in addition to projects of a preinvestment type, those of a social and economic overhead nature will be supported when they are a *sine qua non* of significant development.

There are some social categories of development which in various areas of the world bear an intimate relationship to economic progress. Eradicating endemic diseases, insuring unpolluted water supplies for human consumption, and providing adequate housing are examples of activities which in many circumstances are inseparable from economic as well as social progress. In our opinion many projects in these fields deserve support by the Special Fund. Among them are: concentrated research which can lead to more effective use of local building materials and which can train the trainers of construction artisans; technical training institutes; and higher institutions which can develop doctors, nurses, and scientists as well as economists, engineers, and administrators. Also in this category are demographic studies important for economic and social development.

Work of American Universities

We note with approval that in the execution of Special Fund projects consideration is being given to the use of established institutions, such as universities and research institutes, to supervise projects in their fields of competence. The United States, in its reply dated June 2, 1959, to the Secretary-General's request for information under General Assembly resolution 1316, adopted in the 13th session, and noted in document E/3258/Add.2, has pointed out the comprehensive work which universities and research institutes of the United States are doing to improve the living conditions of people in less developed countries.

In one academic year alone—between 1957 and 1958—at least 184 American universities and colleges were engaged in international programs of economic and social research and training, with an annual expenditure of \$25 million to \$30 mil-

⁵ BULLETIN of Jan. 13, 1958, p. 71.

⁶ U.N. doc. A/3908 and Corr. 1.

lion. Some of these programs are arranged directly between our universities and those in other countries. Some are private agreements between our universities and foreign governments. Still others are operated on contract with the International Cooperation Administration of the United States Government. In the latter category the ICA has entered into some 80 contracts with universities calling for cumulative expenditures of more than \$71 million in more than 30 foreign countries.

For example, the Oklahoma State University has helped set up an agricultural technical school in Ethiopia which now has an enrollment of over 210 students engaged in comprehensive agricultural training and research. The University of Michigan, in association with the University of the Philippines, helped to establish an institute of public administration in the Philippines which since 1956 has been completely operated, administered, and staffed by Filipinos. More than 3,000 Philippine Government employees have received training at this institute since the inception of the program.

In Africa the United States National Academy of Sciences, in cooperation with the ICA and in association with representative governments of the area, has been making an intensive survey of education, science, and technology south of the Sahara. The objective is to delineate those problems of major significance to the well-being of the peoples in that area and to identify basic programs which can contribute effectively toward the solution of some of the most pressing of these problems. This study, which is expected to be finished soon, will contain recommendations for various kinds of cooperation relating to scientific and technological development.⁷

These few examples of the many which might be mentioned are tangible indications that real help to developing countries is forthcoming from many sources in the fields of technical training and resource surveys. The skills and experience of the free world are being increasingly marshaled to seek solutions for the multitude of basic technical problems. Engaged in these tasks are institutions both public and private, both national and international.

⁷ For an announcement of the completion of the study, see *BULLETIN* of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 634.

We believe that the United States educational institutions which participate in these programs represent a good cross section of all geographic regions of the United States and practically all academic disciplines and are typical in their caliber and in their diversity of the finest scholarly traditions and practical achievements of the American people.

I have spoken at some length about what American universities are doing because I have the feeling that such nongovernmental activities are too little known and their importance too little appreciated as sources of fundamental research and training which can contribute a great deal on a reciprocal basis to the scientific, social, and economic advancement of developing areas. I am confident that this is equally true of such groups in many nations. The experience of universities, private foundations, and other institutions of my country in carrying on this work suggests that the Special Fund will find it most useful to develop its relationship with such bodies in many countries toward the same end.

Unique Role of the Fund

The criteria established by the Preparatory Committee and the projects approved and contemplated by the Special Fund reveal that the organization has staked out a field of activity which does not compete with the regular programs of the specialized agencies, particularly those responsible for capital financing, or with the work of the expanded program in the technical assistance field.

It is worth noting also that the Special Fund is undertaking many tasks of an economic overhead nature which lay stress on industrialization and on the closely related fields of technical training and transport and communications. In the first 13 projects approved by the Governing Council, six appear to be directly related to industrialization or power development. Industrial training projects in Yugoslavia, Poland, India, and Turkey, a regional one for Central America, and an electric-power survey for Argentina are all in this category. The Bangkok port channel survey is also closely related to industrial development.

While we agree with the Managing Director as to the desirability of having additional agricultural development projects, at the same time the work thus far undertaken or contemplated by the

Special Fund in the industrial field does appear to meet urgent needs and to complement other programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. To the extent that the Special Fund encourages research, training, and resource surveys in the field of industrialization, it facilitates subsequent economic development through both public and private investment.

The Managing Director of the Special Fund has made it clear on several occasions that in the course of just a few months practical projects have been proposed for approval beyond the limits of available funds. The hopeful portents of success for the Special Fund make it all the more necessary that contributions from member governments keep pace with the program of work which is evolving.

The Managing Director, in his statement to the Governing Council in May of this year, placed great emphasis on obtaining adequate voluntary

contributions. In this connection we regret that a substantial portion of the amount pledged to the Fund by the United States Government could not be used because the necessary matching contributions could not be obtained. We are encouraged by the trend among some of the more economically developed nations toward increasing their contributions. For example, we are gratified by the announced decision of the United Kingdom to increase its contribution from \$1 million to \$5 million. We sincerely hope that not only will other economically advanced member states increase their contributions but that other nations will also do so, though on a more modest basis. If all member states do their part we can reasonably hope that the Special Fund will continue to evolve into an instrumentality of the United Nations which can play a significant part in the development of less developed areas of the world.

Planning Economic and Social Development

Statement by Walter M. Kotschnig

Director, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs¹

I should like to address myself to the subject matter of both items 6 and 7 of our agenda. Item 6 is entitled "Planning the Pattern of Social Expenditure in Relation to Economic Expenditure and Social and Economic Needs." I would prefer to speak of patterns rather than of the pattern, for there are many possible patterns of planning. Item 7 reads "Methods of Coordinating and Integrating Economic and Social Development Programmes." I want to take these items up together since they are closely interrelated and so contingent upon each other as to be practically inseparable.

Of all the papers put before the working party by the secretariat the paper L.8, entitled "Notes on

Policies and Methods of Coordinating and Integrating Economic and Social Development Programmes," is, in my opinion, one of the best papers submitted to us and admirably balanced in itself. The paper starts out with a discussion of capital investment versus social expenditure. It points out that there is "much more to the expansion of national income than conventional capital investment." It states that "there are important feedback effects from social progress into economic growth." It emphasizes that "certain social conditions constitute infrastructure requirements for economic growth."

The paper then proceeds to a discussion of "human investment," of the human element in the development process. It speaks of the qualities, intangible most of them, which promote economic growth—efficiency, organizational capacity, initiative, energy and hard work, honesty, confidence in the future, skills and knowledge, inventiveness,

¹ Made on Sept. 23 before the fifth session of the Working Party on Economic Development and Planning of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, held at Bangkok, Thailand, Sept. 15-26. Mr. Kotschnig was the U.S. representative at the meeting.

ambition and drive, and several others. Many of these qualities, essential to growth, fall into the category of "variables," which plague the planner and particularly the mathematical economist.

In this context the paper somewhat further on quotes a predecessor of mine, Mr. Simon Kuznets, an economist of repute, who represented the United States at an earlier meeting of this working party. Kuznets speaks of "the clearly increased importance of political and sociopsychological factors in the understanding of the economic growth of nations." He talks of "the helplessness of a mere economist when he observes, when he can observe, results of economic growth obviously ascribed to political factors and forces whose nature he cannot understand adequately." And he continues:

The outcome is either withdrawal into the refuge of mathematical models operating with a few variables, or amateurish cogitations on a vast theme. One has the advantage of formal elegance, and the other, that of at least calling attention to the wider array of factors that have been taken into account; but neither outcome is satisfactory.

These are brave words, well spoken.

Weakness of Totalitarian Approach

I was reminded of these words when I listened yesterday with close attention to the brilliant speech of our Soviet colleague. I would like to make a few comments on what he said—not in a spirit of controversy but for purposes of clarification.

Mr. [I. A.] Evenko reached the conclusion that there are no variables which defy quantification and, hence, all can be fed into electronic computers which will provide all the answers—when and where and in what to invest, what targets to set up, and how to attain them, and how the human equation in development can be solved. In his speech the computing machine did not emerge merely as the father picture, or the big brother, but as God himself.

Mr. Chairman, it is far from my mind to belittle the remarkable achievements in the technological and even economic field in the U.S.S.R. To do so would be foolish and small-minded. But I still dare to submit that electronic computers are better suited to reach the barrenness of the moon than to create a happy society in which the individual can flower and develop his inner richness.

As I see it, the basic weakness in the approach of Mr. Evenko—of the totalitarian approach to development—is that rather than to take into account in the planning process the human element, the more intangible variables, the totalitarian approach tries to minimize or even eliminate that element. In order to have its econometric conclusions, its targets, come true, this approach bends human nature; it regimented the individual; it deprives him of his liberties; it tells him where to go and what to do. In one word, it tends to turn the individual himself into a machine, to reduce him to the stature of a robot. Totalitarian planning of this type loses sight of the central purpose of economic development, which is the freeing of the individual not only from poverty and disease but from the ruthless encroachments of his basic rights by bureaucrats and the all-powerful state.

This may be one way to development, but I submit it is not the best way to economic and social development. Not only are the methods applied destructive of personality, but even the results, from a social point of view, do not appear to be commensurate with the sacrifices involved. We heard yesterday many impressive figures of progress, and I do not propose to question them, although much might be said about the military expenditures in the Soviet Union to which the Soviet representative referred. In spite of these figures the fact remains that *real* wages in the U.S.S.R., not to speak of other totalitarian regimes nearer to this part of the world, remain far below those wages paid in the free economies of the West, and particularly my own country. In spite of remarkable technical developments longer hours of work are required of the Soviet worker to earn enough to buy the basic necessities of life. This is a rather startling fact after 40 years of Soviet communism, even when one takes into account the late start of the U.S.S.R. in large-scale industrialization and the ravages of the Second World War. There continues to prevail a painful shortage of consumer goods, a severely limited choice for the individual as to how to use his limited purchasing power. And there are continuing restrictions on mobility and limitations on other prerogatives of the individual.

Achievements of Free Economies

Leading spokesmen of this system of economic development acknowledge the lag between the achievements of the free economies of the West,

such as that of the United States, and their own economies. Particularly in recent months they have acknowledged the existence of higher levels of living in the Western World. (In parenthesis, I might add that the higher level of production and of living in my own country is illustrated by the fact that in 1958 alone we have been able to make available more than \$5 billion in foreign aid. I am grateful that several speakers attested to the fact that this aid, *inter alia*, has greatly helped them in fostering social development within their countries.)

I do not need to belabor the greater achievements of the free economies of the West for the simple reason that, even where they are not explicitly accepted by Soviet leaders, they are implicitly acknowledged by their assertion that the Soviet economy "will overtake before long the economy of the United States." We in the United States view this kind of statement with equanimity although, since we are not standing still ourselves, we doubt whether these promises will be fulfilled. If so, we can only hope that further achievements in the technical and economic development of the Soviet Union will indeed be translated into higher levels of living for the peoples of the U.S.S.R., for we would like these peoples to have these higher standards of living. Unfortunately there is no indication that, whatever happens, "the state will wither away"—to use the famous dictum of Karl Marx—that there will be real social fulfillment and true freedom for the individual.

Broader Approach to Economic Development

At any rate, the cost in human negation, in suffering and deprivation, of this type of development seems to us so high as to make it essential that every effort be made to find more positive approaches to development, approaches which will not sacrifice whole generations to future targets, which will from the start of development take full account of the *social* element in economic development.

Briefly what does this mean?

First of all, it does not mean the abandonment of national planning, including the use of advanced econometric methods, of the computer. Such planning is highly desirable and useful provided it takes into account to the fullest extent the human and humane element. It is essential also that the limitations of such planning be rec-

ognized, that any plans developed are not to be considered immutable, that they are highly flexible and open to adjustment at all times. They must allow for the human equation and not attempt to mold and fashion individuals to meet targets rather than to fit the targets to the individuals.

Secondly, the approaches which I have in mind must provide for programs with early social impact, such as an emphasis on food production and the development of labor-intensive industries, it being understood, of course, that such programs should not be conceived so as to retard rather than advance fuller measures of industrialization.

Third, social programs need to be developed which have an immediate or early impact on economic development. This includes programs of education, of health, the development of improved labor relations and organization, and the establishment of minimum wages where possible. As I pointed out in an earlier intervention, the acceptance of such programs may involve very difficult choices. It may mean, for instance, that, in terms of short-range planning, limited resources may initially have to be concentrated deliberately on primary education for only part of the population in order to preserve resources for secondary education, particularly of the vocational and technical type necessary to meet pressing requirements for trained personnel. Similarly, in the area of health, efforts may have to be concentrated on certain regions within a country where improved health conditions are most likely to increase production and to create new capital. Such temporary imbalances, while difficult to defend on purely moral grounds, may be necessary in order to provide necessary manpower where it can make the maximum contribution and create new resources for a more comprehensive development of the entire country. They can be defended on the grounds that they will advance rather than retard national development.

Fourth, and above all, it is essential to secure the active participation and the commitment of the people in any development programs—not by force and regimentation but by persuasion and conviction. This means, on the one hand, that the people should be given a chance to participate in the elaboration of plans. In saying this it must be realized, of course, that this principle has only limited applicability, due to the complexity of

planning which often goes beyond the ken and understanding of the common man. However, every possible means of consultation should be used to ascertain needs and aspirations in order to create a sense of hope among the people, a sense of going forward. On the other hand, participation of the people can and must be secured to the fullest extent on the local level in situations within the grasp of the people. It is on that level that initiative must be encouraged, and self-help, and the spirit of mutuality. This is an area in which the various programs of community development, both rural and urban, can make an outstanding contribution.

Fifth, the broader approach of which I speak means recognition of the importance of the private sector in the economy. Private enterprise puts a premium on initiative and vision and should be encouraged even though certain basic controls may have to be established. Incidentally, there is nothing wrong with this idea of personal gain, as even totalitarian planners have recognized. The idea is not foreign to Soviet practice with its high norms set for individual workers which force them to special exertions to exceed the norms in order to attain higher wages. These practices may be presented as forms of so-called "socialist competition," but frequently, in their emphasis on piece-work and payment by results, remind us of earlier "capitalist" practices which with us are falling into disrepute.

This last element of "free enterprise" introduces and reaffirms the concept of the free marketplace which can go a long way in correcting errors made in overall planning, in adjusting plans to unforeseen developments, in emphasizing the principle of free choice which in the short and in the long run is essential to social development in the fullest sense of the word.

Recognition of Importance of Social Advancement

Mr. Chairman, just one final word. Let me say how deeply impressed I am by the fact that in this working party we are not only talking about balanced economic and social development but that the experts from the region present here are themselves demonstrating a remarkably balanced approach to the problems before us. There has been recognition of social advancement as the basic objective of economic development. There has been recognition of the importance of the

social element in assuring economic development. And, above all, there has been recognition that there is more than one approach to success and that more than one approach has to be used. These ideas were reflected in speeches made by the representatives of India, Ceylon, and Indonesia; of Thailand, China, and Korea; of Pakistan, of Viet-Nam—I could go around the entire table and quote from statements made by experts from the region brought together in this working party.

This, Mr. Chairman, in my opinion, is the best guarantee that this region with its infinite problems, infinitely complex, is indeed on the way not to the perfect society but that it is squarely "on the threshold of modernity"—to use another phrase from the secretariat paper—and that from here on out we are moving along our several roads in a spirit of mutual help to a richer life in greater freedom.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission

The Department of State announced on October 19 (press release 733) the following U.S. delegation to the first meeting of the Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission, which convened at Washington, D.C., October 20, 1959:

United States Representative

John F. Floberg, Commissioner, Atomic Energy Commission

Alternate Representatives

John A. Hall, Assistant General Manager for International Activities, Atomic Energy Commission

Charles A. Sullivan, Deputy Special Assistant to the Secretary for Disarmament and Atomic Energy, Department of State

Senior Adviser

Algie A. Wells, Director, Division of International Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission

Advisers

Paul C. Aebersold, Director, Office of Isotopes Development, Atomic Energy Commission

William A. Chapin, Office of the Special Assistant for Disarmament and Atomic Energy, Department of State

Allan T. Dalton, Division of International Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission

Stanley I. Grand, Office of United Nations Political and Security Affairs, Department of State

George N. Monsma, Office of Inter-American Regional Political Affairs, Department of State
Edward E. Sinclair, Division of International Affairs, Atomic Energy Commission
George Spiegel, Office of the Assistant General Manager for International Activities, Atomic Energy Commission

This Commission, the statute for which was approved April 22, 1959, is being set up within the Organization of American States to serve as a center of consultation for the member states and to facilitate cooperation among them in matters relating to the peaceful application of nuclear energy. A principal objective of the Commission, which was recommended by the Inter-American Committee of Presidential Representatives, is to assist the American Republics in developing a coordinated plan for research and training in nuclear energy.

The Commission's secretariat will become part of the staff of the Pan American Union, the general secretariat of the Organization of American States.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Letter Dated 24 September 1959 From the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom Addressed to the Secretary-General on the Question of Laos. S/4223. September 26, 1959. 4 pp.

Letter Dated 7 October 1959 From the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Republic Addressed to the Secretary-General, Concerning the Decision Adopted on 6 October 1959 by the Egyptian-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission. S/4226 and Corr. 1. October 9, 1959. 4 pp.

Letter Dated 12 October From the Permanent Representative of India, Addressed to the President of the Security Council, Concerning Jammu and Kashmir. S/4228. October 12, 1959. 2 pp.

Letter Dated 15 October 1959 From the Permanent Representative of Yemen to the President of the Security Council Concerning British Actions Against Yemen. S/4229. October 16, 1959. 2pp.

General Assembly

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Progress Report on the UNREF Programme and on UNHCR Programmes for 1959 as of 30 June 1959. A/AC.96/35. August 27, 1959. 130 pp.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Financial Statements of the United Nations

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

Refugee Fund for the Year 1958 and Report of the Board of Auditors Thereon. A/AC.96/46. September 8, 1959. 22 pp.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. 1960 Programme for Non-settled Refugees Living Outside Camps. Submitted by the High Commissioner. A/AC.96/42. September 22, 1959. 23 pp.

Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories. Offers of Study and Training Facilities Under Resolution 845 (IX) of 22 November 1954. Report of the Secretary-General. A/4196. September 18, 1959. 19 pp.

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. Seventeenth Progress Report for the Period From 1 June 1958 to 31 August 1959. A/4225. September 22, 1959. 10 pp.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Progress Report on Programme for New Hungarian Refugees. Submitted by the High Commissioner. A/AC.96/36. September 14, 1959. 32 pp.

Report of the United Nations Good Offices Committee on South West Africa. Letter dated September 21, 1959, from the chairman of the Good Offices Committee on South West Africa addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4224. September 23, 1959. 16 pp.

Cessation of the Transmission of Information Under Article 73 e of the Charter: Communication From the Government of the United States of America. A/4226. September 24, 1959. 59 pp.

Economic Development of Under-developed Countries. Report by the Secretary-General on measures taken by the governments of member states to further the economic development of underdeveloped countries in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1316 (XIII). A/4220. September 25, 1959. 124 pp.

United Nations Emergency Force. Manner of financing the Force: report of the Secretary-General on consultations with governments of member states. A/4176/Add. 1 and Corr. 1. September 25, 1959. 4 pp.

Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Proposed by the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic—International Encouragement of Scientific Research Into the Control of Cancerous Diseases, 28 September 1959. A/4233. September 28, 1959. 4 pp.

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Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Proposed by the Federation of Malaya and Ireland—The Question of Tibet. Letter dated 28 September 1959 from the permanent representatives of the Federation of Malaya and Ireland to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4234. September 29, 1959. 2 pp.

Progress and Operations of the Special Fund. Note by the Secretary-General. A/4217/Add. 1. October 1, 1959. 9 pp.

Progress Achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories In Pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter: International Technical Assistance to Non-Self-Governing Territories. Report prepared by the Secretariat. A/4195. October 5, 1959. 33 pp.

Reservations to Multilateral Conventions: the Convention on the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Or-

ganization. Report of the Secretary-General. A/4235. October 6, 1959. 29 pp.

Question of South West Africa. Statement made by the representative of the Union of South Africa at the 900th meeting of Committee IV. A/C.4/421. October 13, 1959. 43 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Income-Tax Convention With Norway Enters Into Force

Press release 740 dated October 21

On October 21, 1959, Secretary Herter and Paul Koht, Norwegian Ambassador at Washington, exchanged the instruments of ratification with respect to the supplementary income-tax convention which was signed at Oslo on July 10, 1958¹ (convention between the United States and Norway, modifying and supplementing the convention of June 13, 1949,² for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income).

The supplementary convention was brought into force by the exchange of the instruments of ratification. According to its terms the supplementary convention is effective with respect to taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 1960.

Unlike most of the income-tax conventions to which the United States is a party, the convention of 1949 with Norway did not provide for a reduction of the withholding tax on dividends. The supplementary convention modifies the tax treatment of dividends along the lines of U.S. conventions with other countries. It provides for a withholding rate of 15 percent on dividends paid by a corporation of one country to recipients in the other country. Consistent with the principle in the 1949 convention, this reduced rate will not apply to a recipient of dividends engaged in business through a permanent establishment in the country from which the dividends are paid. The supplementary convention, with certain qualifying limitations, further provides that the withholding tax shall not exceed 5 percent on dividends paid by

a corporation in one country to a corporation in the other country. It is also provided that each country shall exempt from tax the dividends paid to persons other than its citizens, residents, or corporations by a corporation of the other country.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Finance

Articles of agreement of the International Finance Corporation. Done at Washington May 25, 1955. Entered into force July 20, 1956. TIAS 3620.
Signature and acceptance: Argentina, October 13, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.¹
Notification of approval: Viet-Nam, September 15, 1959.
International telecommunication convention. Signed at Buenos Aires December 22, 1952. Entered into force January 1, 1954. TIAS 3266.
Ratification deposited: Colombia, September 18, 1959.

BILATERAL

Indonesia

Agreements amending the agricultural commodities agreement of May 29, 1959 (TIAS 4248). Effected by exchanges of notes at Djakarta October 1, 1959. Entered into force October 1, 1959.

Israel

Agreement amending the technical cooperation joint fund program agreement of May 9, 1952 (TIAS 2570), as amended. Effected by exchange of notes at Tel Aviv June 26 and at Jerusalem September 24, 1959. Entered into force September 24, 1959.

Japan

Agreement amending the agreement of May 14, 1954 (TIAS 2985), and the procès-verbal of January 18, 1955 (TIAS 3162), for the loan of United States naval vessels to Japan. Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo October 2, 1959. Entered into force October 2, 1959.

Netherlands

Agreement approving the procedures for reciprocal filing of classified patent applications. Effected by exchange of notes at The Hague October 8, 1959. Entered into force October 8, 1959.

Norway

Convention modifying and supplementing the convention of June 13, 1949 (TIAS 2357), for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Oslo July 10, 1958.
Ratifications exchanged: October 21, 1959.
Entered into force: October 21, 1959.

Pakistan

Agreement further amending the agricultural commodities

¹ BULLETIN of Aug. 4, 1958, p. 222.

² Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2358.

¹ Not in force.

agreement of November 26, 1958, as amended (TIAS 4137 and 4257). Effected by exchange of notes at Karachi October 7 and 8, 1959. Entered into force October 8, 1959.

United Arab Republic

Agreement amending the agreement of May 5, 1959 (TIAS 4223), supplementing and amending the agricultural commodities agreement of December 24, 1958 (TIAS 4147). Effected by exchange of notes at Cairo October 14, 1959. Entered into force October 14, 1959.

Yemen

Agreement supplementing and extending the agreement of June 24 and 30, 1959 (TIAS 4286), granting special economic assistance to finance wheat transportation costs in Yemen. Effected by exchange of notes at Taiz October 3 and 4, 1959. Entered into force October 4, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Delegation of Certain Functions Under Mutual Security Act

ADMINISTRATION OF MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954 AND DELEGATION OF CERTAIN RELATED FUNCTIONS¹

By virtue of the authority vested in me by Executive Order No. 10560, as amended, section 4 of the Act of May 26, 1949 (63 Stat. 111, 5 U.S.C. 151e), as amended, and as Secretary of State, Delegation of Authority No. 85 of June 30, 1955 (20 F.R. 4825), as heretofore amended, is amended as follows:

1. The unnumbered, introductory paragraph is amended by inserting "10560, Executive Order No. 10575, Executive Order No." after "Executive Order No."

2. Section 2 a. is amended by substituting "and furnishing foreign policy guidance thereto;" for the period at the end of subparagraph (9), and by adding the following new subparagraphs (10), (11), (12), and (13):

(10) The function which the Department of State is authorized to carry out by section 4(a) (1) of Executive Order 10560 of allocating or transferring foreign currencies to the Development Loan Fund;

(11) The function conferred upon the Department of State by section 4(d) (4) of Executive Order 10560 of carrying out the purposes of sections 104(d) and 104(e) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 except to the extent that section 104(e) pertains to the loans referred to in section 4(d) (5) of Executive Order 10560;

(12) The functions conferred upon the Department of State and the Secretary of State by sections 4(d) (7) (i) and 4(d) (7) (ii), respectively, of Executive Order 10560, relating to foreign currencies available to carry out the purposes of section 104(g) of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954;

¹ Public notice 166; 24 Fed. Reg. 8555.

(13) The function conferred upon the Secretary of State by section 4(d) (7) (iii) of Executive Order 10560 of supervising and directing the Development Loan Fund with respect to that order.

3. This Delegation of Authority shall be deemed to have become effective June 25, 1959.

Dated: October 12, 1959.

[SEAL]

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

Recess Appointments

The President on October 20 appointed Edson O. Sessions to be Ambassador to Finland. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 739 dated October 20.)

Designations

John M. Steeves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, effective October 19.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: October 19-25

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. Release issued prior to October 19 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 732 of October 18.

No.	Date	Subject
733	10/19	Delegation to Inter-American Nuclear Energy Commission (rewrite).
734	10/19	Flood relief for India (rewrite).
735	10/19	Assistant Secretary Jones to visit South Asia.
736	10/19	Advisers to U.S. delegation to Antarctica conference (rewrite) (printed in BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959).
737	10/20	Jordan credentials (rewrite).
738	10/20	Murphy: "The Shape of American Policy."
*739	10/20	Sessions appointed Ambassador to Finland (biographic details).
740	10/21	Income-tax convention with Norway.
741	10/21	Premieres of U.S. and Soviet films.
742	10/22	U.K. removes exchange restrictions for British foreign travel.
743	10/22	Third anniversary of Hungarian revolution.
744	10/22	Leghorn appointment.
†745	10/22	Murphy: "United States Foreign Policy in Europe."
*746	10/22	Foreign students call on Secretary Herter.
747	10/23	15th session of GATT (delegation).
748	10/23	B-29 case removed from ICJ calendar.
*749	10/23	Cultural exchange (Argentina).
*750	10/23	Program for visit of President of Guinea (rewrite).
751	10/24	Japanese trade mission visits U.S.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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November 16, 1959

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THE
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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

Strengthening the Economic Foundations of an Interdependent World

STATEMENT BY UNDER SECRETARY DILLON¹

This session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is a significant occasion. We have moved from our customary meeting place in Geneva to convene for the first time in one of the world's great industrial and commercial centers. By so doing we widen public understanding of the important work of GATT and gain for ourselves a better appreciation of the trade problems which confront member countries.

It is, I think, especially fitting that we have inaugurated this new tradition in Tokyo, the capital of a nation whose economic future is so heavily dependent on the healthy expansion of world trade, which it is the business of GATT to promote. The Japanese Government and people have done everything possible to make our meeting here successful and pleasant. My Government thanks them for their gracious hospitality.

This meeting at Tokyo is particularly significant, for the time is at hand when we must press forward with greater vigor than ever before in the task of freeing international trade from discriminations and restrictions. Success in this effort is essential to assure economic growth and raise standards of living in the industrialized and less developed nations alike.

The members of GATT have initiated a new program for the further expansion of trade. They have agreed to another general negotiation for the reduction of tariffs, to begin in 1960. They have established special procedures to study the difficult problem of agricultural protectionism around the world. And they have undertaken an analysis of

ways to increase the export earnings of the less developed countries. It is the hope of my Government that at our present session we will give further impetus to all three parts of this new program for trade expansion.

The year just past has been one of remarkable economic advance in many sectors of the economy of the free world. The United States has recovered from the recession of 1957-58 and has moved to new highs in economic output. In Western Europe and Japan renewed economic expansion is taking place, and these nations have very substantially increased their gold and foreign-exchange reserves. These developments, together with the actions of the Western European countries last December in making their currencies convertible on external account, have opened the door to a period of great progress in international trade. But unless we move forward while we can there is the unpleasant prospect that the opportunity for progress may be lost. If forward steps are not now taken, I am afraid that the trend toward greater freedom of trade may be reversed. For the present situation is inherently unstable and cannot be long maintained. Either we move ahead to get rid of outmoded trade restrictions, or we can expect a resurgence of protectionism and restrictive action.

U.S. Balance-of-Payments Deficit

The substantial gain in gold and foreign exchange reserves in other industrial countries has been associated with an exceptionally large deficit in the balance of payments of the United States during the last 2 years. Briefly, the facts are these:

The United States is currently running a surplus of exports of goods and services at a rate of about \$3.5 billion annually. This surplus, however, has not been adequate to cover the large payments by the United States to the rest of the world

¹Made on Oct. 27 at the Ministerial Meeting of the 15th session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which convened at Tokyo, Japan, Oct. 26 (press release 755 dated Oct. 26). For an announcement of the meeting and a list of the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1959, p. 679. Mr. Dillon was the U.S. ministerial representative.

which have resulted from our policies of assisting the development of the less developed areas, of encouraging the flow of private investment abroad, and of helping to maintain defensive strength overseas in the interest of the security of the free world. Net United States Government grants, loans, and other capital outflow, most of which are associated directly or indirectly with United States exports, are running at about \$2.5 billion annually. The outflow of private capital accounts for an additional \$2 billion. And, finally, United States military expenditures abroad are about \$3 billion per year.

If we measure the overall deficit in the U.S. balance of payments by the net transfers of gold and liquid dollar assets from the United States to the rest of the world, we find that the deficit was \$3.4 billion in 1958 and is expected to be around \$4 billion this year. Deficits of this magnitude cannot of course continue. For our part we have adopted domestic fiscal and monetary policies directed toward financial stability, including a balanced budget in the current fiscal year.

There are signs of improvement in our exports, and we look forward to some improvement in our payments situation next year. But, if this deficit is to be reduced to proportions consistent with healthy world trade, prompt action is required by other countries as well. This action should be designed to expand world trade for the greater prosperity of all and thus avoid the undesirable alternative of restrictive measures to balance world trade at lower and less prosperous levels.

Removal of Trade Discriminations Important

The most important immediate step which should be taken in this direction is the prompt removal of the remaining trade discriminations—the legacy of postwar economic conditions which no longer prevail—which have applied with special severity against imports from dollar areas.

The restoration of external convertibility to the main trading currencies of the world, made possible by the economic recovery of the other industrial countries and the marked shift in the world payments situation, has removed any balance-of-payments justification for discriminatory restrictions by countries whose export earnings are largely in convertible currencies. The continuation of discrimination can only weaken the world economic system and the international trade and

financial institutions which all of us have labored so hard to strengthen. Of equal importance, continued discrimination will make it exceedingly difficult for the United States and other affected countries to maintain forward-looking trade policies. The removal of discriminatory trade restrictions is therefore important to all of the Contracting Parties—not merely to the United States and those other countries to whose trade these discriminations have been applied.

I do not mean to overlook the progress that has taken place. We appreciate the recent steps taken by several countries—Australia, France, Malaya, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, among others—to reduce discriminatory restrictions. We strongly feel, however, that the time has come to do away with discriminatory restrictions altogether. This task should be completed during the next few months. We therefore heartily endorse the statement presented to the Contracting Parties by the International Monetary Fund, making clear the Fund's view that discriminations generally are no longer justifiable on balance-of-payments grounds.²

I would hope that the representatives of Contracting Parties at this Ministerial Meeting will express their support of the principle that the discriminatory application of quantitative restrictions under article XIV of the General Agreement must quickly be brought to an end, taking into account the special considerations referred to in the Fund decision. The consensus that emerges from the ministerial discussions could be reflected in the annual report on the discriminatory application of import restrictions, to be prepared by the Contracting Parties at this session in compliance with article XIV:1(g) of the General Agreement.

The improved financial position of the other industrialized countries also means that many of them will be able to dispense entirely with all quantitative restrictions, whether or not discriminatory, which were previously needed to protect the balance of payments. The United States recognizes that in some cases a limited period of time may be required to complete the elimination of all quantitative restrictions and that in the case of certain products limited waivers from GATT's basic rules may be necessary. However, the United States and other GATT countries which have not resorted to balance-of-payment restric-

² For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1959, p. 681.

tions are entitled to expect that this period be short and that, where continued restrictions are permitted under waivers, the country benefiting from the waiver will make every effort to remove the permitted restrictions at the earliest possible moment.

Economic Problems of Less Developed Countries

While the economies of the industrial countries have been expanding, many of the less developed countries have continued to face serious economic problems. The progress of a number of these countries has been held back by the exceptional difficulties which they faced in their struggle to achieve self-generating economic growth. Also their problems have been intensified in recent years by the general decline in the prices of primary products, although some improvement of these prices has now taken place.

The United States has provided, and will continue to provide, financial and technical assistance to the less developed countries. We are doing this bilaterally and through various international organizations. We are pleased that at the recent meeting of the Governors of the World Bank in Washington it was agreed to draft a charter for an International Development Association to supplement existing financial resources available for development assistance.³ We also hope and expect that other industrial countries will increasingly, through their own programs, share in the responsibility of providing capital for development purposes.

Capital alone, however, can do only part of the job. As we all know, expanded trade is vitally important to the growth of these countries. Imports must be relied upon to supply most of the capital equipment for new industries, some of the food needed for the nourishment of rapidly increasing populations, and some of the raw material supplies for manufacturing. As populations grow, living standards improve, and diversification and industrialization progress. The import needs of these countries will also grow. Only a portion of these increasing import requirements can be met by an inflow of capital from the industrialized countries. In short, less developed countries must export if they are to achieve adequate economic growth.

We must continue to search for practical solu-

tions. The preliminary reports of Committee II, relating to agricultural protectionism, and Committee III, relating to specific barriers to exports from less developed areas, represent a beginning. It is important that the continuing work of these committees be done thoroughly and carefully so that the conclusions which emerge will be useful to governments in deciding upon practical courses of action. We may also take encouragement from the steps which have been taken to deal cooperatively with the problems of individual commodities. The activities of the GATT, the United Nations Commission on International Commodity Trade, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the specialized commodity study groups represent a broad, well-balanced approach to the trade problems of the less developed countries and place us in a better position than before to make headway against them.

Problem of Exports From Low-Wage Countries

Another difficult problem which is becoming more acute is that of exports of manufactures from countries with relatively low wages, especially as productive capacity in these countries increases. Various measures to limit the expansion of such exports have been applied by exporting as well as importing countries. Quantitative restrictions on imports by higher income countries have not been eased as rapidly as improved economic and financial conditions would warrant. The United States believes these countries should maintain steady, if gradual, increase in imports of manufactured products from the low-wage countries. This is in their own economic interest as well as in that of the supplying countries.

We are particularly concerned that 14 countries still deny to Japan the full benefits of the General Agreement. We believe that the continuation of this situation, for whatever reasons, weakens the structure of the General Agreement and should be remedied as soon as possible. We strongly support Japan's hopes for full and equal treatment with other nations under the GATT.

It is, of course, recognized that sharp increases in imports, over a brief period of time and in a narrow range of commodities, can have serious economic, political, and social repercussions in the importing countries. The problem is to find the means to ameliorate the adverse effects of an abrupt invasion of established markets while con-

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

tinuing to provide steadily enlarged opportunities for trade.

What can be done to meet this problem? We do not pretend to have the answer ourselves and would welcome comments from others.

Perhaps it would be appropriate for the Contracting Parties to establish a panel of experts to study this question.

Tariff Negotiations and the EEC

One of the most important activities of the Contracting Parties during the next few years will be to carry out successfully a new major tariff negotiation. Committee I has completed its preparatory work for these negotiations and has submitted to us an excellent report, which merits our approval.

There is, however, one aspect of the arrangements for the tariff negotiating conference which is a cause for serious concern. It is, I believe, widely recognized that a test of the success of these negotiations will be the extent to which effective results are achieved in negotiating downward the level of the common tariff of the European Economic Community. If such results are to be accomplished, it is essential that as many GATT countries as possible participate in negotiations with the Community. My Government strongly hopes that all countries will signify their willingness to participate at an early date. Failure to do so could, in our opinion, gravely prejudice the prospects for really worthwhile results. More than that, unless there is broad participation in these negotiations, we may all stand to lose the most favorable opportunity to gain wider markets for exports to the Six.⁴

At this session, as on previous occasions, the Contracting Parties will receive a report from the European Economic Community on the progress made under the Treaty of Rome. That progress has been substantial. My Government considers that developments within the Community and the evolution of the Community's external economic policies should give all contracting parties cause for satisfaction. Events, I think, will show that the true spirit of the Community is the endeavor to transform the economies of six nations into one—a factor of great political as well as economic

significance—and that the measures necessary to the creation of the Community will not be directed against outside countries.

We have noted the recent proposals of the Commission of the European Economic Community designed to emphasize the liberal orientation of the Community's relations with the rest of the world. We welcome these proposals. We believe they should be supported by the Governments of the six countries. And we urge that they be reinforced by further actions making evident beyond any doubt the intention of the Community to remove cause for concern that the creation of the Community may be harmful to international trade.

At this session the United States will again report to the Contracting Parties on the agricultural restrictions which it maintains under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act in order to safeguard domestic agricultural programs. My Government is making a strenuous effort to seek a solution to the problem of agricultural surpluses. We have lowered our levels of price support and have sought to bring production and consumption more closely into line with the realities of the market. As we progress in these efforts we hope to lessen the need for import restrictions on the agricultural commodities involved, even though they represent only a small percentage of our agricultural imports.

Broadening the GATT Trading Community

The Contracting Parties are wisely seeking to broaden the geographic extension of the GATT trading community. Steps are being taken toward the provisional accession of Switzerland and Israel,⁵ and it is anticipated that at the forthcoming tariff conference negotiations will take place with Israel, Cambodia, and perhaps other countries looking toward their full accession. My Government welcomes Yugoslavia's closer relationship with the Contracting Parties.⁵ We shall also be pleased to see the establishment of a formal relationship between the Contracting Parties and Poland. The decision and declaration agreed upon by the working party on relations

⁴The six nations comprising the European Economic Community (the Common Market) are Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

⁵For texts of notices by the Committee for Reciprocity Information and the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, together with declarations by the Governments of Israel, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 450.

with Poland at its recent meeting accomplish this purpose. We regard these arrangements as entirely satisfactory.

Mr. Chairman [Fernando García Oldini, Chile], I would like to express the thanks of my Government for your sound counsel and constructive leadership in guiding the deliberations of the Contracting Parties during the past year. I also want to pay tribute, once again, to our Executive Secretary, Mr. Eric Wyndham-White, and his staff. It is in large part because of their excellent work over the years that the General Agreement has come to take its place as the truly effective world economic institution it is today.

The great principles upon which GATT was established—of freedom of trade, of nondiscrimination, of mutual advantage and fair dealing—these principles provide the only solid foundation for healthy economic relations in an increasingly interdependent world. We must continue to strengthen GATT as the primary international instrument for translating these principles into action—applying them effectively in the day-to-day decisions of our governments. In this way we can look forward with hope to a bright future in which all our peoples will gain a richer life. Our meeting in Tokyo, I am confident, will mark another milestone of progress in the great enterprise upon which we are all embarked.

TEXT OF GATT COMMUNIQUE *

The first three days of the fifteenth session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade have been devoted to an exchange of views between the ministerial representatives of Contracting Parties.

The Ministers took note with satisfaction of the improved economic situation which, they felt, opened the door to a further significant advance in international trade and provided an opportunity for substantial progress in furthering the objectives of the General Agreement.

The Ministers welcomed the action taken during the past year by certain countries to make their currencies convertible for nonresidents. They agreed that, as a result of this development, there was no longer any justification on balance-of-payments grounds, for discriminatory restrictions by countries whose export earnings were largely in convertible currencies and noted the measures

already taken by a number of countries to reduce discrimination; the Ministers took particular account of the recent decision of the International Monetary Fund on discrimination. They recognized that where such discriminating restrictions had been in force for a long time, a reasonable but short period might be needed before they could be eliminated fully. They also considered that rapid progress could now be made in the elimination of all quantitative restrictions on imports by countries no longer experiencing balance-of-payments difficulties.

The Ministers also felt that the present favourable climate of international trade made it important to press on with the GATT programme for trade expansion, that is to say (a) arrangements for the 1960/61 Tariff Conference should be rapidly completed due account being taken of the suggestions put forward in the course of the discussion, (b) the examination of the ways and means of expanding international trade in agricultural products and of reducing agricultural protectionism should be energetically pursued and (c) the search for practical steps to help the less developed countries to increase their export earnings should be intensified.

Throughout the discussions great emphasis was laid on the importance of every effort being made to help the less developed countries which have not shared fully in the improvement of economic conditions. It was pointed out that increased export earnings by these countries are essential to help them to develop and diversify their economies, and thus to reduce their vulnerability to short-term fluctuations in primary commodity prices.

In the course of the ministerial discussions, reference was frequently made to the possible disruptive effect of a sharp increase in exports of manufactured goods from countries where the cost of production is substantially lower than that prevailing in the importing countries. It was generally recognized that, although this may in certain instances create serious economic and social problems in the importing countries, it was essential to adopt liberal rather than restrictive policies to overcome those difficulties. A suggestion was made during the course of the discussions that this is a problem which might usefully be studied by a panel of experts to be designated by the Contracting Parties.

In reference to the European Economic Community and to other regional economic arrangements, such as the proposals for a free trade association among seven countries in Western Europe and the plans for economic integration in Latin America, the Ministers agreed that such groupings had to take full account of the trade interests of other countries and to pursue outward looking policies in accordance with the principles and objectives of the General Agreement.

The Ministers expressed their satisfaction at the increasing membership of the GATT and at the arrangements which had already been made or are proposed for bringing Yugoslavia and Poland into closer association with the Contracting Parties. This, they considered, was evidence of the increasing recognition throughout the world of the important role played by the GATT in matters relating to international trade policy.

The Ministerial Representatives joined in expressing satisfaction that the fifteenth session of the Contracting

* Issued at the conclusion of the meeting of ministerial representatives on Oct. 29.

Parties was being held in an Asian capital. This was the first such meeting since the foundation of the organization. The Ministerial Representatives were also unanimous in their appreciation of the generosity and hospitality of the Japanese Government and of the great effort which had been made to provide such excellent facilities for the work of the conference.

The Contracting Parties will now continue their discussions at official level and will examine further the suggestions which have emerged from the meetings held at a ministerial level.

Development Loan Fund Announces New Procurement Policy

Following is a statement issued on October 20 by Vance Brand, Managing Director of the Development Loan Fund, relating to the procurement policy to be followed by the Development Loan Fund.

In view of the growth in the economic strength of the industrialized countries of the free world and their steadily increasing ability to assist the less developed countries, and taking into account the changes which have taken place in the world payments situation, the lending policies of the Development Loan Fund have been reviewed. There is now a fair presumption that other industrialized countries which export capital goods to the less developed countries are in a financial position to provide long-term loans on reasonable terms to assist such countries in their development programs. It has therefore been decided that particularly in financing the foreign exchange costs of development projects and programs the DLF will place primary emphasis on the financing of goods and services of U.S. origin. The Board of Directors of the DLF in the application of this new policy will, in the case of those projects or programs which have reached an advanced point of consideration by the DLF under its previous policies, give consideration to the avoidance of undue hardship.¹

¹Lincoln White, chief of the News Division, Department of State, on Oct. 20 read the following statement to news correspondents:

"The longstanding policy of the ICA has been to finance the purchase of commodities and equipment for use in its programs from free-world sources, rather than to limit such purchases to United States suppliers. This policy is, of course, subject to review at any time."

Four Western Powers To Meet at Paris December 19

White House press release dated November 1

In accordance with the exchanges of views which have taken place in recent days among the interested capitals it has been decided, at the suggestion of the President of the French Republic, that a meeting will be held in Paris beginning December 19th to undertake a preliminary examination of the questions which could later be discussed with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union.

The President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany will accordingly go to Paris for this occasion.

ANZUS Council Meets at Washington

Following is the text of a communique released at the close of the 10th meeting of the ANZUS Council, held at Washington, D.C., October 26.

Press release 758 dated October 26

The ANZUS Council met today in Washington to review subjects of interest to the three countries. The Right Honorable Walter Nash, Prime Minister, represented New Zealand; the Right Honorable Richard G. Casey, Minister for External Affairs, represented Australia; the Honorable Christian Herter, Secretary of State, was the United States representative at the one-day meeting.

The representatives of Australia, New Zealand and the United States recalled that at the 1958 Council meeting they had enjoined the Chinese Communists to renounce the use of force in settling disputes.¹ In this connection, Prime Minister Nash and Minister Casey noted with satisfaction the agreement by President Eisenhower and Chairman Khrushchev that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means

¹For an agreed announcement released at the close of the Oct. 1, 1958, meeting, see BULLETIN of Oct. 20, 1958, p. 612.

through negotiation.”² Each of the Ministers today voiced his concern that Peiping’s destructive violence in Asia and its threat of a “liberating” war in the Taiwan Strait should continue to pose a serious threat to the peace of the world. They reiterated their conviction that any resort to force of arms by the Chinese Communists in the Taiwan area or elsewhere could only be regarded as an international problem affecting the stability of the region.

The Ministers agreed that the communist-incited disturbances in Laos constituted a threat to the stability of the Far East which would require the utmost vigilance on the part of both the United Nations and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. They expressed their satisfaction that the United Nations had already acted with dispatch in response to an appeal by the Royal Lao Government for assistance.³ They hoped that there would soon be a satisfactory resolution of this dangerous situation. In this connection it is recognized that if necessary SEATO, to which all three nations adhere, will live up to the obligations it has assumed with respect to the security and integrity of the area.

As a part of its discussion of the world situation, the Council reviewed the recent activities of the communist bloc, the results of Chairman Khrushchev’s recent visit to the United States, and communist economic activities in Southeast Asia. The Ministers were confident that economic and social progress in the Far East would render communist political subversion and sabotage in the area increasingly difficult. They noted the growing awareness on the part of Asian countries of the threat posed to life and liberty by communist imperialism. In this situation they were agreed that there was increasing need for other free countries to devote a larger share of their resources through bilateral or multilateral channels, such as the Colombo Plan, for technical and economic development assistance to the countries of the area.

The Ministers agreed that this, the tenth, meeting of the ANZUS Council had proved extremely

² For text of a communique on the talks between President Eisenhower and Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., see *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456.

useful in further strengthening their close and most friendly relationships in matters affecting the mutual security of the three countries and the peace of the world.

The delegations also included:

For Australia: The Honorable Howard Beale, Ambassador to the United States; Vice Admiral Sir Roy Dowling, Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee; Mr. Charles Kevin, Australian High Commissioner to Ceylon; Air Vice Marshal W. L. Hely, Head of the Australian Joint Service Staff, Washington.

For New Zealand: Mr. A. D. McIntosh, Secretary of the Department of External Affairs; Major General Cyril E. Weir, Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee; Mr. G. D. L. White, Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, Embassy of New Zealand; Air Commodore T. F. Gill, Head of the New Zealand Joint Services Mission, Washington.

For the United States: Mr. Robert Murphy, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs; Mr. Allen Dulles, Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Mr. G. Frederick Reinhardt, Counselor of the Department of State; Mr. J. Graham Parsons, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs; Mr. John Irwin II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Affairs; Admiral Harry D. Felt, CINCPAC.

U.S. Accepts Canadian Offer for London Properties

Press release 766 dated October 30

The Department of State announced on October 30 that it has accepted the offer made by the Canadian Government for the properties at 1 and 3 Grosvenor Square and 37 and 38 Grosvenor Street, London, which the American Embassy now occupies. This offer in the amount of 1,690,000 pounds sterling, which at the exchange rate of \$2.80 per pound equals \$4,732,000, was the highest received for these premises.

The Canadian Government will take possession of the newly purchased properties when the U.S. Embassy moves to its new quarters, scheduled for completion early in 1960, on the west side of Grosvenor Square.

United States Foreign Policy in Europe

*by Under Secretary Murphy*¹

The trouble in talking about Europe is to know where to begin. One factor stands out clearly. Almost every European problem with which we deal on a day-to-day basis is affected to a greater or lesser degree by the atmosphere prevailing in East-West relations. The physical presence of the Soviet Union in Europe up to the Elbe River, the emergence of the Soviet-bloc power complex as a major factor in European affairs, the known plans for Communist domination of the area, the well-advertised methods of penetration of national governments and country local entities and groups down to the village and shop union levels—these are all part of the postwar heritage of change. The death in Washington this week of a great man whose name became identified with European reconstruction, General [George C.] Marshall, evokes so many recollections of the problems of postwar Europe and their impact on our present policies.

It might be best to begin by outlining briefly the general terms of our European policy. What are our objectives seen against the backdrop of Soviet presence, competition, and aspirations?

The basic objective of American foreign policy in all areas obviously is the welfare and the security of the American people. In Europe our ties are especially close. So many of us are sprung from the European area. This has led to a far closer and more intimate political relationship than our first President would have imagined.

In 1949 we really crossed the Rubicon when the United States Senate consented to our joining the North Atlantic Alliance. This act, taken deliberately, was of major importance to the United

States as well as to our allies. I believe many of our European friends still do not appreciate what a profound historic change in our policy that was. Article 5 of that treaty of alliance provides that an attack against one is an attack against all 15 members of the Alliance.

Nothing could be more “entangling,” the word used by George Washington in his farewell warning to the Nation to beware of just that kind of alliance. However, the wisdom of his time cannot be translated into the problems of the highly competitive and steadily shrinking world of our day. As our late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles often pointed out, it is too burdensome, if not impossible, for any one nation to provide for its national security out of its own resources. Therefore our European allies and we adopted the principle of collective security. This is a cardinal element of our European policy. This is at times related to the description “positions of strength,” which seems to have become anathema to Chairman Khrushchev. As it is in our thinking purely a defensive apparatus, we don’t see why Mr. Khrushchev should find the policy or the description of it especially provocative—unless he feels that his own private road to communism would be better served were we to adopt a policy of positions of weakness.

A concomitant of our collective security policy, of course, is a healthy European economy and prosperity. The European economy can only prosper in a state of security. Behind the shield of the Alliance Europe has moved forward to a new plateau of economic progress and well-being.

When we promote European prosperity and economic strength we are not entirely unselfish. It means stronger allies increasingly able not only to contribute to our mutual economic benefit but also to carry their fair share of the burden of the com-

¹ Address made before the National Women’s Republican Club at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 22 (press release 745).

mon defense. This vast reservoir of skilled manpower and industry, with something in the neighborhood of a quarter of a billion souls, must of necessity be a most important factor in our foreign policy.

We seek in a variety of ways to lend support to European integration, realizing of course that this primarily is a European problem. The issues which arise in this field are complex and involve intricate questions, such as that relating to the Common Market and proposals for a free trade area. These are delicate problems which concern, among other things, the relationship of the United Kingdom to the Continent. Healthy trade relationships are vital to the success of our policies in Europe.

Upsurge of Nationalism

Some of our European allies have important territorial interests in other areas such as Africa. We have witnessed since World War II the greatest upsurge of nationalism in history. As you know, 32 nations have joined the United Nations since it was organized. Many of these are nations which have only recently achieved independence. Some of these are passing through experimental stages of government and are often in need of cooperation and support. Other territories have aspirations to achieve independence. Whether in Asia, Africa, or the Middle East, the pattern is frequently the same.

The traditional sympathy of this country for those who, when able to assume the responsibility of government, aspire to self-determination is well known. We have responded generously to these aspirations over a period of years. At the same time the rush to nationalism has disturbed, sometimes explosively, the relations between some of our European allies and the populations which they have governed. Colonialism has become a dirty word and joins a similar word, "imperialism," as the two most used and abused words in the lexicon of Communist propaganda. Our policy seeks to maintain a line which permits of loyalty to our European friends and allies, and understanding and support where possible of the aspirations of the newly emerging nations. We want their friendship. We also do not favor the creation of power vacuums which international communism will exploit if it is permitted to do so.

Allied to this problem is our policy of economic

aid and cooperation to underdeveloped countries with their teeming millions, their backwardness and poverty. This is a challenge very close to the heart of our President. The other day he noted that many peoples of the world, once dominated and submissive, are now and will continue to be involved in a great ferment, explosive in its potential.² Knowledge and ideas are routing centuries of ignorance and superstition. People now know that poverty and suppression are neither universal nor inevitable. They demand the elimination of the human indignities of starvation, ill health, and peonage. They want independence, individual freedom, and responsible government. These increasingly numerous peoples of tomorrow's world will multiply those wants and will have at their disposal both more constructive and more destructive capacity than the world has ever known.

The President pointed out that if power is used recklessly, or is employed in the pursuit of false, selfish goals, then civilization will risk its own destruction. He cited a homely example, the telephone. You speak into it, and with the speed of light your words are carried around the world. Yet even this technical triumph encounters serious impediments to free communication among peoples. Most people in the world do not have access to a telephone. That is an economic problem. Among those who do, many would not understand each other because of language barriers—an educational problem. Even if these difficulties were surmounted, almost a third of the world's people would be forbidden to talk with you—a political problem.

Obviously what is needed is intelligent economic, educational, and political cooperation. The President has made it clear that one objective of American foreign policy is and must be to help build a world economy in which each nation finds it possible to earn its own keep and pay its own way and to do so in a manner which brings meaning and fulfillment to the lives of its citizens. Such a policy is crucial to our own prosperity and security and vital to the cause of a just and lasting peace.

The Berlin Situation

It still seems strange to some of us who have dealt with German problems in the past to be involved today, just 10 years later, in a critical situa-

² BULLETIN of NOV. 2, 1959, p. 620.

tion similar to one which was very much on the front page during the Berlin blockade of 1948 and the famous airlift. That difficult and expensive incident resulted in the Paris agreement of 1949 and confirmed Western rights of access to and presence in the city of Berlin.

What are those rights and why should we bother maintaining them? As many Americans who served in the armed forces in Germany at the end of World War II realize, those rights were earned and were by no means a gift from the Soviet Union. Allied forces, and especially American forces, overran large portions of East Germany. Shortly afterward they evacuated that important territorial conquest in favor of the Soviet Union within the context of political agreements entered into during the war, especially the agreement of London in 1944.

I know that it is rarely a profitable undertaking to look back over one's shoulder and inventory possible mistakes of the past. It is especially easy to suggest that before entering into political decisions about Germany before the end of World War II we should have waited until our troops stopped advancing. Then after the defeat of Germany we should have concluded whatever agreements we found suitable with the Soviet Union. No doubt that would have been a profitable line of policy. If we had pursued it I do not doubt that the Western Allies would have captured the city of Berlin in addition to the East German territory which we did occupy, or even more. In that case the present crisis over Berlin could not have arisen.

It is necessary, however, to regard events of that period within the climate of the times. There was a school of thought in the hard war days of 1943 which feared that Allied forces would not succeed in moving east across the Rhine. They believed that Russian forces might first seize the Rhine and thus occupy all of Germany. Therefore for them a prior political agreement which limited the Russian westward advance to the Elbe seemed a diplomatic achievement. It assured the Western Powers that the industry of the Ruhr and West Germany would not fall to the Russians. Looking back, I suppose we could say we were sold short. The striking power of 70 American divisions was underestimated, as was the fatigue of the German forces. Remember also we were at war with Japan during this period. At any rate, having captured a large portion of East Germany, our forces were

obliged because of the wartime political agreements to evacuate. There were some who at the time urged that our troops not evacuate the large areas of East Germany the United States forces occupied. Our Government recognized that it had made an agreement, and it honored that agreement. Actually the Soviet Union, whose forces had captured all of the city of Berlin, would not agree to our occupation of West Berlin until our forces had been evacuated from East Germany.

Then in 1945 we entered into another agreement with the Soviet Union at Potsdam. The philosophy of that agreement envisaged the political and economic unity of Germany as a whole, a democratic Germany based on free elections and removed from the taint of nazism. I am still curious to know why Marshal Stalin at Potsdam ever agreed to that text, because thereafter Soviet authorities made little or no pretense of carrying out its provisions. It is obvious of course that the Soviet objective after Potsdam was the domination of all of Germany. Their thinking was reflected in the expression of Mr. Molotov at the time, "As goes Germany so goes Europe." The United States and its allies faithfully endeavored to fulfill the obligations of the Potsdam agreement, which in itself is an estimable document.

Berlin thus became a postwar proving ground for East-West cooperation. The experiment was not a success. It was of course adversely affected by a Soviet theory, no doubt due to the Soviet extreme need resulting from damage to the Soviet economy in World War II, that the United States should finance reparations from Germany and that the threadbare and damaged industrial plant of that country would be harnessed for the payment to the Soviet Union of billions and billions of reparations. The Soviet Union had suffered enormously by the war and was desperately in need of almost every commodity.

It soon became obvious that politically the Soviet objective was the installation in all of Germany of what they choose to call "democracy," which revolves around a single-party system controlled by the party apparatus at Moscow.

As Soviet policies, notwithstanding our efforts to cooperate in carrying out the terms of the Potsdam agreement, did not seem to offer a brilliant future either for the German people or the Western allies, the decision was taken by the Western allies in 1947 to permit the Germans to establish

a truly democratic and representative form of independent government in the areas of Germany under their control. All efforts to achieve this result for the entire German community had foundered on the rock of Soviet determination to stamp upon the German people in a divided Germany their special brand of controlled single-party counterfeit democracy. Germany was to have only a restricted form of sovereignty for the indefinite future.

The able leadership in West Germany, with Western support and cooperation, since 1947 has achieved results in the political and economic fields far exceeding the most optimistic estimates of the experts at the time. The contrast between the extraordinary social progress of postwar Germany and the horse-and-buggy progress in East Germany, the drab and unwieldy economy of that area, the distrust and fear which have prevailed there, is one of the great dramas of our day. It constitutes a crown of thorns for the Soviet geopoliticians.

For some reason which is still shrouded in mystery, perhaps a desire to consolidate the Soviet empire, Chairman Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Council of Ministers last November 10 saw fit to announce that, based on its rights under the Potsdam agreement, the Soviet Union would by May 27, 1959, abandon its occupation rights in Berlin. It would transfer them to the straw government which it permits to function in East Germany. Some days later his lawyers evidently caught up with Mr. Khrushchev, who sent us a note on November 27³ omitting reference to the Potsdam agreement and referring instead, this time correctly, to the London agreement of 1944. That is the agreement which established the present four-power occupation of the city of Berlin. He announced in effect that within 6 months the Western Powers would be obliged on matters of access to and occupation of West Berlin to deal with the East German representatives of the so-called German Democratic Republic, which we do not recognize. We do not recognize it because it does not represent the freely expressed wishes of the East German population and it is not by the wildest stretch of the imagination an independent government. We do not recognize it because our ally, the German Federal Republic, is convinced,

as we are, that to do so would perpetuate the division of Germany.

The Geneva Conference

Recently for 9 weeks at Geneva our able Secretary of State sought an acceptable solution of the Berlin issue. As he reported,⁴ a good deal of the time was spent in an effort to find out what Mr. Gromyko's [Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister] position was on certain points; and on the central problem of "rights" we never did succeed in finding out. Secretary Herter came away from Geneva with a conviction that the Soviet Union is really not interested in improving the Berlin situation but is merely determined to force the Western Powers out of Berlin. The United States went as far as reason and prudence would permit in proposals designed to relax tensions. These included restrictions on Western force levels and agreement not to locate nuclear weapons and missiles installations in West Berlin. It also included suggestions for an interim arrangement involving restraints, consistent with fundamental rights and liberties, on certain unfriendly activities in Berlin which might be disturbing to the public order or amount to interference in the internal affairs of others. The fourth and final element involved the question of the duration of any interim agreement on Berlin and the position at the end of that agreement. Soviet proposals looked to an elimination of our military forces from West Berlin and demanded extensive restraints on political activity in West Berlin, with a four-power commission to supervise such restraints but without any corresponding inspection of East Berlin. The avowed aim was to change existing Western rights and responsibilities in Berlin. The meeting at Geneva was useful only to the extent that it isolated the points of disagreement and perhaps pointed the way to an eventual Berlin settlement. Perhaps it could be said in a preliminary way that it made a start on the long road to overcoming the continued division of Germany.

The Berlin and German questions are among the most pressing of the problems confronting the world powers today. It was not expected that President Eisenhower's recent discussions with Chairman Khrushchev at Camp David would

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1959, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1959, p. 265.

bring about a happy solution of them. Those talks I believe were helpful in relieving the atmosphere of ultimatum and crisis which had prevailed. It was agreed that they would be settled by peaceful negotiation.⁵ They will be continuing topics of negotiation whether at the lower levels or at the summit. Certainly an interim solution at least of the Berlin question should, and I believe will, be found. In the absence of German reunification it is difficult to picture a permanent settlement for Berlin. Quite apart from the larger political aspects involved, the extraordinarily courageous and long-suffering citizens of West Berlin to whom the Western Powers have assumed a direct responsibility have richly earned the right to work out their own destiny in freedom.

Role of Women in Soviet Union

So many European problems are overshadowed by the fluctuations in East-West relations. There is one feature in East-West relations which has a certain importance and may have a special interest to you ladies, that is, the important role women play in the Soviet Union. I consider this development favorable to our policy objectives because I believe the vast majority of Soviet women, after the terrible experience of World War II, ardently desire peace. Soviet leaders, particularly Khrushchev, are giving special attention to the situation of women in the Soviet Union. Holding a 55 percent majority of the population as a whole, women form an estimated 60 percent of the collective-farm labor forces. They comprise 57 percent of all economists and statisticians, 70 percent of all primary- and middle-school teachers, and 75 percent of all doctors. Even in such difficult and specialized professions as engineering and the law, they make up approximately one-third of the total. In recent years Soviet authorities have shown embarrassment when foreigners have commented upon the heavy manual labor which many women must undertake in construction work, along the railroads, in mining, and the like. Measures to alleviate this situation have been proposed. As you know, there is now a woman member of the 14-member Presidium of the Central Committee for the first time in Soviet history. All these factors taken together indicate that the role of women in the U.S.S.R. is in some ways greater

than in many Western countries and that their influence on the course of events inside the Soviet Union is likely to increase still further in the future. The influence of Madam Khrushchev on her husband is a case in point.

We find in Europe as well as other world areas an increasingly encouraging rejection of communism and of the Soviet Union and Red China as exemplars of a way of life. Communist actions in Hungary and Tibet have contributed to genuine disenchantment with Communist aims among many peoples of the underdeveloped world.

I would also like to note the coincidence of two dates. October 23—tomorrow—will be the third anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian people rose in a brave and spontaneous effort to gain their freedom from foreign domination and repression. They were crushed by ruthless Soviet military intervention. Since then the Hungarian and Soviet Governments have defied the resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations by overwhelming majorities. We Americans who revere liberty and national integrity will honor the sacrifice of the Hungarian patriots who died in this unhappy and unequal struggle. The following day, October 24, marks the 14th anniversary of the charter of the United Nations. In proclaiming the day, President Eisenhower called upon all American citizens to observe the anniversary appropriately. The close connection of these two dates is not without significance.

In conclusion, let me say that there is nothing mysterious about the goals of United States foreign policy, whether in Europe or elsewhere. We seek to preserve the physical safety of our homeland and our way of life, both of which would be endangered by war. We wish to preserve the well-being of our economy, and this requires our playing our own part in practicing and promoting liberal trade policies where we can. We wish to preserve the ideals and principles on which our Nation was founded. These goals and purposes are on trial in some parts of the world, although they are not in jeopardy in the Western European area.

We believe that if need be we can live temporarily in the same world with communism and that we can defeat it without resorting to general war. Paradoxically, we believe that the Communists feel the same way about their system. Ob-

⁵ For text of joint communique, see *ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

viously many of Mr. Khrushchev's recent statements seek to reinforce this belief. As a matter of national policy we exclude preventive war and we seek to avert general war. But so long as the future contains dangerous elements of unforeseeability, this means that our deterrent sword, as in the North Atlantic Alliance, is as fundamental to our national strategy as is our hope that we shall not have to use it.

U.S. Expresses Concern to Cuba Over State of Relations

Department Statement

Press release 760 dated October 27

Ambassador Philip W. Bonsal on October 27 called on President Osvaldo Dorticos at Habana, who was accompanied by Minister of State Raúl Roa, to express the serious concern of the Government of the United States about the current state of relations between the United States and Cuba. Ambassador Bonsal informed the President and the Minister of State that he had been instructed to express his Government's preoccupation over what seemed to be deliberate and concerted efforts in Cuba to replace the traditional friendship between the Cuban and American people with distrust and hostility which are alien to the expressed desire of both Governments to maintain good relations. He expressed the hope that the Government of Cuba, in fulfillment of its share of the responsibility for the maintenance of good relations, would earnestly review its position in order that the traditional friendship of the two countries, deeply desired by both peoples, might be restored before further damage is done to Cuban-United States relations.

Ambassador Bonsal made clear that the sympathetic interest which the people and Government of the United States had taken in the freedom and well-being of the Cuban people and nation antedated the founding of the Cuban Republic and remained the basic attitude and policy of this country toward Cuba. He pointed out the sacrifice of American lives jointly with those of Cuban patriots in the achievement of Cuban independence and the many contributions which private United States individuals and enterprises had since made to the progress of Cuba. He also ex-

pressed to the President the appreciation which the Government and people of the United States have felt and continue to feel toward the Cuban people and nation for their loyal alliance with the United States in defense of democracy and freedom against totalitarianism in two world wars and their satisfaction with the mutually beneficial relationship of good neighbors which has existed for more than half a century.

Ambassador Bonsal informed the President that it remained the sincere desire of the Government and people of the United States that the relations between this country and Cuba should continue to be based on the friendship, mutual respect, and mutual interest which have bound the destinies of the two nations together in the community of free nations. He pointed out that the United States Government and its officials had scrupulously avoided statements or actions, especially those of an intemperate nature, which would impair the mutual respect and feeling of confidence necessary to healthy and productive relations between Cuba and the United States. He also underscored that the United States, in every proper way, had sought to show its understanding and sympathy with the aspirations for honest, efficient government, for the perfection of the democratic process, and for economic development leading toward higher living standards and full employment. He said that these were goals which the people of Cuba share with peoples of the United States and other free nations and which in fact distinguish these free nations from the totalitarian dictatorships which have been imposed elsewhere in the world.

With respect to specific issues, about which distortions and misunderstandings have become current in Cuba, Ambassador Bonsal informed the President and the Minister of State as follows:

1. The United States has observed and will continue to observe a policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of Cuba and enforces, to the best of its ability, the Neutrality Act, the customs laws, and other legislation which prohibits certain activities against foreign governments by persons resident in the United States, including citizens of Cuba who have sought refuge in Florida and elsewhere in the United States. By so doing this Government is also fulfilling its obligations as a member of the OAS.

The investigative and law enforcement agen-

Cooperation Offered on Problem of Latin American Exiles in U.S.

Press release 756 dated October 26

Following is the text of a telegram from Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs R. R. Rubottom, Jr., to Ambassador John C. Dreier, chairman, Inter-American Peace Committee, Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.

In view of the responsibilities given the Inter-American Peace Committee by the Fifth Meeting of the American Foreign Ministers,¹ held at Santiago, Chile, and in an earnest desire to seek by all possible means to remove the causes of misunderstanding prejudicial to friendly relations among the American States, the United States Government will be happy to extend its full cooperation to the Inter-American Peace Committee should the latter wish to obtain factual information regarding problems deriving from the presence of Latin American exiles in the United States including the recently publicized flights of aircraft over the City of Habana, Cuba. The Department of State will be happy to arrange a meeting between members of the committee and competent officials of the United States Government promptly at a mutually convenient time.

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

cies of the United States Government have diligently investigated all available information involving possible violations of the applicable statutes and brought before the courts all those cases where sufficient evidence existed. In the light of current information that Cuban elements in opposition to the Government of Cuba may have been using the territory of the United States to carry out activities in violation of United States laws, these investigative and enforcement efforts have been further intensified. It must be borne in mind, however, that the United States Government is a government based on law and constitutional guarantees and that persons under the jurisdiction of the United States cannot be arbitrarily arrested, imprisoned, or interfered with at the pleasure of the executive authority. Consequently, the ability of the United States to enforce the relevant laws is dependent on the discovery of specific acts in violation of those laws. On several occasions the Government of the United States has without result invited the Government of Cuba to supply information and evidence con-

cerning the acts and activities of which complaint is made. In this connection it is noted that the United States Government is still awaiting from the Government of Cuba information concerning the alleged illegal export of arms from the United States of which Maj. William Morgan of the Cuban Army has publicly claimed knowledge.

2. With respect to the reported flight over Habana on October 21 of an aircraft which dropped leaflets containing political propaganda, the United States authorities are on their own initiative conducting an intense investigation. To date, they have obtained a statement from the former Chief of the Cuban Air Force, Pedro Diaz Lanz, who on previous occasions in 1958 had succeeded in evading the surveillance of the U.S. authorities to fly supplies to the 26th of July revolutionary movement, to the effect that he had piloted an unarmed aircraft over Habana on October 21, a statement which Diaz Lanz has subsequently publicly denied. Investigation is continuing, and the case has been placed before the Attorney General of the United States to determine whether any prosecutable violation of a United States statute is involved or bases for arrest exist. There has been no evidence submitted by the Government of Cuba or in possession of the Government of the United States that the aircraft in question was armed, dropped bombs, or strafed during its flight over Cuba. It is noted, from press reports, that in a statement on October 21 the National Police of Cuba declared that the plane had dropped leaflets but had not dropped bombs. Under these circumstances the U.S. Government cannot but view with shock and amazement efforts to imply that it countenanced the "bombing" of Habana, efforts which can serve no purpose other than to arouse unfriendly feelings between the two countries. Ambassador Bonsal recalled that on an earlier occasion he had publicly stated that the U.S. Government deplored the death and injury of innocent Cuban citizens which occurred in connection with the events of last Wednesday [October 21]. The Ambassador stated, however, that the U.S. Government categorically and indignantly rejects any imputation that events of that day were in any way inspired by officials of the U.S. Government.

3. The Government of Cuba may be assured that the Government of the United States will continue diligently to investigate and take all appropriate action within the law in all such cases and would

welcome specific information and evidence from the Government of Cuba to assist in law enforcement. The United States deeply deplores incidents of this kind which adversely affect the good relations which should exist between the two countries and is prepared to use to the full measure all of its facilities to prevent infractions of the law. At the same time the United States Government cannot but reject with indignation all inferences that the Government of the United States, its officials, or the people of the United States have given support to or countenanced illegal activities against the Government of Cuba. Not only are such charges utterly unfounded, but they can only contaminate that atmosphere of good faith which should prevail in the relations of neighboring states.

4. The United States also desires once again to make clear to the Government of Cuba its policy with respect to the export of arms and implements of war to the Caribbean area. The basic position of the United States is that of adherence to the principles of nonintervention and of loyalty to the efforts of the American community, as represented in the Organization of American States, to maintain within this hemisphere a climate of peace and tranquillity within which all American peoples can progress toward the full enjoyment of the benefits of representative democracy and economic progress. There has, however, arisen in various parts of the Caribbean area an atmosphere of violence and tension, and arms obtained in the United States have been utilized against the desires of the United States Government and people in civil strife and in efforts to intervene by force in the internal affairs of other countries of the area. Accordingly the United States, beginning in March of 1958, instituted a policy of closely scrutinizing all applications for export of arms and implements of war to the Caribbean area and, in fact, of denying licenses with respect to shipments to the then Government of Cuba. It was the profound hope of the United States that, with the establishment of the present Government of Cuba, peace and tranquillity would be restored to the Caribbean area and that steady progress could be made by all the peoples of that area in the realization of their aspirations for the establishment of democratic institutions and for expanding economies and higher living standards. This hope, however, has not been realized. Armed expedi-

tions were organized and launched against various countries, an armament race appeared imminent, and armed civil strife and terrorism continued. In these circumstances the United States was unable to return to its traditional policy of licensing the export of arms with the assurance that they would be employed solely for legitimate purposes of defense but instead was obliged to extend impartially to the entire Caribbean region its policy of careful scrutiny of all arms export applications and denial of those likely to contribute to an increase of tension in the area. This policy was made known to allied and friendly governments, who consulted with the United States but who, of course, fully retained the right to make their own decisions in each instance. It should be amply clear that this policy is not directed against the Government of Cuba; rather it is based solely on the obligation of the United States to help maintain peace in the area.

5. It has also been represented that the press and wire services of the United States have engaged in a deliberate campaign to misrepresent and discredit the Government of Cuba. This charge is categorically rejected by the United States Government and people, who cherish and take pride in the independence and objectivity of the press as one of the fundamental freedoms which have assured the exercise of representative democracy in the United States. Moreover, the United States Government does not undertake to influence newspapers and wire services to make them conform to the point of view of the Government or its officials. It follows that the U.S. Government cannot assume responsibility for the observations and interpretations of the press concerning developments in Cuba.

6. Questions have also been raised with respect to the attitude of the Government of the United States toward the program of economic and social reform being undertaken by the Government of Cuba. It is manifest that the Government and people of the United States, who are deeply attached to economic and social progress within a free society, share and support the hopes of the Cuban people for the achievement of social justice, higher living standards, and a more prosperous economy. It would not be appropriate for the United States Government to endorse the specific measures undertaken by the Government of Cuba to attain these objectives, or to comment on their

efficacy, except as they affect the rights established under international law of United States citizens and corporations and otherwise affect the relationships which bind Cuba and the United States for their mutual benefit. The points of view of the United States on these aspects have been made known to the Government of Cuba through diplomatic channels on numerous occasions, and the United States awaits a resolution by the Government of Cuba of the issues involved on the basis of friendship and observance of international law which have traditionally characterized negotiations between Cuba and the United States. It is, however, the hope of the United States that these normal negotiations will not be distorted to obscure the deep sympathy with which the entire United States views the efforts of the Cuban people to achieve their social, economic, and political aspirations.

7. The position of the Government and people of the United States on the issue of international communism is well known. The United States was founded in the belief that man's quest for freedom was an irresistible force, and the United States faces the challenge to freedom which has been posed by international communism with calm and full confidence that mankind's desire for freedom will triumph over it, as it has over other totalitarian ideologies. Communism, with its avowed purpose of imposing authoritarian rule and denying freedom of speech, religion, and assembly as the democratic world has understood it, can never be consistent with the principles on which the American Republics and other free nations of the world are founded. Nevertheless, the United States has been convinced by its experience throughout the world that all free nations must remain vigilant and determined in resisting the expansion of communism by aggression and subversion if democracy is to flourish. Everywhere in the free world, democracy is daily challenged by the subversive and disruptive tactics of Communists responding to alien guidance and serving

alien interests. It is solely against the antidemocratic, subversive activities of Communists in the service of foreign totalitarianism that the United States firmly believes that the free world should be vigilant; it would be a travesty to suggest that the United States opposes democratic ideals and measures designed for social and economic progress merely because the Communists make use of these as slogans to veil their true antidemocratic intentions.

After enumerating these issues, Ambassador Bonsal expressed to the President his Government's hope that the Government of Cuba would review its policy and attitude toward the United States.

President of Colombia To Visit United States

White House press release dated October 29

The President announced on October 29 that Alberto Lleras Camargo, President of Colombia, who recently accepted the President's invitation to visit the United States, is now scheduled to arrive at Washington on April 5.

President Lleras will be in Washington from April 5 to April 8 and will spend the rest of his 10-day visit in traveling to other parts of the United States before departing on April 14.

Letters of Credence

Ghana

The newly appointed Ambassador of Ghana, W. M. Q. Halm, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on October 27. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 759 dated October 27.

Guinea and United States Affirm Ties of Friendship

Sékou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, made a state visit at Washington October 26-28, 1959. Following are texts of the exchange of greetings between Vice President Nixon and President Touré at the Washington National Airport on October 26, an exchange of toasts between President Eisenhower and President Touré at a state dinner at the White House on October 26, an announcement of the signing of a Guinea-U.S. cultural agreement on October 28, and a joint communique released on October 28, together with a list of the members of the official party.

EXCHANGE OF GREETINGS

Press release 753 dated October 26

Vice President Nixon

Mr. President, Madame Touré, it is my great honor to extend to you and to the members of your party an official welcome from the President of the United States and from the American people. May I say, too, that it is a personal privilege for me and my wife to welcome you and Madame Touré to our country.

We are honored that you are visiting the United States representing the newest republic. We are honored that ours is one of the first state visits you have paid to another country. Along with others who know what the developments are in the great continent of Africa, we know the hopes and aspirations of the people of Africa under the leadership of you and others who are developing progress toward self-government. I can assure you that throughout our country you will find, among all of our people, interest in you personally and also in your country and in the future toward which you are working. We know and we hope that you will have a very warm and friendly wel-

come during the 2 weeks that you are with us.¹ Again may I say what an honor it is to extend these greetings to you on behalf of our Government and our people.

President Touré

Translation

Mr. Vice President, ladies and gentlemen, it is with great joy and confidence in the great people of the United States that we arrive today in the administrative capital of the United States. In this visit we hope to establish closer relationships between the United States and not merely Guinea but the whole of Africa. It is our profound conviction that, as the people and the Government of the United States know and understand the problems of Africa better, there will be enabled thereby to be created a closer, more fruitful understanding between our two peoples.

Africa is today one of the great underdeveloped areas of the world, and the United States is one of the most highly developed nations in the world. We hope that through an understanding of the conditions that prevail upon the African Continent, where millions, millions of people live in famine, in hunger, in hardship, and in difficulties, the United States through an adaptation of its policies will be able to act in such a way as to improve the conditions of these people so that they may live in freedom and sovereignty and in well-being, and in so doing bring about the fact that the hopes of these millions of people in Africa, which these people in Africa place in the United States, will be transformed into realities.

It is our profound conviction that in Africa there are many millions of people who are suffer-

¹ After leaving Washington on Oct. 28, President Touré and his party made a tour of the United States which included visits at Chapel Hill, N.C.; Chicago, Ill.; Los Angeles, Calif.; Omal, Ohio; and New York, N.Y.

ing from hardships and difficulties and who aspire to achieve political, economic, cultural, and social progress. As we know one another better, this will become more and more of a reality. And so it is, I say, with a great deal of confidence and joy that we come here today, representing not merely our own country but also the aspirations of peoples all over Africa. And for this reason we hope that this first contact with the people and Government of the United States will indeed prove auspicious for all. Thank you.

EXCHANGE OF TOASTS

White House press release dated October 26

President Touré

Translation

Mr. President, Mrs. Eisenhower, ladies and gentlemen: In the name of the people of Guinea, I would like to express here the joy which all the members of our delegation have felt from the very moment they set foot upon the soil of the United States. There is no doubt in our minds that the friendly and brotherly invitation extended to us by the Government of the United States expresses in a very clear way the warm, friendly, sympathetic relationship which must exist between the United States and the peoples of black Africa.

No one can claim for himself the right to speak for all of Africa. But each man has the right, and the pride, to be able to attempt to express the hopes and the aspirations of the peoples of Africa. And the only ambition which fills us is that of making understood the aspirations and the hopes of Africa.

History is what it is—it includes the past, the present, and the future. There is an African proverb which says that the world rests on three pillars: In the present there is the past; in the future there is the present and the past. The past of Africa is heavy, but we hope that the future of Africa will be light indeed.

Our hope for freedom, for brotherhood, and for peace is a deeply felt aspiration and a unanimous one. And we hope that all those who wish to build the world of tomorrow will look at what is happening and what will happen in the future and forget those things in the past which have divided the world.

As I told my brothers who were here in this

country and whom I met today, if one had to look back three centuries ago, no one at that time could have dreamed of the part that would be played today in the history of the world by the United States. In these three centuries many states united and worked together to develop, on a gigantic scale, progress in the economic, political, and social sense.

These results which have been achieved are due to the faith which those Founding Fathers had in the future of their country. And the faith which we have, in the present difficulties through which we are passing, we feel will build the future of the world.

And when we come here, we come not as the messengers of the sufferings of our people but rather as the messengers of the future hopes of our people. Our present difficulties do exist. They are realities which we must face, but we feel that our courage will enable us to overcome them. And we are confident of the relations that will exist between our countries. We know that we came here in the first place to express our thanks for the kind invitation of the United States Government inviting us here, to express our confidence that the future will be built on the strong and close relationships which will exist between our peoples.

It is true that geographically and population-wise the Republic of Guinea is a small country, but that country would like to play a part in the relationships between nations in those things which bring nations together and bring about a collaboration of peoples and of races. In that field we would like to make an earnest, sincere, and dynamic contribution.

There are those who do not see the future of Africa the way we in Guinea see it, and they may believe that the policy of Guinea is a different one from that which is publicly expressed every day by those who are in charge—who lead the people of Guinea. If there is one small country in the world around whom more legends have been created than any other since 1958, we can say that that country is Guinea. But we thank God that we have acceded to full sovereignty over our own people under worthy conditions. And the pride and consciousness we feel of the part we must play does not allow us to have an attitude of disloyalty toward any party, because the ambition which fills us is to rehabilitate and rekindle the civilization of Africa. And these civilizations of Africa are in no wise in conflict or in contradic-

tion to the civilizations and cultures of other countries but will come as a valuable contribution and join with the contributions made by other peoples, so that the whole world may profit thereby.

We, as far as we are concerned, have faith in the equality of men. But the reality which we face has created a situation in which there is inequality in the means available to men. It is not an equality with other countries or an equality between the black man and the white man which God has ordained that we particularly seek. It is, rather, the equality in the technical and scientific fields—in the field of progress. Because it is only in these three fields that Africa lags behind the other civilizations of the world.

We are convinced that the Government of the United States will know how to assist Africa. And we know we are filled with confidence that Africa, which is an underdeveloped area, cooperating and collaborating with the United States, a highly developed area, will be able to find the means to insure its own development in the social, political, and economic fields.

We are convinced that the rest of the century in which we live will see an Africa completely emancipated.

We are convinced that in a spirit of working together, in a spirit of collaboration, Africa will be able to find all the wealth of her soil and her subsoil, and not merely to locate this wealth but also to use it in such a way as to bring about a development and raising of the standards of living of all her peoples.

We ask you, therefore, not to judge us or think of us in terms of what we were—or even of what we are—but rather to think of us in the terms of history and what we will be tomorrow.

We ask, and we hope, that the friendship established between our peoples will grow ever stronger and ever closer. We ask that the United States, and particularly the Government of the United States, which bears such a heavy responsibility in the world, will continue its policy of direct cooperation with the peoples of Africa. And you may be sure that America's future and the African future will be preserved and safeguarded by this cooperation.

We would also like, in the name of all those whom we can legitimately claim to represent, to extend our warmest thanks and congratulations to the President of the United States, to his charm-

ing wife, and to all those who work with him, not only on behalf of the United States but on behalf of all the peoples of the world.

We would like to speak here tonight with the young voice of Africa, which is not yet fully understood. This voice with which we speak has no place in it for any hatred against any people anywhere. I would like to speak with a message of brotherhood, a message of cooperation, and a message of solidarity—not because Africa stands to gain anything from this cooperation but because the delay and the lag of Africa is something that is felt throughout the world in the international field. And similarly we are convinced that the progress of Africa will likewise have repercussions on the international scene.

America has always been known as the land of freedom. And there is no African who does not, every day, give thought to one of the great statements made by one of your great Presidents, Abraham Lincoln; that is, the greatness of men and people is created in the love of men and people.

We hope that the friendship between Africa and America will grow and that it will aid mankind to find a happier future than we have known in the past.

And in thanking the Government and the people of the United States, I would ask you to join me in raising our glasses to the health and prosperity of the President of the United States, and his charming wife, and of the American people.

President Eisenhower

Mr. President, Madame Touré, ladies and gentlemen: It is a distinct honor to welcome here this evening the new President of the newest independent nation in the world. I welcome not only President Touré of the Republic of Guinea but his charming wife and the members of the party which have accompanied him to this country.

We are especially pleased that he should have chosen the United States to be the country that he should visit on his first official journey outside his own country and amidst the preoccupations that are naturally his in the effort of leading a new country, establishing new customs, new procedures in government that are so important to his people.

I assure you, Mr. President, that the American people not only watch this new venture with great

interest but they extend to you and your people their very best wishes for a life in freedom, in justice, and in peace.

We want to be, with you, friends—we hope good friends—and we feel certain that this visit of yours cannot but help to inspire the peoples of both our countries to establish and maintain that kind of relationship.

So, ladies and gentlemen, it is a special honor for me this evening to ask you to rise to drink a toast to President Touré, the President of Guinea.

SIGNING OF CULTURAL AGREEMENT

Press release 761 dated October 28

Department Announcement

Louis-Lansana Béavogui, Acting Foreign Minister of the Republic of Guinea, and Secretary of State Herter signed on October 28 a Guinean-United States Cultural Agreement. Foreign Minister Béavogui is accompanying Guinea's President Sékou Touré, who is in the United States as an official guest of the United States Government.

The agreement was effected through an exchange of notes. Following is the text of the Secretary's note, to which the Acting Foreign Minister of Guinea has replied in the affirmative.

Text of Agreement

OCTOBER 28, 1959

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to conversations which have recently taken place between representatives of our two Governments concerning the cultural relations between the United States of America and the Republic of Guinea. I understand that it will be the intent of each Government:

1. To encourage the coming together of the peoples of the United States of America and the Republic of Guinea in cultural cooperation and to foster mutual understanding of the intellectual, artistic, scientific and social lives of the peoples of the two countries.

2. Recognizing that the understanding between the peoples of both countries will be promoted by better knowledge of the history, civilization, institutions, literature, and other cultural accomplishments of the people of the other country, to encourage the extension of such knowledge within its own territory.

3. To promote and facilitate the interchange between the United States of America and the Republic of Guinea of prominent citizens, specialists, professors, teachers, students, and other youths, and qualified individuals from all walks of life.

4. In order to facilitate the interchange of persons referred to, to look with favor on the establishment of scholarships, travel grants and other forms of assistance in the academic and cultural institutions within its territory. Each Government will also endeavor to make available to the other information with regard to facilities, courses of instruction or other opportunities which may be of interest to nationals of the other Government.

5. To encourage and facilitate in its territory if it is so desired by both parties the conduct of cultural activities and the establishment of libraries, cultural institutes, or other forms of cultural centers by the other Government.

6. To endeavor, whenever it appears mutually desirable, to establish or to recommend to appropriate agencies the establishment of committees, composed of representatives of the two countries, to further the purpose of this agreement.

7. To use its best efforts to extend to citizens of the other country engaged in activities pursuant to this agreement such favorable treatment with respect to entry, travel, residence and exit as is consistent with its national laws.

8. This agreement shall not have the effect of changing the domestic law of either country, and the responsibilities assumed by each Government under this agreement shall be subject to its Constitution and applicable laws and regulations and will be executed within the framework of domestic policy and procedures and practices defining internal jurisdiction of governmental and other agencies within their respective territories.

I have the honor to propose that, if these understandings meet with the approval of the Government of the Republic of Guinea the present note and your note concurring therein will be considered as confirming these understandings, effective on the date of your note.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

White House press release dated October 28

Upon the conclusion of the visit to Washington of His Excellency Sékou Touré, President of the Republic of Guinea, the Governments of Guinea and the United States wish to set forth the following results of the conversations that took place between President Touré and his party, and President Eisenhower, Secretary Herter, and other officials of the United States Government:

- (1) The conversations took place in an atmosphere of cordial frankness and mutual understanding. President Touré expressed the hopes of the peoples of Africa for self-determination, economic and social development. Representatives of the United States indicated their understanding of

these hopes and their desire to be of assistance wherever appropriate.

(2) A Cultural Agreement between the two countries was agreed upon during the course of the conversations and was signed at 9:45 A.M., October 28th. It is the sincere hope of both Governments that this agreement will serve to increase understanding of each country and people by the other and form the nucleus of a lasting friendship.

(3) The Government of the United States has decided, after the signature of a Technical Assistance Agreement, now under study, to put at the disposition of the Government of Guinea 150 scholarships for the training of Guinean students in the United States or elsewhere.

(4) The facilities of the Export-Import Bank and the Development Loan Fund for specific development projects were called to the attention of the Government of Guinea.

(5) The two Governments agreed to study the desirability of negotiating in the immediate future a commercial agreement as well as an investment guaranty agreement. As an initial step in developing closer commercial relations the Government of Guinea has agreed to receive a United States trade mission in the near future.

(6) Representatives of the two Governments exchanged views on the growing importance of the African continent in the world of today. They were in agreement that Africa's requirements and hopes should command the serious attention of the rest of the world, particularly the great powers.

MEMBERS OF OFFICIAL PARTY

The Department of State announced on October 26 (press release 752) that the following persons would accompany President Touré as members of the official party:

Mrs. Touré

Telli Boubacar Diallo, Ambassador of the Republic of Guinea

Mrs. Telli Diallo

Saifoulaye Diallo, President of the National Assembly

Mrs. Saifoulaye Diallo

Louis-Lansana Béavogui, Minister of General Economy

Fodeba Keita, Minister of Interior

Maj. Noumandian Keita, Chief of Staff, Guinean Army

Mrs. Aminata Barry, personal secretary to President Touré

U.S. and Morocco Discuss Withdrawal of American Bases

Press release 767 dated October 30

Mouley Abdullah Ibrahim, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Morocco, has just concluded a visit to the United States. This visit follows upon the conversations between His Majesty the King of Morocco, Mohamed V, and President Eisenhower on the occasion of His Majesty's visit to the United States in 1957¹ and talks which have continued since then between the two countries.

During the Prime Minister's stay here, very useful conversations took place with the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, and other high officials of the U.S. Government. These conversations naturally covered American-Moroccan relations in general and especially the American bases in Morocco. Among the topics discussed was the matter of reaching agreement on the withdrawal of U.S. forces in Morocco. In this respect the U.S. Government offered various proposals concerning withdrawals. These proposals reflect continuing recognition by the United States of Moroccan sovereignty over the American bases. The atmosphere of these conversations was such as to make both parties confident that arrangements can be concluded in the interest of both countries, and which would be in accord with the traditional friendship of Morocco and the United States.

Discussions will continue at Rabat with a view to achieving an agreement as soon as possible.

Import Tariff on Dried Figs To Remain Unchanged

White House press release dated October 28

The President has concurred with the U.S. Tariff Commission's recent finding that no formal investigation should be instituted at this time to determine whether the tariff should be reduced on imports of dried figs. The President found, with the Tariff Commission, that there is not sufficient reason at this time to reopen the escape-clause actions of several previous years which resulted in increases in the tariffs on these items.

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 16, 1957, p. 956.

The President's action means that the increased rates of duty previously established as the result of escape-clause actions will continue to apply without reduction or other modification.

The President's action was taken after consultation with the Trade Policy Committee. The Tariff Commission study was made pursuant to Executive Order 10401, which requires periodic review of affirmative actions taken under the escape clause. The Commission's conclusions were stated in a report to the President dated August 31, 1959.

Public Views Invited on Modifying U.S. Wool-Fabric Tariff Concessions¹

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ANNOUNCEMENT

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements on October 22 issued notice of the intention of the U.S. Government, under the authority of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended and extended, to enter into limited trade agreement negotiations with certain contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade for the purpose of modifying U.S. tariff concessions on certain wool fabrics. This notice and related ones issued on the same day by the Committee for Reciprocity Information and the U.S. Tariff Commission initiate the usual domestic procedures followed in preparation for trade agreement negotiations. These procedures provide an opportunity for all those concerned to submit their views and any pertinent information to the interagency trade agreements organization. The Department of State on September 14, 1959, announced in general terms that the renegotiations, which had been requested by the Government of the United Kingdom, would be undertaken and that formal announcements would be issued subsequently.²

The tariff concessions which are the subject of

these notices are those contained in tariff items 1108 and 1109(a) and the note to item 1108 permitting the establishment of a tariff quota in part I of schedule XX (US Schedule) to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. No articles other than those included in the list annexed to the notice of the Committee on Trade Agreements will be considered in these renegotiations unless a notice to this effect is issued subsequently.

As permitted by the note to item 1108, on October 1, 1956, the United States by Presidential proclamation invoked the right to establish each year a tariff quota under which the ad valorem part of the rate of duty is increased when imports of most wool fabrics exceed a specified level.³ The tariff quota, which has been continued with modifications since that time, has been the subject of numerous representations to the U.S. Government, with particular emphasis having been placed on the disruptive effect which it has had on normal trade. The renegotiations are being undertaken in an effort to find a solution to the existing problems which will be satisfactory to all domestic interests involved as well as to the foreign governments with which the United States will be negotiating.

U.S. participation in the renegotiations will be governed by the Trade Agreements Act, as amended and extended, and any modification of existing tariff treatment will be within the limitation of authority available to the President under this act. In accordance with the act's provisions consideration may be given in these renegotiations to the possible modification of duties and other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or specific continuation of existing customs or excise treatment for articles dutiable under tariff paragraphs 1108 and 1109(a).

Under the tariff quota on wool fabrics, which each year has been established at a level which is determined to be not less than 5 percent of average annual U.S. production of similar fabrics for the preceding 3 calendar years, the ad valorem part of the rate of duty applied to most imports in excess of the tariff quota is 45 percent. For imports within the tariff quota the ad valorem rate of duty under the trade agreement concession is 20 percent or 25 percent (depending on the nature of the fabric).

¹ This announcement is also available as Department of State publication 6902 and may be obtained from the Public Services Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.; see also 24 *Fed. Reg.* 8612.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 481.

³ For text of a Presidential proclamation of Sept. 24, 1959, see *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 559.

The specific part of the rate of duty is 30 cents or 37½ cents a pound (again depending on the nature of the fabric) for all imports whether within or in excess of the tariff quota. Special treatment is currently provided, in the form of a 30 percent ad valorem rate of duty, for overquota imports of certain handwoven fabrics, fabrics for religious uses, and a limited quantity of high-priced fabrics.

In accordance with provisions of article XXVIII, paragraph 4, of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, under which the renegotiations will be held, the United States will negotiate with the United Kingdom and Belgium, with which the concessions were initially negotiated in 1947 and 1950-51, respectively, and will either negotiate or consult with other contracting parties found to have a principal supplying or substantial trade interest.

The notice of the Committee on Trade Agreements, which is attached, sets in motion preparations for the negotiations, including opportunity for presentation by interested persons of both written and oral views on the proposed renegotiations and the determination of "peril points" by the U.S. Tariff Commission with respect to products included in the lists attached to this notice.

The Committee for Reciprocity Information, in a notice which is also attached, announces that its hearings to receive the views of interested persons concerning the proposed renegotiations will open on December 1, 1959. Domestic producers, importers, and other interested persons are invited to present to the Committee views and all pertinent information about the products on the published list. As noted above the renegotiations will be directed toward eliminating the existing trade disruptions and restoring normal trade to the extent possible. Views and information on this aspect of the renegotiations will be welcomed.

Applications for oral presentation of views and information should be presented to the Committee for Reciprocity Information not later than the close of business November 20, 1959. Persons desiring to be heard should also submit written briefs or statements to the Committee by November 20, 1959. Only those persons will be heard who have presented written briefs or statements and have filed applications to be heard by the dates indicated. Communications are to be addressed to "Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C."

Further details concerning the submission of briefs and applications to be heard are contained in the Committee's notice.

The U.S. Tariff Commission also announced on October 22 that it will hold public hearings beginning December 1, 1959, in connection with its "peril point" investigation, as required by section 3(a) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1958, on the extent to which U.S. concessions on listed products may be modified in the renegotiations without causing or threatening serious injury to a domestic industry producing like or directly competitive products. Copies of the notice may be obtained from the Commission. Views and information received by the Tariff Commission in its hearings referred to above will be made available to the Committee for Reciprocity Information for consideration by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements. Therefore, persons who appear before the Tariff Commission need not—but may if they wish—also appear before the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

NOTICES OF PUBLIC HEARINGS

Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements

RENEGOTIATION OF UNITED STATES CONCESSIONS ON WOOLEN AND WORSTED FABRICS UNDER THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

Pursuant to Section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, approved June 12, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 945, ch. 474; 65 Stat. 73, ch. 141), and to paragraph 4 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended (3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., pp. 281, 355), notice is hereby given by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements of intention to renegotiate the United States tariff concessions in items 1108 (and the note thereto) and 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (61 Stat. (pt. 5) A1274) and in item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (3 UST (pt. 1) 1186).

Such renegotiations may result, under certain circumstances, in rates of duty higher than the rates currently applicable under the tariff quota proclaimed by the President pursuant to the note to item 1108 in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement, and, under other circumstances, in rates of duty lower than the rates now applicable under the tariff quota (Proclamation No. 3160 of September 28, 1956, Proclamation No. 3225 of March 7, 1958, Proclamation No. 3317 of September 24, 1959, 71 Stat. C12, 3 CFR, 1958 SUPP., p. 19, 24 F.R. 7893). There is annexed hereto a list of articles imported into the United States to be considered for possible modification of duties and other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or specific continuance of

existing customs or excise treatment in the renegotiations for which notice is given above.

The articles proposed for consideration in the renegotiations are identified in the annexed list by specifying the numbers of the paragraphs in tariff schedules of Title I of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, in which they are provided for together with the language used in such tariff paragraphs to provide for such articles.

No article will be considered in the renegotiations for possible modification of duties or other import restrictions, imposition of additional import restrictions, or specific continuance of existing customs or excise treatment unless it is included, specifically or by reference, in the annexed list or unless it is subsequently included in a supplementary public list. Only duties on the articles listed imposed under the paragraphs of the Tariff Act of 1930 specified with regard to such articles will be considered for a possible decrease, but additional or separate ordinary duties on such articles imposed under any other provisions of law may be bound against increase as an assurance that the concession under the listed paragraph will not be nullified. In the event that an article which as of August 1, 1959 was regarded as classifiable under a description included in the list is excluded therefrom by judicial decision or otherwise prior to the conclusion of the trade agreement negotiations, the list will nevertheless be considered as including such article.

Pursuant to Section 4 of the Trade Agreements Act, as amended, and paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended, information and views as to any aspect of the proposals announced in this notice may be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information in accordance with the announcement of this date issued by that Committee. Any matters appropriate to be considered in connection with the negotiations proposed above may be presented.

Public hearings in connection with the "peril point" investigation of the United States Tariff Commission in connection with the articles included in the annexed list, pursuant to Section 3 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, are the subject of an announcement of this date issued by that Commission.

By direction of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements this 22nd day of October 1959.

JOHN A. BIRCH

Chairman

*Interdepartmental Committee
on Trade Agreements*

LIST OF ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED FOR CONSIDERATION IN TRADE AGREEMENT RENEGOTIATIONS

Par.	Tariff Act of 1930, Title I—Dutiable List
1108	Woven fabrics, weighing not more than four ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool, whether or not the warp is wholly of cotton, or other vegetable fiber.
1109(a)	Woven fabrics, weighing more than four ounces per square yard, wholly or in chief value of wool.

Committee for Reciprocity Information

RENEGOTIATION OF UNITED STATES CONCESSIONS ON WOOLEN AND WORSTED FABRICS UNDER THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

Submission of Information to the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

Closing date for Applications to Appear at Hearing November 20, 1959.

Closing date for Submission of Briefs November 20, 1959.

Public Hearings Open December 1, 1959.

The Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements has issued on this day a notice of intention to renegotiate the United States tariff concessions in items 1108 (and the note thereto) and 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and in item 1109(a) in Part I of Schedule XX to the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Annexed to the notice of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements is a list of articles imported into the United States to be considered in the renegotiations. Such renegotiations may result, under certain circumstances, in rates of duty higher than the rates currently applicable under the tariff quota proclaimed by the President pursuant to the note to item 1108 in Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement, and, under other circumstances, in rates of duty lower than the rates now applicable under the tariff quota.

Pursuant to paragraph 5 of Executive Order 10082 of October 5, 1949, as amended (3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., pp. 281, 355), the Committee for Reciprocity Information hereby gives notice that all applications for oral presentation of views in regard to the proposed renegotiations shall be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information not later than November 20, 1959. The application must indicate an estimate of the time required for oral presentation. Written statements shall be submitted not later than November 20, 1959. Such communications shall be addressed to "Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C.". Fifteen copies of written statements, either typed, printed, or duplicated, shall be submitted, of which one copy shall be sworn to.

Written statements submitted to the Committee, except information and business data proffered in confidence, shall be open to inspection by interested persons. Information and business data proffered in confidence shall be submitted on separate pages clearly marked "For Official Use Only of the Committee for Reciprocity Information".

Public hearings will be held before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, at which oral statements will be heard, beginning at 2 p.m. on December 1, 1959 in the Hearing Room in the Tariff Commission Building, Eighth and E Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. Witnesses who make application to be heard will be advised regarding the time and place of their individual appearances. Appearances at hearings before the Committee may be made only by or on behalf of those persons who have filed written statements and who have within the time pre-

scribed made written application for oral presentation of views. Statements made at the public hearings shall be under oath.

Persons may present their views regarding any matter appropriate to be considered in connection with the proposed renegotiations. Copies of the list attached to the notice of intention to conduct the renegotiations may be obtained from the Committee for Reciprocity Information at the address designated above and may be inspected at the field offices of the Department of Commerce.

The United States Tariff Commission has today announced public hearings on the import items covered by the list annexed to the notice of intention to conduct the renegotiations to run concurrently with the hearings of the Committee for Reciprocity Information. Oral testimony and written information submitted to the Tariff Commission will be made available to and will be considered by the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements. Consequently, those whose interests relate only to import products included in the foregoing list, and who appear before the Tariff Commission, need not, but may if they wish, appear also before the Committee for Reciprocity Information.

By direction of the Committee for Reciprocity Information this 22nd day of October 1959.

EDWARD YARDLEY

Secretary

*Committee for Reciprocity
Information*

President Increases Import Duties on Stainless-Steel Flatware

White House press release dated October 21

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President announced on October 21 that, in the escape-clause case involving imports of stainless-steel table flatware,¹ he had concurred with a unanimous Tariff Commission finding of serious injury.

The President issued a proclamation increasing the duties on those imports of stainless-steel table flatware not over 10.2 inches in overall length and valued at under \$3 per dozen pieces which are in excess of 69 million single units annually.

In taking this action the President had the counsel of the Trade Policy Committee.

The new tariff quota leaves rates unaltered for those imports up to 69 million single units. The new provision will become effective November 1, 1959, and will continue until the President otherwise proclaims.

The President made his action known in identical letters to the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and to the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

PROCLAMATION 3323²

MODIFICATION OF TRADE AGREEMENT CONCESSIONS AND ADJUSTMENT OF DUTIES ON CERTAIN STAINLESS STEEL TABLE FLATWARE

1. WHEREAS, pursuant to the authority vested in him by the Constitution and the statutes, including section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1351), on October 30, 1947, the President entered into a trade agreement with certain foreign countries, which trade agreement consists of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, including a schedule of United States concessions (hereinafter referred to as "Schedule XX-1947"), and the Protocol of Provisional Application of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, together with a Final Act Adopted at the Conclusion of the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment (61 Stat. (Pts. 5 and 6) A7, A11, and A2051)), and by Proclamation No. 2761A of December 16, 1947 (61 Stat. (Pt. 2) 1103) he proclaimed such modifications of existing duties and other import restrictions of the United States and such continuance of existing customs or excise treatment of articles imported into the United States as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out that agreement on and after January 1, 1948, which proclamation has been supplemented by several subsequent proclamations;

2. WHEREAS the said General Agreement has been supplemented by several subsequent agreements, including the Annecy Protocol of Terms of Accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of October 10, 1949 (64 Stat. (Pt. 3) B139), the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of April 21, 1951 (3 UST (Pts. 1 and 2) 615 and 1841), and the Sixth Protocol of Supplementary Concessions to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade of May 23, 1956 (7 UST (Pt. 2) 1086), and Proclamations No. 2867 of December 22, 1949 (64 Stat. (Pt. 2) A380), No. 2929 of June 2, 1951 (65 Stat. C12), and No. 3140 of June 13, 1956 (70 Stat. C33), (the first two of which proclamations have been supplemented by several subsequent proclamations and notifications of the President to the Secretary of the Treasury, including Proclamation No. 2888 of May 13, 1950 (64 Stat. (Pt. 2) A405) and the notification of June 2, 1951 (3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., p. 1036)), have proclaimed such modifications of existing duties and other import restrictions of the United States and such continuance of existing customs or excise treatment of articles imported into the United States as were then found to be required or appropriate to carry out the said agreements on and after January 1, 1950, June 6, 1951, and June 30, 1956, respectively;

3. WHEREAS each of the trade agreements specified in

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Apr. 14, 1958, p. 620.

² 24 Fed. Reg. 8625.

the second recital of this proclamation included a supplementary schedule of United States concessions, the supplementary schedules to the Anneey Protocol, the Torquay Protocol, and the Sixth Protocol of Supplementary Concessions being hereinafter referred to respectively as "Schedule XX-1949", "Schedule XX-1951", and "Schedule XX-1956";

4. WHEREAS tariff concessions on table spoons, wholly of metal and in chief value of stainless steel, are included in item 339 of Part I of Schedule XX-1947 and in item 339 in Part I of Schedule XX-1956, and tariff concessions on table knives and forks, wholly of metal and in chief value of stainless steel, are included in item 355 in Part I of Schedule XX-1947, in item 355 in Part I of Schedule XX-1949, and in item 355 in Part I of Schedule XX-1951;

5. WHEREAS the prevailing tariff concession on table spoons, wholly of metal and in chief value of stainless steel, is included in item 339 in Part I of Schedule XX-1956, and the prevailing tariff concessions on table knives and forks, wholly of metal and in chief value of stainless steel, are included in item 355 in Part I of Schedule XX-1951;

6. WHEREAS the current United States duties reflecting the said prevailing tariff concessions granted in the said General Agreement, as supplemented, with respect to the products referred to in the fourth recital of this proclamation are as follows:

Table spoons-----	17% ad val.
Table knives and forks:	
Less than 4 inches long, exclusive of handle:	
With handles of austenitic steel-----	1¢ each and 17½% ad val.
With handles of steel other than austenitic--	1¢ each and 12½% ad val.
4 inches or more long, exclusive of handle----	4¢ each and 17½% ad val.

7. WHEREAS the United States Tariff Commission on January 10, 1958 and January 31, 1958 submitted to me a report (which report the Commission on July 24, 1959 supplemented in accordance with my request) of its investigation No. 61 under section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1364), on the basis of which investigation, and a hearing held in connection therewith, the Commission has found that, as a result in part of the duties reflecting the concessions granted thereon in the said General Agreement, as supplemented, the products referred to in the fourth recital of this proclamation (hereinafter sometimes referred to as "stainless steel table flatware") were being imported into the United States in such increased quantities, both actual and relative, as to cause serious injury to the domestic industry producing like products;

8. WHEREAS I find that in order to remedy the serious injury to the domestic industry it is necessary that there be applied to stainless steel table flatware not over 10.2 inches in over-all length and valued under \$3 per dozen pieces the customs treatment hereinafter proclaimed;

9. WHEREAS section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, authorizes the President to proclaim such modifications of existing duties and such additional import restrictions as are required or appropriate to carry out

any foreign trade agreement that the President has entered into under such section 350; and

10. WHEREAS, upon modification of the concessions as hereinafter proclaimed, it will be appropriate, to carry out the said General Agreement, to apply to the stainless steel table flatware not over 10.2 inches in over-all length and valued under \$3 per dozen pieces the customs treatment hereinafter proclaimed:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, and by section 7(c) of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, and in accordance with the provisions of Article XIX of the said General Agreement, do proclaim that, effective November 1, 1959, and until the President otherwise proclaims—

(a) the said prevailing tariff concessions granted in the said General Agreement, as supplemented, are hereby modified by adding the following proviso at the end of item 339 in Part I of Schedule XX-1956:

"Provided, That after there has been entered, in any 12-month period beginning November 1, in 1959 and in each subsequent year, a total aggregate quantity of 69 million single units of table spoons wholly of metal and in chief value of stainless steel, not over 10.2 inches in over-all length and valued under \$3 per dozen pieces included in this item 339, and of table knives and table forks of like composition, length, and value, included in item 355 of Schedule XX annexed to the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the rates on the products described above in this proviso, entered during the remainder of such 12-month period, shall be as follows:

Table spoons-----	60% ad val.
Table knives and table forks:	
Less than 4 inches long, exclusive of handle----	3¢ each and 67½% ad val.
4 inches or more long, exclusive of handle-----	12¢ each and 67½% ad val."

and

(b) the provisions of the proviso to item 339 in Part I of Schedule XX-1956, added by paragraph (a) above, shall be applied and all proclamations of the President heretofore issued under the authority of section 350 of the Tariff Act of 1930 are suspended insofar as they are inconsistent with this proclamation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 20th day of October in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred [SEAL] and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

By the President:

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

LETTER TO CONGRESSIONAL CHAIRMEN³

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: On March 8, 1958, I informed you that the report of the United States Tariff Commission on stainless steel table flatware was then before me. In this report, made under Section 7 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, the Commission unanimously found that domestic producers were experiencing serious injury as a result of increased imports.

I further informed you that the Japanese Government had undertaken to limit shipments of stainless steel table flatware to the United States, and that action on the Commission's finding was inadvisable until an evaluation could be made of developments under the Japanese limitation. I indicated that I was requesting the Tariff Commission to keep this matter under review and report to me.

The Tariff Commission has made a supplemental investigation and reported to me. The Commission report indicates that the limitation intended by the Japanese Government on shipments of stainless steel table flatware into the United States has been substantially exceeded. The Commission report shows that this overage has occurred chiefly through transshipment and despite the considerable efforts of the Japanese Government to prevent it.

I have carefully considered the facts of this case. In so doing, I have had the benefit of the advice of the Trade Policy Committee.

I am, therefore, proclaiming an upward adjustment in the duties on those imports of stainless steel table flatware, not over 10.2 inches in overall length and valued under three dollars per dozen pieces, which are in excess of sixty-nine million single units per year. This provision will become effective November 1, 1959 and will continue until the President otherwise proclaims.

The text of my proclamation is enclosed.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President Asks Investigation on Imports of Certain Cheeses

White House press release dated October 20

White House Announcement

The President on October 20 directed the U.S. Tariff Commission to make an investigation to determine whether additional imports of certain kinds of cheese could be received without materially interfering with the dairy price-support program. These are chiefly Dutch and Italian types.

³Identical letters were sent to Senator Harry Flood Byrd, chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, and Wilbur D. Mills, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means.

Imports of cheese are restricted under section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

President's Letter to Chairman of Tariff Commission

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been advised by the Secretary of Agriculture that there is reason to believe that changed circumstances require modification of the import quotas proclaimed by me on June 8, 1953 in Proclamation 3019,¹ as amended on Edam and Gouda cheese, and on Italian type cheeses made from cow's milk in original loaves (Romano made from cow's milk, Reggiano, Parmesano, Provoloni, Provolette and Sbrinz) to carry out the purposes of Section 22(d) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended. A copy of the Secretary's letter is enclosed.²

There has been some improvement in the dairy market situation both in the United States and abroad. Surplus stocks of cheese held by the Commodity Credit Corporation have moderated and foreign prices have risen so that the gap between prices of foreign and domestic cheeses has narrowed.

In view of these changed circumstances, it is requested that the Commission make a supplemental investigation under Section 22(d) of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, with respect to Edam and Gouda cheese, and Italian type cheeses made from cow's milk in original loaves (Romano made from cow's milk, Reggiano, Parmesano, Provoloni, Provolette and Sbrinz) to determine what, if any, additional quantities of such kinds of cheeses may be permitted to be imported without materially interfering with or rendering ineffective the price support program on milk and butterfat.

The Commission's findings should be completed as soon as practicable.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable JOSEPH E. TALBOT
Chairman
United States Tariff Commission
Washington, D.C.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Columbia River Basin Fishery Resources. Hearing before the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on S. Con. Res. 35. Part 1. July 17, 1959. 84 pp.

Situation in Viet-Nam. Hearings before the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Public Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. July 30-31, 1959. 234 pp.

Semiannual Report of the National Advisory Council on

¹ BULLETIN of June 29, 1953, p. 919.

² Not printed.

International Monetary and Financial Problems. Letter from the chairman transmitting the semiannual report on the Council's activities during the period July 1-December 31, 1958. H. Doc. 207. August 3, 1959. 65 pp.

Communist Threat to the United States Through the Caribbean. Hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Part 2. August 13, 1959. 140 pp.

Soviet Economic Penetration in the Middle East. A special study prepared at Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's request by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. S. Doc. 58. September 4, 1959. 19 pp.

United States Foreign Policy—Western Europe. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Foreign Policy Research Institute, University of Pennsylvania. No. 3. October 15, 1959. 95 pp.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Future of the Southern Cameroons

Following is a statement made by Clement John Zablocki, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, on October 6 in Committee IV (Trusteeship), together with the text of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly on October 16.

STATEMENT BY MR. ZABLOCKI

U.S. delegation press release 3237 dated October 7

My delegation has followed with great interest the course of the debate, if I may call it that, on the question of the Southern Cameroons. We have particularly welcomed the efforts of certain African states to assist the leaders of the two major political groups in the Southern Cameroons to reach agreement. We have been struck most of all, however, by the great spirit of compromise demonstrated by Premier [John] Foncha and Dr. [E. M. L.] Endeley themselves. Whatever one may think of the substance of the compromise initially agreed upon embodied in committee document A/C.4/414, 30 September 1959, the fact that they went to great lengths to accommodate each other's views demonstrates political maturity and statesmanship of the high-

est order. It augurs well, my delegation believes, for the future of the Cameroons in whatever framework it takes place.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I believe it would be useful to recapitulate a few basic facts.

Elections were held for the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly on January 24, 1959. Of the 205,000 registered voters, 137,000 voted, for an average of 70 percent of the registered electorate. As one whose position results directly from free elections in a democratic society,¹ I must say that I am impressed by the magnitude of this vote and by everything I have read concerning the conditions under which it was held. Furthermore my delegation knows of no one who has challenged the vote in any way, although a number of delegations seem inclined to ignore its consequences.

In these elections the KNDP [Kamerun National Democratic Party] received 75,326 votes, while the KNC/KPP [Kamerun National Congress-Kamerun Peoples Party] received 51,384 votes. Together these two parties, whose representatives are here with us and have played a key part in our debate, therefore speak for the large majority of the peoples of the Southern Cameroons.

The Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in West Africa in 1958 in the addendum to its report (T/1426/Addendum 1 of 6 February 1959) concluded that the results of voting did not constitute conclusive evidence of the wishes of the inhabitants regarding their future. The mission states:

In the light of the foregoing, the Mission has come to the conclusion that the results of the elections cannot be regarded as decisive as far as the future of the Southern Cameroons is concerned. If general agreement should develop in the newly-elected House of Assembly concerning the future of the Southern Cameroons a formal popular consultation may prove to be unnecessary; but if no such agreement emerges, it may only be through a consultation at some appropriate future date, probably a plebiscite, that it will be possible to resolve the basic issues. In that event, the Mission considers that the conditions for such a consultation, including its timing and the question or questions to be put to the people, will have to be determined by the General Assembly and the Administering Authority in consultation and as far as possible in agreement with the political parties in the Southern Cameroons.

At the resumed session of the 13th General Assembly, resolution 1350 of March 13, 1959,

¹ Mr. Zablocki is a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from the State of Wisconsin.

was adopted.² In this resolution the General Assembly recommended: (1) that the Administering Authority organize separate plebiscites in the northern and southern parts of the British Cameroons, under the supervision of the United Nations and in consultation with a United Nations Plebiscite Commissioner; (2) that the plebiscite in the southern part take place during the dry season between December 1, 1959, and April 30, 1960, with the two alternatives to be put to the voters and the qualifications for voting to be considered by the 14th General Assembly; and (3) other provisions relating to the plebiscite to be held in the north. My delegation voted for but did not cosponsor this resolution, and we continue to believe it sound, particularly with reference to the plebiscite in the north.

Unfortunately, however, it has proved impossible for the Government and the opposition to work out agreed details of the plebiscite. Some of the delegations believe, if we were now to take a stand on the specific questions to be asked and the voting qualifications, we would be intervening in a key domestic issue in the Southern Cameroons. More important, we might make it infinitely more difficult for the two groups concerned to reach agreement. Nevertheless my delegation does have views on both these questions which we will put forward if it becomes appropriate.

If the Premier, Mr. Foncha, and the leader of the opposition, Dr. Endeley, reach agreement on the conditions for the plebiscite, my delegation will be happy to endorse any agreement they may reach on the timing of the plebiscite. In this connection we do not believe that any legal impediments exist to a delay. Our legal opinion, which follows that of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations and of the United Kingdom delegation, follows:

The possibility exists that the Northern Cameroons will soon become a part of Nigeria, while the Southern Cameroons will for a time continue under trusteeship.

This has raised two legal questions. The first is whether it will be legally possible for the Southern Cameroons to continue to be administered as a trust territory by an amendment of the present trusteeship agreement. The second is whether the terms of the present trusteeship agreement make it legally possible for the South-

ern Cameroons to be administered as a trust territory after Nigeria becomes independent.

At present the status of both Cameroons is laid down in the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of the Cameroons Under British Administration, approved by the General Assembly on 13 December 1946. Article 1 of the trusteeship agreement contains a geographic description of the area to which the agreement applies. This part of article 1 will need to be amended if the Southern Cameroons remains under trusteeship when the Northern Cameroons joins Nigeria. Article 18 of the trusteeship agreement specifies that the agreement shall not be altered or amended except as provided in article 79 and article 83 or 85, as the case may be, of the United Nations Charter. It is possible, in accordance with those charter provisions, to amend that part of article 1 which contains the geographic description of the area to which the trusteeship agreement applies. Such proposed amendment must be approved by the General Assembly. A two-thirds majority is required for this approval. Such an amendment would need also to have the consent of the Administering Authority. This consent could be expressed in a variety of ways. It is therefore possible to provide for an amendment of the trusteeship agreement so as to allow the Southern Cameroons to continue to be administered as a trust territory.

Article 5(a) of the trusteeship agreement specifies that the Administering Authority shall have full powers of legislation, administration, and jurisdiction in the territory and shall administer it in accordance with the Authority's own laws as an integral part of its territory with such modifications as may be required by local conditions and subject to the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of the agreement itself. The fact that Nigeria will become independent in no way affects the provision that the territory shall be administered as an integral part of the territory of the Administering Authority. No mention is made of Nigeria in the trusteeship agreement. It does not follow that this clause of the agreement requires that the trust territory be administered as an integral part of adjacent territory or of any other particular territory of the Administering Authority. The real purpose of article 5(a) is to make clear the plenitude of the Administering Authority's power in the trust territory.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Apr. 13, 1959, p. 535.

We can understand the fears and emotions of delegates who see danger in too long a delay in the resolution of this problem. However, it is possible to be too doctrinaire in this issue. We welcome the movement toward self-determination in Africa—indeed we would welcome it in every part of the world—because it represents the will of the millions of people who demand they be allowed to manage their own affairs. But, if for perfectly understandable reasons—the inability now to make a choice—the peoples of Southern Cameroons, as indicated by their political leaders, should desire a breathing spell in which to make up their minds, we see no reason why this should be denied them.

The repercussions of a hasty and ill-considered choice would be catastrophic. Accordingly my delegation would like to say to the distinguished African members of the United Kingdom delegation sitting beside us: We hope you will agree freely on a compromise that will be best for your country. We will not support any action by this Assembly that runs counter to the wishes of the people you represent.

Mr. Chairman, we still hope agreement between Prime Minister Foncha and Dr. Endeley can be reached. If it becomes clear that an agreement is impossible, my delegation will no doubt comment further on the situation in which we find ourselves.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION³

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1350 (XIII) of 13 March 1959 concerning the future of the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under United Kingdom administration, which expressed the hope that all concerned in the Territory would endeavour to reach agreement before the opening of the fourteenth session of the General Assembly on the alternatives to be put in the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons and the qualifications for voting in it,

Noting the statements made by the representative of the Administering Authority, by the Premier of the Southern Cameroons and by the Leader of the Opposition in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly to the effect that no agreement was reached before the fourteenth session of the General Assembly as to the alternatives to be put in the plebiscite and the qualifications for voting in it,

³ A/Res/1352 (XIV); adopted by the General Assembly on Oct. 16 by a vote of 76 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Afghanistan and Iraq).

and that a postponement of the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons to a later date would help to establish more favourable conditions for ascertaining the freely expressed wishes of the population,

Noting the opinions expressed during the debate on this question at the fourteenth session of the General Assembly,⁴

Noting the statements made by the Premier of the Southern Cameroons and by the Leader of the Opposition in the Southern Cameroons House of Assembly at the 898th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly,⁵

1. *Decides* that the arrangements for the plebiscite referred to in resolution 1350 (XIII) shall begin on 30 September 1960, and that the plebiscite shall be concluded not later than March 1961;

2. *Recommends* that the two questions to be put at the plebiscite should be:

“(a) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Federation of Nigeria?”

“(b) Do you wish to achieve independence by joining the independent Republic of the Cameroons?”;

3. *Recommends* that only persons born in the Southern Cameroons or one of whose parents was born in the Southern Cameroons should vote in the plebiscite;

4. *Recommends* that the Administering Authority, in consultation with the Government of the Southern Cameroons, take steps to implement the separation of the administration of the Southern Cameroons from that of the Federation of Nigeria not later than 1 October 1960.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

10th Session of FAO Conference

The Department of State announced on October 29 (press release 764) the following U.S. delegation to the 10th session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), which convened at Rome October 31, 1959:

Member

Clarence L. Miller, Assistant Secretary, Marketing and Foreign Agriculture, Department of Agriculture

Alternate Members

Horace E. Henderson, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs, Department of State
Max Myers, Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture

⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourteenth Session, Fourth Committee, 885th to 899th and 901st to 903rd meetings.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Associate Members

Vincent E. Barnett, Jr., Counselor of Embassy for Economic Affairs, American Embassy, Rome
Paul E. Callanan, Commodities Division, Office of International Resources, Department of State
Ralph W. Phillips, Director, International Organization Affairs, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture
Robert C. Tetro, Assistant Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture

Advisers

Burton A. Baker, Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Rabat
Charles R. Carry, California Fish Cannery Association, Terminal Island, Calif.
Wilbert Chapman, Director of Research, American Tuna Boat Association, San Diego, Calif.
Albert C. Cline, Chief, Foreign Forestry Services, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture
George Dietz, Director, Foreign Trade Office, American Farm Bureau Federation, Rotterdam, Netherlands
Ursula E. Duffus, Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
John Ecklund, Director, Education and Organization Department, National Farmers Union, Denver, Colo.
Rulon Gibb, Treasurer, Commodity Credit Corporation, Department of Agriculture
Sidney Shapiro, Chief, Branch of Special Reports, Bureau of Commercial Fisheries, Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior
Bryon T. Shaw, Administrator, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture
Walter W. Sohl, Second Secretary and Economic Officer, American Embassy, Rome
Hazel K. Stiebeling, Director, Institute of Home Economics, Agricultural Research Service, Department of Agriculture
Clayton E. Whipple, Agricultural Attaché, American Embassy, Rome

The Conference of the FAO, which was established in 1945, is the chief legislative and policy-making organ of the Organization. Its membership comprises 76 countries. The chief aims of the FAO are to raise the levels of nutrition and standards of living of the people under the jurisdiction of the member governments, secure improvements in the efficiency of production and distribution of all food and agricultural products, and better the conditions of rural populations.

This session of the Conference will consider, among other things, the world situation and outlook in respect to food and agriculture, food production in relation to population trends, economic position of farm populations, problems of agricultural development in underdeveloped countries, and a proposed freedom-from-hunger campaign.

It will also determine the budget for the next biennial period.

The Conference meets every 2 years in regular session and may meet in special session if necessary. The Organization's headquarters are at Rome.

11th Colombo Plan Meeting

The Department of State announced on October 26 (press release 757) the U.S. delegation to the 11th meeting of the Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia (the Colombo Plan), which opened on that day at Jogjakarta, Indonesia. A 2-week preparatory meeting at the officials level, October 26–November 9, will be followed by a Ministerial Meeting, which will convene on November 10.

H. Alexander Smith, Special Consultant to the Secretary of State, will be the U.S. representative to the Ministerial Meeting, with the personal rank of ambassador.

Charles W. Adair, Director, Office of International Financial and Development Affairs, Department of State, is the U.S. representative to the Officials Meeting and an alternate U.S. representative to the Ministerial Meeting.

Other members of the delegation are:

Alternate Representative to the Ministerial Meeting

Francis H. Russell, U.S. Ambassador to New Zealand

Advisers (both meetings)

Thomas Flanagan, Public Affairs Officer, American Embassy, Djakarta, Indonesia
Lester Gordon, Office of Finance and Development, Development Loan Fund
Ralph Hirschtritt, Assistant Chief, South and Southeast Asian Division, Office of International Finance, Department of the Treasury
Robert W. Moore, Office of Southwest Pacific Affairs, Department of State
Edward Rawson, Assistant Chief, Interregional Operations Staff, International Cooperation Administration
Sidney Schmukler, Economic Development Division, Department of State
Henry W. Spielman, Office of South Asian Affairs, Department of State

Secretary of Delegation

J. Harlan Southerland, Office of International Conferences, Department of State

A group of cabinet ministers representing Commonwealth countries met at Colombo, Ceylon, in January 1950 to discuss the problem of economic

development in South and Southeast Asia. The Consultative Committee, which was formed as a result of those discussions, met in May 1950 and decided to invite countries outside the Commonwealth to participate in the discussions and activities of the Committee.

The United States became a member of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee in 1951 and has since that time participated in the annual meetings. The 10th meeting, in which the President and the Secretary of State participated, was held at Seattle, Wash., October–November 1958.

Other members of the Committee are: Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaya, Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom (together with North Borneo, Sarawak, and Singapore), and Viet-Nam.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Sugar

International sugar agreement of 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force provisionally January 1, 1959.

Signatures: Australia, Belgium,¹ Brazil, Canada, China,² Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia,³ Denmark,² Dominican Republic, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece,² Guatemala, Haiti,¹ Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland,³ Portugal, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,² and United Kingdom.²

Notifications deposited of provisional application from January 1, 1959: Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia,⁴ Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hungary, Indonesia,³ Ireland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Senate advice and consent to ratification given: July 21, 1959.

¹ With a statement.

² With a declaration.

³ With reservations.

⁴ With reservations made at time of signature.

Ratified and accession declared by the President: August 18, 1959.

Ratifications, acceptances, and accessions deposited: Australia, December 23, 1958; Canada, April 6, 1959; China, May 29, 1959; Czechoslovakia, July 23, 1959;⁴ Denmark, May 29, 1959; France, June 1, 1959;³ Hungary, May 20, 1959;² Peru, December 22, 1958; Union of South Africa, December 30, 1958; Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, June 1, 1959;⁵ United Kingdom, December 29, 1958; and United States, October 9, 1959.

Territorial application:

Extended to the following British territories on December 29, 1958: Aden (Colony and Protectorate); Bahamas; Bermuda; British Guiana; British Honduras; British Virgin Islands; Cyprus; Falkland Islands (Colony and dependencies); Federation of Nigeria (Lagos, Northern, Eastern and Western Region of Nigeria, Southern Cameroons); Fiji; Gambia (Colony and Protectorate); Gibraltar; Hong Kong; Mauritius; Seychelles; Sierra Leone (Colony and Protectorate); Somaliland Protectorate; The West Indies (Barbados, Jamaica (including Turks and Caicos Islands and the Cayman Islands), Leeward Islands (Antigua, St. Christopher Nevis and Anguilla, Montserrat), Trinidad and Tobago, Windward Islands (Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent)); Western Pacific High Commission Territories (British Solomon Islands Protectorate, Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony); Zanzibar.

Extended on October 9, 1959, to all of the territories for whose international relations the United States is responsible.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302. *Accession deposited:* Saudi Arabia, October 23, 1959.

BILATERAL

Guinea

Cultural relations agreement. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington October 28, 1959. Entered into force October 28, 1959.

Korea

Agreement providing for an informational media guarantee program. Effected by exchange of notes at Seoul April 4, 1958, and September 25, 1959. Entered into force September 25, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Albert E. Pappano as Deputy Director, Office of International Trade, effective November 2.

⁵ Reaffirmed reservations made at time of signature.

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753	10/26	Nixon-Touré: exchange of greetings.
*754	10/26	Herter: death of Howard Fyfe.
755	10/26	Dillon: GATT Ministerial Meeting, Tokyo.
756	10/26	U.S. message to Chairman, Inter-American Peace Committee.
757	10/26	Delegation to Colombo Plan meeting (rewrite).
758	10/26	ANZUS Council communique.
759	10/27	Ghana credentials (rewrite).
760	10/27	Ambassador Bonsal's call on President of Cuba.
761	10/28	Cultural agreement with Guinea.
†762	10/29	Dillon: "American Foreign Economic Policy."
*763	10/28	Herter: resignation of Under Secretary Murphy.
764	10/29	Delegation to FAO Conference (rewrite).
*765	10/29	Visit of President of Guinea.
766	10/30	Sale to Canada of properties in London.
767	10/30	Conclusion of talks with Moroccan Prime Minister.
*768	10/30	Cultural exchange (Latin America).

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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Bulletin

Vol. XLI, No. 1065

November 23, 1959

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THE
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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

American Foreign Economic Policy

*by Under Secretary Dillon*¹

I am greatly indebted to the distinguished organizations which have provided this occasion. When Ambassador MacArthur extended your invitation, we agreed that the topic "American Foreign Economic Policy" would be fitting in view of the strong economic ties between Japan and the United States. We felt it would be particularly appropriate at a time when the countries subscribing to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade are meeting in Tokyo.²

The foreign economic policy of my Government is founded on three closely related premises:

First, the United States considers that satisfactory economic progress in all countries is one of the preconditions to the achievement of a durable peace.

A second premise is that the prosperity and the economic well-being of the nations and their peoples will be fostered and furthered if artificial obstacles to world trade are held to the practicable minimum. We are convinced that liberal trade policies are essential to the raising of standards of living throughout the world.

The third premise underlying American foreign economic policy is that the developed industrial nations have an abiding interest in providing needed capital and technical know-how and skills to the less developed, nonindustrial countries—many of which have only recently gained political independence. We believe that our world is far too small and much too interdependent for us to ignore the aspirations and strivings of the peoples

of the less developed countries toward a better life for themselves and for their children.

I would like to review briefly how American policy has reflected these premises over the past decade and a half. Then I will describe how these premises apply as the world moves into a new decade, under conditions which are radically different from those prevailing at the end of the war or at the beginning of the 1950's.

Even before World War II ended, the United States had taken a leading role in planning for a more effective international economic system than the one that had broken down so badly in the 1930's. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development had been agreed upon by 1944. So had the International Monetary Fund. And much preliminary work had been done along lines which shortly thereafter evolved into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The wartime planners for economic peace did their work well, as can be seen today in these flourishing institutions: the World Bank, the Monetary Fund, and the GATT. But the planners underestimated by a wide margin the magnitude of the immediate postwar economic crises, which developed with frightening speed and intensity in 1946 and 1947.

By the close of 1946 the United States was faced with the need to make some fateful decisions. Japan and Germany were occupied, and we had to find and develop policies that would enable the Japanese and German peoples once again to put their great productive genius to work. The European economy, despite its tremendous productive potential, was nearing a catastrophic breakdown. There seemed to be no prospect that ordinary methods could bring about a recovery in time to

¹ Address made before the America-Japan Society at Tokyo on Oct. 29 (press release 762).

² For a statement by Mr. Dillon before the Contracting Parties to GATT on Oct. 27, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703.

avoid chaos. The United States had either to act boldly to prevent a breakdown or sit back and hope. Much of the rest of the world was marking time, awaiting the outcome of the European economic crisis.

It was a time for basic choices, and in my opinion the people of the United States not only chose correctly but also acted with courage and vision. I have in mind in particular the Marshall plan, which made an historic contribution to the restoration of economic health and vigor in Western Europe. American policies in Japan and Germany were similarly devoted—and with remarkable success—to reestablishing an economic base that could support democratic institutions. Success came rapidly, and by the early 1950's nearly all the industrialized states of the free world were beginning to push ahead on their own power.

U.S. Assistance to Less Developed Areas

With the passing of the Western European economic crisis and the beginning of the rapid progress that was to mark the recovery of Germany and Japan, another major economic problem emerged—a problem of equal gravity but far more complex and difficult of solution. I refer to the awakening of the less developed areas and the crying need to overcome the age-old poverty, disease, and ignorance that have plagued the peoples of these lands. This task may seem overwhelming, but it had to be undertaken. This was recognized by the American people, who have made clear their willingness to join with their less fortunate brothers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their continuing battle for economic and social progress.

As economic aid from the United States to the industrial countries tapered off in the early fifties, it was replaced by programs of assistance to the less developed areas. For the past 6 or 7 years, American foreign economic aid has been overwhelmingly channeled to the less developed countries. We have played an active role in the economic development work of the United Nations. We have created a new lending institution of our own, the Development Loan Fund. And now we are taking part, with like-minded countries, in the establishment of a new international lending institution to be called the International Development Association,³ which will operate as an affiliate of the World Bank and which will be designed to

make capital available to the less developed countries on flexible terms.

Throughout the period of postwar reconstruction, the United States also held firmly to the other underlying premise of its foreign economic policy: namely, that liberal international trade policies are essential to general economic progress. We have striven, in our own trade arrangements, to act in accordance with that premise. At the beginning ours was a rather lonely position. The industrial nations, with few exceptions, clung to strict exchange controls and severe quantitative import restrictions to protect their thin foreign exchange reserves. Many of the less developed countries also maintained import restrictions for balance-of-payments reasons. In addition most of them felt that a measure of protectionism would foster industrial growth.

One may tend, perhaps, to see in one's own country unusual qualities of forbearance and understanding. Still, I think it no more than accurate to say that the United States over a long period was notably tolerant of the trade restrictions applied by its friends and partners. During the era of the so-called dollar shortage we were disposed to be passive about foreign discriminations against our exports and to listen with sympathy, if not always full belief, to the arguments for continuing stringent exchange controls. As I will point out in a moment, we think the time has now come for a new look at trade restrictionism. I would hope to leave with you the thought that we did not come to this view except after the most careful consideration of the position and capabilities of our trading partners.

Economic Progress of Industrial Nations

I have touched upon the events of the recent past. What of the present and future?

No one concerned with the well-being of the human race can fail to find satisfaction in the economic progress of Western Europe and Japan. These great industrial centers have not merely been restored; they have taken on fresh vigor. I could talk about economic expansion in France and Italy—countries which many economists had once classified as economically stagnant—or about the booming economy of Western Germany. But here in Tokyo I want to pay special tribute to Japan and to its hard-working, highly skilled, and wonderfully venturesome people. For more than a decade now, Japan has maintained one of

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

the highest rates of economic growth in the world. I am informed that, during this Japanese fiscal year, Japan's total output is expected to rise by an astounding 11 percent. The living standards of the Japanese people are up by more than 25 percent over prewar levels, although the population has increased by more than 20 million. Such goods as television and household appliances are increasingly within the reach of the average consumer. Agriculture and industry alike have reached new levels of productivity. This has been accomplished in a free system, under a political democracy, without repression or force. It is a heartening accomplishment foretelling a great future for Japan and serving as a shining example for the entire free world.

The recovery and economic growth of the industrial nations have made tremendously important contributions to peace. Prospects for the long-term political health and stability of these key countries have been enormously brightened. If tensions in the world are indeed diminishing, one important reason is that the threat of unrest and political instability in the industrial countries has been very largely removed. Communist subversion can find little nourishment in healthy, hopeful societies.

As I have indicated, my Government believes that recovery has proceeded to a point where restrictions on trade imposed to meet the financial problems of a decade ago can no longer be justified. Most of the industrial nations have built their gold and foreign exchange reserves to satisfactory levels and have made their currencies convertible in international trade. Their manufacturing industries are competitive with American industries. A new situation has arisen in which the United States has been incurring a substantial deficit in its international accounts, while at the same time the balance-of-payments and reserve positions of the other major industrialized nations have been steadily improving. In view of this new development in international trade and payments, we are convinced that discrimination against dollar exports is no longer justified. Indeed the entire structure of trade restrictions inherited from the early postwar years has become outmoded and should be dismantled as quickly as possible. I am sure that if this is not done it will be difficult for the United States to keep its own commercial policy moving in a liberal direction.

Fortunately there are indications that the industrialized countries also recognize the necessity for action. We hope that the next few months will see great progress. We know that there are problems of transition, but we also see bright hope for the wealthier, more closely integrated world that can be found in an expansion of world trade. The basic conditions for liberalization of trade are present, the logic of events is compelling, and we have in the GATT and in the IMF tried and proven institutions to help the process along.

The Task of Economic Development

Let us turn now to economic development. Let me say in all candor that no problem is more complex or more difficult. We see in most of the less developed countries grievous shortages of skills, capital, and business enterprise, that is, shortages of the basic ingredients needed for economic growth. In many cases there is the added complication of national sensitivities which discourage the effective use of foreign capital or skills. For the most part, too, the race between economic growth and population growth is so close that per capita incomes can only inch ahead.

It is not enough, however, to catalog the difficulties. We need to understand them as fully as possible. But we can hardly stop there. We must go forward. The task is as challenging as it is formidable. It will require the combined energies and abilities of the entire free world for many years to come.

Conscious of the growing economic strength of the free world, the United States Government feels that it can now reasonably expect the other industrialized nations to take a progressively larger role in promoting economic development. The United States does not propose to diminish its own role. But it is very evident that the resources of my country, in capital and imagination alike, cannot do the job alone.

We expect that the new International Development Association will be an effective mechanism for providing some additional capital from the industrial nations for use in the less developed countries. But we believe that the bilateral programs of our friends and allies must be expanded as well.

Then, too, the great energies of private enterprise—American, European, and Japanese—have

scarcely been tapped for the development task. We clearly have not found all the answers to the problem of increasing the flow of private capital and initiative to the developing countries. There is, in fact, an immense amount to be learned and done if the basic free-world resource that we call private enterprise is to make its fullest contribution to economic development.

I know something of Japan's aid to the less developed countries. Reparations payments, your intergovernmental lending, your training program, plus the activities of your private business people, amount to a highly significant contribution and place Japan in the forefront of the battle for development. The Japanese Government has stated its intention of participating in the International Development Association, and of course Japan already participates actively in regional and United Nations technical assistance activities. My Government hopes, and I know with good reason, that Japan will continue, in accordance with its increasing capacities, to share its skills and its capital for this great and essential task.

This has necessarily been a brief and general review of American foreign economic policy. I have tried to make clear that our policy is based on the proposition that economic progress is necessary if we are to have a peaceful world. Today that proposition is one that all the free nations live by.

American-Japanese Relations

Let me close by saying just a few special words about American-Japanese relations. I have found, during my brief stay, an understanding of our point of view and, I think, a deep interest in the association between the United States and Japan. Speaking personally, I have been charmed by the warmth of the welcome given to Mrs. Dillon and to me.

Our countries' interests are linked in a hundred ways. We have much more to unite us than to divide us. In economic welfare and in national security, our futures are interdependent.

Of course there will be problems and differences of detail between us. The very range of our mutual interests makes this almost inevitable. But if we always keep in mind the fundamentals on which we agree, then we need have no real concern about the future of our relationship.

I know that the organizations which have done

me this honor today are among the foremost in building understanding of the things that bind our nations together. I can only ask you to keep up this great work.

President To Visit Nine Countries in Europe, Middle East, and Africa

Statement by President Eisenhower

White House press release dated November 4

I am planning to leave Washington on December 4th on a two and a half weeks' trip which will take me to nine countries. In response to friendly invitations from the Heads of State concerned, I plan to make brief informal visits to Rome, where I hope also to call on His Holiness the Pope, to Ankara, Karachi, and Kabul and to be in New Delhi for the inauguration of the American exhibit at the World Agricultural Fair, which opens on December 11th. From India, I plan to visit Tehran and Athens en route to Paris to the Western summit meeting scheduled for December 19th.¹ On my way home from Paris, I will stop over briefly in Rabat.

When the detailed schedule of this trip is fixed in consultation with the several governments concerned, I will of course make it known to you.

Statement by James C. Hagerty Press Secretary to the President

White House press release dated November 5

The White House and the Department of State have received inquiries concerning the composition of the party to accompany the President on his trip.

During the period in question, the Secretary of State will be preparing for and will then participate in the NATO Ministerial Council meeting in Paris which starts on December 15th and in the subsequent Western summit meeting. The President and the Secretary of State have agreed that no one can substitute for the Secretary in the performance of that duty. However, the Secretary of State will meet the President en route prior to the President's arrival in Paris.

The ranking State Department representative during the trip will be Robert Murphy, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs.

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

In addition to Mr. Murphy, the President, of course, will be accompanied by the normal administrative staff assistants from the White House. These will include Mr. [Thomas E.] Stephens, Mr. Hagerty, [Brig.] Gen. [A. J.] Goodpaster, Maj. John Eisenhower, Dr. [Howard McC.] Snyder, Mr. [Dewey] Long, and confidential secretaries.

President Lays Cornerstone of New CIA Building

*Remarks by President Eisenhower*¹

Mr. Dulles, Secretary McElroy,² ladies and gentlemen of the Central Intelligence Agency: America's fundamental aspiration is the preservation of peace. To this end we seek to develop policies and arrangements to make the peace both permanent and just. This can be done only on the basis of comprehensive and appropriate information.

In war nothing is more important to a commander than the facts concerning the strength, dispositions, and intentions of his opponent and the proper interpretation of those facts. In peacetime the necessary facts are of a different nature. They deal with conditions, resources, requirements, and attitudes prevailing in the world. They and their correct interpretation are essential to the development of policy to further our long-term national security and best interests. To provide information of this kind is the task of the organization of which you are a part.

No task could be more important.

Upon the quality of your work depends in large measure the success of our effort to further the Nation's position in the international scene.

By its very nature the work of this agency demands of its members the highest order of dedication, ability, trustworthiness, and selflessness—to say nothing of the finest type of courage,

¹ Made at the cornerstone-laying ceremonies for the Central Intelligence Agency building at Langley, Va., on Nov. 3 (White House press release).

² Neil H. McElroy, Secretary of Defense.

whenever needed. Success cannot be advertised; failure cannot be explained. In the work of intelligence, heroes are undecorated and unsung, often even among their own fraternity. Their inspiration is rooted in patriotism; their reward can be little except the conviction that they are performing a unique and indispensable service for their country and the knowledge that America needs and appreciates their efforts. I assure you this is indeed true.

The reputation of your organization for quality and excellence of performance, under the leadership of your Director, Mr. Allen Dulles, is a proud one.

Because I deeply believe these things, I deem it a great privilege to participate in this ceremony of cornerstone laying for the national headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency. On this spot will rise a beautiful and a useful structure. May it long endure, to serve the cause of America and of peace.

Secretary and Advisers Review Developments in Disarmament

The Department of State announced on November 3 (press release 772) that the Secretary of State met on that day with his advisers on disarmament policy to review recent developments in this field.

The advisers, first appointed February 27, 1958,¹ are a group of qualified private citizens who have agreed to advise and consult with the Secretary of State informally, from time to time, on the broad policies which should govern the United States in seeking the limitation and control of armaments.

Attending the meeting were Alfred M. Gruenther, Robert A. Lovett, John J. McCloy, William C. Foster, and James R. Killian, Jr. Both Mr. Foster and Dr. Killian recently agreed to serve on the panel at the request of the Secretary of State.

Walter Bedell Smith, also a member of the panel, was unable to attend.

¹ BULLETIN of Mar. 24, 1958, p. 491.

Can We Afford Our Foreign Policy?

*by W. Randolph Burgess*¹

The last time I appeared before this club I talked about the national debt and the need for economy in government. Now, as I represent you on the North Atlantic Council and on the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, I still retain the same point of view. I keep asking whether in NATO and the European area the United States is spending its money wisely and effectively.

This country has invested a considerable sum in Europe since World War II. The Marshall plan cost the United States about \$13 billion. Since then we have contributed military aid to building up NATO and continued some economic aid to a few of Europe's less developed countries to back up their defense efforts.

We are also maintaining in Europe our share of the NATO shield in the form of over five army divisions, a substantial air force, and, in the Mediterranean, the Sixth Fleet. All of this takes a big bite out of the national budget.

Besides the budget expense, with its implication for continuing high taxes and the danger of inflation, still another financial problem has emerged recently. That is the problem of our international balance of payments. We have been losing gold and dollars to other countries. Some of this was wholesome: it helped restore the monetary reserves of Europe, made possible freer trade and more convertible currencies. Our reserves are large, but we cannot keep on losing indefinitely.

It is for these reasons, which I know are in the

minds of thoughtful businessmen, that I took as my subject today "Can we afford our foreign policy?"

For the past 2 years I have been living close to this question as far as Europe is concerned. I have visited NATO countries, become acquainted with Cabinet ministers and other leaders, and have visited military headquarters and seen field operations. In the NATO Council we work constantly on the problems of the Alliance. In OEEC (the Organization for European Economic Cooperation) we follow the changing economic trends.

Spectacular Recovery in Europe

On the basis of this experience I have no hesitation in saying that we are getting our money's worth for all we have spent or are spending in Europe. Of course there have been some imperfections in such a large operation. But in perspective we Americans can be very proud of the part we have played in Europe. For at critical times and places we have given indispensable aid to our neighbors of the North Atlantic Community in their spectacular recovery and in their development of defenses against the Communist menace.

As a result, Western Europe, the cradle of Western civilization, has been saved. There has been complete economic recovery from war prostration. In fact the rate of increase in industrial production in Western Europe since the war has probably been greater than the boasted increase in the Soviet Union.

The threat of a Communist takeover from within, backed by the subversive arm of the Soviet Union, has been soundly beaten. In country after country Communist influence has been checked and

¹ Address made before the Economic Club of Detroit at Detroit, Mich., on Nov. 2 (press release 769). Mr. Burgess is U.S. permanent representative to the North Atlantic Council and to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

weakened. In country after country, sound, stable governments have gained power and prestige and are following policies of political and economic freedom. That is not something to be appraised lightly. It has taken great leadership and courage in many countries—courage to take unpopular steps. Here again we have been able to help at certain critical moments.

This great recovery of Western Europe has been good business for the United States. Our trade with Europe has increased greatly. Our businessmen have joined with Europeans in many successful business enterprises, which have been treated fairly by the governments concerned. Trade and travel have become steadily more free.

The countries of Western Europe have learned to work together as never before. Cooperation has been embodied in institutions: the OEEC, the European Economic Community, NATO, and, more broadly, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, where we all work with other free-world countries.

Above all, we have peace—assured by our powerful and firm defensive partnership in NATO. In 10 years that Alliance has been so firmly built that we can feel confident of its deterrent power. This rests not only in the massive power of our nuclear striking arm but also in the shield that has been created: the joining together of forces in Europe so that no enemy is tempted to probe possible soft spots in the line. The force of the united will of the NATO countries is sufficient to make such an adventure clearly unprofitable.

When the President of the United States visited President de Gaulle early in September, he took time from a crowded 2-day schedule to visit the NATO Council, the top governing body of NATO. He spoke briefly without text or notes, but none of us who heard him will forget the short, memorable speech. Here is his closing sentence:²

I make only one prophecy: If we are firm among ourselves, if we refuse to retreat one inch from principle, if we remain flexible insofar as tactics, methods, and procedures are involved, and if we keep high our zeal and give to NATO the same patriotic passion and deep devotion that we each give to our own country, *then there will be no war* [italics supplied]—we will be safe, we will progress together to a better world.

I submit that these results are worth all that we have put in as our share in the great and noble

enterprise of preserving our freedom and a great common cultural heritage we share with our partners.

Strength of NATO Alliance

Now I want to bring you up to date on two vital practical problems that the NATO Alliance faces and how they concern the businessmen of Detroit.

One problem is military—the strength of the Alliance. Almost a year ago the President appointed the Draper Committee of well-qualified citizens to analyze the military assistance aspects of the Mutual Security Program. The President's letter to the chairman of the Committee stated:³

What is needed from your committee is a forthright evaluation of the extent to which future military assistance can, by strengthening our friends and allies, advance U.S. national security and foreign policy interests.

The Committee was also asked to look at the economic aspects of our aid programs and the relative emphasis that should be placed on military and economic aid.

One of the members of this Committee was Joseph M. Dodge of Detroit, former Director of the Budget. You will readily understand that this was a working committee which traveled, observed, and consulted widely, and formed its own opinion. Different members of the Committee covered different areas.

At the President's suggestion the Committee made a preliminary report to be available for the congressional consideration of the Mutual Security Program. This report, submitted on March 17,⁴ recommended the vigorous continuation of the military aid program, especially to assure the equipment of the NATO Alliance with the modern weapons mostly manufactured in the United States. This was necessary to keep pace with the growing power of the Soviet Union.

In his March 17 letter of transmittal the Committee chairman said:

Simply put, the issue is whether we intend to seek survival in isolation—a state of siege—as the world continues to shrink. This would be the inevitable result if we fail to take vigorous action on mutual security.

The final report of the Committee on August 17⁵

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1958, p. 954.

³ For text, see *ibid.*, June 1, 1959, p. 796.

⁴ For texts of letters of transmittal, see *ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1959, p. 390.

⁵ BULLETIN of Sept. 21, 1959, p. 412.

confirmed these conclusions. The report showed that the European members of NATO have been carrying a constantly larger share of the load. Most of them are no longer receiving economic aid, and several are paying for the arms they receive from us. Others are not able from their own resources to pay for all the modern arms required by the minimum program of the Alliance. This is especially true of some in highly strategic locations like Turkey, Greece, Norway, and Denmark.

To put this into figures, the Committee concludes that for the current fiscal year 1960, and for several years to come, a minimum foundation program calls for \$2 billion a year for all areas, about half of which would be needed for NATO. The Congress actually appropriated \$1.3 billion.

In working over these figures by geographical areas, we find that this appropriation, if not increased, means that the funds for NATO arms are cut this year below \$400 million, or less than half the funds available last year. This means deferring many vital items of modern equipment in many NATO countries.

The President has indicated in transmitting the report to the Congress that he will review what action to recommend with respect to the findings of the Draper Committee. I trust many of you who may not have done so will review the Committee report. I believe its basic conclusions are sound.

In addition to these findings, the Committee makes many useful suggestions as to organization and administration of military and economic aid programs.

Recent Soviet Overtures

Now I turn to the second immediate problem. Something new has just come over the horizon. It is the figure of Mr. Khrushchev wrapped in a new mantle—that of an apostle of peace. He is talking honeyed words of “peaceful coexistence.” He has presented to the United Nations what he claims to be a new—or at least partly new—proposal for general disarmament.

What he has stated as his aim, the American people profoundly desire. We want a real peace, a lasting peace on which we can count. So each of us eagerly and hopefully questions the meaning of these new Soviet overtures.

But we should not forget that there have been such proposals before. Litvinov nearly 30 years

ago laid a similar disarmament plan before the League of Nations, but the Soviet subsequently balked every effort to achieve practical results.

This new posture of Mr. Khrushchev may turn out to be nothing more than a very clever device for persuading the Western allies to lower their guard or to start dissension among them.

But on the other hand there are a few—just a few—encouraging signs. The first is the removal of the time limit on Berlin negotiations. The second is the apparently earnest effort of Mr. Khrushchev to persuade the Chinese not to use force. The third is a certain sincerity in his relations with our President which would be hard to feign.

Moreover, some changes have been taking place in Russia: a little less brutality in the treatment of political enemies; a little more exposure to the West through our exhibit, various exchanges of visitors, and less jamming of the Voice of America; more emphasis on the production of consumer goods for the Russian people. We all hope that as time goes on these developments and others, plus more and wider education for the Russian people, will gradually change the Russian posture to one with which peaceful coexistence may really be possible. And, beyond that, what we want is a world without contending blocs, a world in which nations will live in peace and will cooperate dynamically to build a better tomorrow for all mankind.

Clearly we must meet the Soviet overtures halfway. We must always be ready to sit down and discuss with them fully and with open minds any proposals for disarmament or other ways of easing tensions. But they have always been tough and difficult negotiators and are not likely to change. Progress will be slow and difficult. But we must persevere and hope—meanwhile being sure to “keep our powder dry.”

For we must not fool ourselves into believing any real battle has yet been won. Russia has not changed her objective of winning the world to communism by one means or another. There is no evidence whatever that Russia has slowed the pace of its growth in nuclear arms. We cannot afford for the present to reduce the minimum arms programs which have been established after exhaustive review by competent experts for our NATO partners and for ourselves.

I believe that the other members of the NATO

Alliance feel exactly as we do with respect to the recent overtures of Mr. Khrushchev. There are some variations from country to country, and these differences are always overemphasized by the press and blown up to appear as disagreements, for conflict, unfortunately, is news. But I know of no country that retreats from opening negotiations nor of any which is planning to weaken its defense because of these events. Fundamentally the NATO partners are in solid agreement.

U.S. Responsibility

To summarize, I bring you a good report of our NATO Alliance: its soundness of purpose, its unity, its steadfastness, and its strength.

But there is no doubt that the appearance of *détente*—a lowering of tensions—is today in the very air we breathe and will make itself manifest as the various legislative bodies meet to appropriate funds. There were signs of it already in our last session of Congress.

Let me suggest very seriously that the responsibility of the United States is particularly great at this present moment. In the nature of the case we are the leaders of the Alliance. If we appear to let down our guard, by even a very little, political pressures in other countries will immediately force them to follow suit. The end result of all this would be a dangerous weakening of our collective strength and another victory for the tactics of Mr. Khrushchev. He would be bargaining from a position of strength, we from a position of weakness.

While all the NATO countries hope and pray for some easing in the strain and burden of the East-West conflict, we know we cannot and dare not yet place any reliance on results of the negotiations with the Soviet Union which have not yet begun. We must keep our defenses strong and our will firm.

Therefore I cannot bring you any assurance of an early lessening in the worldwide responsibilities of the United States. While our partners are growing stronger and carrying a heavier share of the load, the *total* load is still so great that our own obligation has not appreciably lessened.

In terms of money—of paying the bill—we are still in a “guns and butter” economy. We are fortunately strong enough to carry a huge defense program while at the same time our people enjoy

the highest standard of life of any time anywhere. But there are limits. When we spend too freely out of both pockets at the same time, we pay the penalty. One penalty is inflation, of which we have had more than a touch, and inflation weakens any country. Another result is an outflow of dollars in our balance of payments. Both arise from overspending—private and public—rising costs, credit expansion.

The answer is not to cut off the essential spending on which our very survival rests but to cut down a little on the nonessential. We all know what the nonessentials are. These have been made clear in congressional debates.

The basic question today is whether democracies, which rely on self-discipline, can compete with dictatorships, where discipline is imposed and enforced. I have a profound faith that they can, but there is no doubt that this faith is now facing the acid test.

We have proved that we can measure up to this in time of war. But carrying on year after year in time of peace calls for both understanding and fortitude, under wise and courageous leadership. This is our challenge today.

Secretary of Commerce To Head U.S. Delegation to Poland

White House press release dated November 2

The White House announced on November 2 that Secretary of Commerce Frederick H. Mueller will serve as chairman of a four-member delegation to visit Poland from November 14 to 25 at the invitation of the Polish Government for the purpose of expanding United States-Polish contacts and further developing mutual understanding.

Other members of the delegation are Bertha S. Adkins, Under Secretary, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Gabriel Hauge, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Manufacturers Trust Co., New York, and former Special Assistant to the President; and Edgar R. Baker, Managing Director, Time-Life International, and Vice President, Time, Inc. George H. Becker, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, will accompany the delegation.

The delegation plans to travel extensively within Poland and will be given opportunities to exchange views with officials of the Polish Government and

Polish institutions. The visit is expected to strengthen the historic ties between the American and Polish peoples and to foster a better public understanding of our mutual interests.

The trip by the U.S. delegation returns a visit

paid to the United States in October 1958 by an official Polish delegation. The forthcoming visit will be under the auspices of the International Educational Exchange Program of the Department of State.

America's Cultural Relations Abroad

by Robert H. Thayer¹

From an official point of view I have looked forward with great anticipation to the opportunity of talking to you about the new position that I hold, its objectives, and most of all the part that every one of you ladies here can play in this very vital work. I believe very sincerely that there is something akin to a crusade to be waged in the field that I am engaged in, and I know enough of American history to appreciate that there is no group of individuals more enthusiastic in espousing a crusade, or more effective in carrying it out, than the ladies of the State of Virginia.

Let me tell you about this crusade. It is a new way of waging peace. It is the way in which mutual understanding between the peoples of the world can be so firmly established that not even the totalitarian monster of international communism can drive them apart into misunderstanding and war. It is the way in which people under the Communist yoke are going to find freedom of thought and spiritual release from the bondage of dialectical materialism. It is the way in which the people of the new countries that are springing into being in Africa and Asia are going to be helped to take their rightful place beside us in the free world as equal partners in a modern, up-to-date civilization. It is the way in which the concept of a free world with no underdeveloped countries, no East and West or North and South as separate areas, can be brought to realization.

¹ Address made before the Virginia Women's Forum at Richmond, Va., on Nov. 5 (press release 776 dated Nov. 4). Mr. Thayer is Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for the Coordination of International Educational and Cultural Relations.

What is this way? I call it "cultural diplomacy"—a new type of international relationship, a relationship of people to people as distinguished from government to government, a relationship in which every American citizen can and should play just as important a part as did the great diplomats of the early days of our American history, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Washington Irving, and James Russell Lowell. Cultural diplomacy is the normal, logical development of the relationship between nations in the modern world of today.

Let us consider briefly the development of international relations over the centuries. Come back with me to the Middle Ages, the days of the feudal barons. They lived with their people in castles on the tops of hills and ventured forth to conquer other feudalities or to defend themselves against aggression. The lovely ladies of feudal days waved farewells or greetings to their knights in shining armor from the turrets of these castles. They rarely had the opportunity to meet the ladies of other castles, unless they were borne there as captives. They certainly never attended a forum to hear discussions of topics of the day. International relationships were carried on by military forays; the most potent diplomacy was "military diplomacy."

Then the baron discovered that by marrying off his daughter to his neighbor he might peacefully and in a nonmilitary fashion acquire new lands and new power and influence. The very first ambassadors brought gifts and offers of marriage and in signed parchments made treaties. "Political diplomacy" came into being and for centuries

formed the basis of relationships between nations. The Field of the Cloth of Gold holds a dramatic place in the history books. There were also, with the ever-increasing importance of trade, the Hanseatic League of the North German trading towns and the merchants' guilds of Venice. Trade developed over the centuries, until finally the great industrial revolution burst upon the 19th and 20th centuries. Trade agreements, economic sanctions, economic aid brought forth "economic diplomacy" as an important basis of international contacts.

Where have these different ways in which nations have dealt with each other brought us? Military diplomacy was in itself almost a continuous war—the Hundred Years' War is a testimony to that. Political diplomacy didn't insure peace. From Machiavelli through Napoleon the world was torn with strife. During the height of economic diplomacy came the two greatest wars in history, in 1914 and in 1939.

Can anyone say that economic aid alone is winning us the "cold war"? Can we say that these relationships really have succeeded in building a world where peoples of all races and backgrounds can live in understanding and peace? The answer is obviously no. The old types of diplomacy, the old methods of dealing between nation and nation, have not succeeded. The existence of an embassy within a country—the appointment of ambassadors assisted by a staff of Foreign Service officers, the contacts between these ambassadors and their staffs and foreign government officials—does not insure mutual understanding between peoples of the countries concerned. It does not even assure mutual understanding between governments.

Implementing Cultural Diplomacy

Now let us examine this cultural diplomacy of which I speak. What is it exactly? It is not complicated. It is simple—and therein lies its strength and potential for success. It is the act of arranging the broadest and closest possible contact between the peoples of America and the peoples of the rest of the world—and the mutual communication through this contact of every facet of the life of these peoples, the one to the other.

This concept is not complicated or obtuse; it is simple. To implement it is, alas, not simple, but every single person here today can make a personal contribution toward this implementation.

I have a very great personal friend who holds a high position in one of the leading activities of American life today. He has told me repeatedly that he will never travel to a foreign country other than the British Commonwealth because he cannot submit, even temporarily, to the confusion and personal embarrassment of living in a country whose language he cannot understand. And yet I know that the warmth and magnetism of this individual's personality, his sincere love of his fellow man, his dedication to the elements that are common to all human relationships, would make him able, by his own example, to explain America clearly and effectively to any people with whom he might come in contact.

What is it that makes it so difficult for an American to understand and to communicate with someone from a country outside of the United States? We have been physically isolated from the rest of the world for a long time, it is true, but the United States is a big country and there are hundreds and thousands of Americans in New England who have never been to California. Furthermore, I would venture to say that one might, on analysis, find as many differences between a citizen of the State of Virginia and a citizen of the State of Montana as one might find between a Bostonian and an Australian. The psychological aura of Americanism that makes a Virginian and Montanan, upon meeting, relaxed and receptive to each other's efforts to communicate—which insures that communication, in fact—that same Americanism seems automatically to raise an artificial barrier between Americans and the people of other nations. And let me emphasize that it is artificial, a kind of psychological block, which is unnatural, unnecessary, and more easily removable than anyone realizes.

I was talking on this subject the other day with a high-ranking official of the United States Government. He told me the story of his first trip to Europe, which so echoed my own experience that it startled me. He described the shock of familiarity that greeted his first trip to England—the ride from Southampton in the boat train, the familiar countryside with its hedges and checkerboard fields, the little villages and church steeples, and London with its chimney pots and even its smells that made him certain he had been there and seen it all before—and then the sudden dawning that indeed he had been there before as a boy, in Charles Dickens and Meredith and Trollope

and Thackeray. And in this dawning there dropped from him all the psychological inhibitions of an American outside his own environment and there came on him a relaxed receptivity, an ability to give and receive communication.

Building Mutual Understanding

Do not let me leave you with the idea that only Americans are subject to this psychological block. The Chief of State of a nation situated far from these shores made the flat statement that in his opinion no American could ever understand the people of his country—they were too different in background and upbringing, as well as in race. And then there came to that country four young teenage Americans on a summer trip arranged by the American Field Service. During the 4 months of their stay they learned the language of the country; they lived in a private home and partook of the life of their hosts. They learned at first hand how these people lived and played and worked and thought. Their presence was discovered by the Chief of State, who asked to meet them. These four young men spent an evening with him discussing in his native tongue his country and his people. He told our Ambassador the next day how wrong he had been. "These Americans," he said, "in 4 months have learned to understand the people of my country almost better than I understand them myself, and they have made me and my people understand the real America."

Mutual understanding through communication between peoples of the way they live and think and work and play—through the communication of their culture—that is cultural diplomacy. Those teenage boys were cultural diplomats of a very high order.

Cultural diplomacy seeks to build up a social environment of mutual trust in which peoples can attempt to understand each other and thrash out their problems without resorting to force. Cultural diplomacy is designed to develop in all peoples a world outlook, a basic awareness of community matters as they affect the larger area of world affairs.

International Educational Exchange Program

To coordinate the Government's efforts in this field the Department of State has created the office which I now hold as head of the Bureau of

International Cultural Relations. Under my jurisdiction in the bureau is the well-known International Educational Exchange Program, which provides for the exchange of approximately 6,500 students, teachers, professors, and specialists between the United States and about 100 countries each year. It includes the famous Fulbright and Smith-Mundt programs. Some of you may have personal knowledge of these programs because of family members or neighbors who have won Fulbright and Smith-Mundt grants to travel abroad. I wonder how many of you here today have children in the classrooms of the six foreign teachers from England, France, Germany, and Canada who are teaching in Virginia this year. Our teacher from France is right here in Richmond, and the others are in Winchester, Charlottesville, South Norfolk, Princess Anne, and Waynesboro.

Overseas this year, Virginia students from Smithfield, Quinton, Arlington, Flint Hill, Portsmouth, Richmond, and Norfolk are at universities in France, Holland, Colombia, Germany, Denmark, Argentina, Austria, Italy, and England. A member of the staff of the Rena B. Wright School in South Norfolk is spending the year teaching at an elementary school in Lancashire, England. A professor of history at Randolph-Macon College in Ashland is doing research at the University of London, and the president of the Hampton Institute recently spent 3 months in India lecturing on education.

Last year one of our most effective cultural ambassadors was Dr. James A. Wellard of Longwood College in Farmville, Virginia. Dr. Wellard was very successful in conveying the idea of a free press to his journalism students at the University of Tehran in Iran. The State of Virginia is already making a fine contribution to cultural diplomacy.

The International Educational Exchange Program also provides support to American-sponsored schools in other countries. Many of these schools are staffed by American teachers and provide an introduction to the American way of life to thousands of foreign students who might never have a chance to visit the United States.

The program has been building slowly but surely since the war. More than 65,000 of its alumni, in every State of the Union and in every corner of the globe, are constant sources of truth about the countries they visited. This group is

a steadily growing bulwark against the harsh effects of Communist false propaganda and the psychological block of which I spoke. The exchange program is one of our most valuable tools in our long-range effort to build a lasting peace.

Other Exchange Programs

There is also the President's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations. This program assists American performing artists and athletes to appear in other countries. Most of you have read, I'm sure, of the outstanding success of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in its recent tour of Europe and the Soviet Union and of the National Symphony Orchestra in South America. Many other attractions have gone abroad under this program, including the San Francisco Ballet, the Roger Wagner Chorale, the Woody Herman Jazz Band, and Blanche Thebom, the Metropolitan Opera singer.

When Miss Thebom visited Baghdad 3 summers ago, a few thousand women of the city jammed into a movie theater after the last show to listen to her sing, with the temperature hovering at 100 degrees. To these women, Miss Thebom was more than just a great singer; she was the symbol of the social emancipation the women of the Middle East are determined to achieve. A few weeks ago the newspapers reported that women were appearing in streets of Kabul, Afghanistan, without their traditional veils and heavy robes. We had a preview of this development last March, when the sister-in-law of the King of Afghanistan visited the United States under our exchange program to consult with educators and social welfare experts.

Another office in my bureau is the East-West Contacts Staff, which administers the student exchange program between the United States and the Soviet bloc nations after it has been skillfully negotiated through the able work of my friend and your cousin, Ambassador Bill Lacy of Leesburg.

Outside the Bureau of International Cultural Relations—in organizations like the United States Information Agency, the International Cooperation Administration, the Defense Department, the National Institutes of Health, the Library of Congress, and a host of others—there

are many activities that involve the movement of people and cultural materials between the United States and other countries.

The International Cooperation Administration brought 8,000 foreign citizens to the United States for training last year and sent more than 3,500 American technicians abroad to teach skills to the peoples of other countries. Under its various information programs the United States Information Agency arranges for the translation and sale of American books in other countries, the teaching of English to about 200,000 foreign students each year in 55 countries, the purchase of American textbooks for foreign educational institutions, and the maintenance of libraries and reading rooms in hundreds of foreign cities.

The first Americans to visit the Soviet Union as members of cultural delegations in 1958 were caught flatfooted by the question, "What do you think of Willis Conover?" None of the visitors had ever heard of Willis Conover, much less thought anything about him. They later found out that Willis Conover is heard regularly by millions of people outside the United States who listen to his broadcasts of jazz music over the Voice of America. Although his broadcasts are in English and he used to be hampered by radio jamming, Willis Conover is one of the best known and most popular representatives of American culture abroad.

Outside of the Government—in the private sector—the exchange programs of universities, foundations, service clubs, sororities, and fraternities are greater in scope than those of all Government agencies combined.

Last year, more than 47,000 foreign students were enrolled at American institutions of higher learning. Less than 5 percent had United States Government support. We know also that approximately 78,000 foreign nationals came to the United States in 1958 for cultural purposes. In addition to the students and teachers engaged in academic pursuits, there were business executives who came for training, journalists and authors on temporary assignments, professional people attending international conferences, performing artists and athletes, and doctors holding internships and residencies at American hospitals.

Traveling in the other direction were approximately 28,000 Americans engaged in cultural projects. Add to this figure the military, Government,

and business employees stationed abroad and you have a picture of 2 percent of the American population living among other peoples, providing a daily image of the United States to millions of foreign citizens in all walks of life.

A Crusade for All the People

But remember one thing: It doesn't do any good at all to send Americans abroad if they are going with a psychological block which keeps them from communicating with those whom they meet or amongst whom they live abroad. One of the secretaries who worked for me for 3 years when I was at the Embassy in Paris told me that she had met and talked to only one Frenchman during the 3 years she had been in Paris and he had insulted her. I retorted that in the telling of such a story she was insulting herself and the whole of America.

It doesn't do any good for foreigners to come to this country and not receive the personal attention and courtesies necessary to establish real communication. Neglect of our foreign visitors is not only bad manners; it can do lasting damage to our international relationships.

May I enlist the active help of everyone here in this great work? There are two things to be done: We must educate ourselves and our children for world responsibility, and we must bring the peoples of the world right into our own communities. We must teach our children to think of foreign lands with the same naturalness and anticipation and delight as they think of their own. We must turn every town and hamlet of the United States into a Burns, Kansas, which has become known all over the world as a town where foreigners are welcomed in every house and at every table.

What can you do in this work? As community leaders and mothers, one of your primary concerns is education. Many of you sit on school boards. Most of you belong to parent-teacher associations. All of you are interested in education. Reexamine the educational systems in your area from the international point of view. Are they adequate to maintain United States leadership in a rapidly changing world? Is there sufficient foreign language instruction? Are the cultures of the Middle East, Latin America, Africa, and Asia being presented properly, if at all? Do you have foreign students and teachers in your schools to inject

different ideas and stimulate interest in other peoples? We need more cultural ambassadors. Are your schools doing the job?

How many of you have come into contact with foreign students in your own communities? There were 331 enrolled at 32 universities and colleges in Virginia last year. They must be made to feel at home and be given a chance to gather firsthand knowledge of our institutions—our homes, theaters, sporting events, churches, shopping centers, factories, elections, and every other aspect of our way of life. There is only one way to do this, and that is to invite them. Organized hospitality for foreign visitors is one of the most important contributions any community can make to the successful conduct of our foreign policy. I am sure you are doing this, but do a great deal more. A foreigner who has tasted the hospitality of a Virginia home will not easily forget America.

I urge you all, therefore, to think about the relationships of your communities to the rest of the world. Remember that in this most important task of developing an atmosphere of confidence and trust among peoples the Government's basic role is to provide guidance and coordination. The heavy burden of cultural diplomacy is on the individual and the community.

This is, indeed, a crusade. It is not one to which governments can draft their peoples; it is a crusade of all the peoples on earth joining in a common effort to establish mutual understanding.

Our children and grandchildren and great-grandchildren must find it just as easy and natural to sit down and share a meal with a man from Istanbul or Athens or Rome or Moscow as to dine with a man from San Francisco or Dallas or Chicago or, yes, even Boston!

We must bring up our youth to drop the word "foreign" from their vocabulary. We must teach them to speak many languages. But languages are no barriers to the very young. Rockets will take future generations in a few minutes or seconds over distances over which ships carried our ancestors in weeks or months.

But, while we watch with awe and admiration the progress of physical communication, let us not neglect a far more important element—in fact, the very basis of human relationships—that is, the mental and spiritual communication which leads to understanding. President Eisenhower, speaking to a group of foreign teachers who had been

invited to visit this country by the Department of State, said to them:²

We shall not be serving mankind well if we become obsessed with just the business of putting new satellites into orbit—so obsessed that we overlook the fact that we have some real problems left right here on earth. We need to put new ideas—and more of them—into orbit.

And we must use every resource at our command to see that people everywhere achieve greater understanding of each other before it is too late.

I know of no more valuable or effective resource in existence than this audience here before me. Please join us—we need your help.

The Growing Importance of U.S.-Brazil Cooperation

by John Moors Cabot
*Ambassador to Brazil*¹

International relations are often so complicated that it is difficult to understand them. People forget not only what has happened even recently but also basic principles. There are simple truths in regard to foreign affairs which we should always bear in mind—which indeed any nation will forget to its peril.

One is that it is both the right and the duty of every government to try to uphold the national interests in conducting its foreign relations. No foreign office would consciously do something which it knew was contrary to the interests of its own country. In that sense we are all nationalists—we are all striving to promote our respective countries' interests. It is right and proper that we should do so. Nationalism expresses the dissatisfaction without which there could be no progress and no national fulfillment. As friends of Brazil we welcome all that contributes to Brazil's progress.

No one would reject the basic premise that in the world of today nations must cooperate. No patriot, no matter how fervent he may be, rejects foreign collaboration with his country, if it is clearly in his country's interest. Curiously enough, and inconsistently enough, he may demand it—he may insist that other nations do for his

country what he would not have his country do for them.

Here then is another simple truth. Nations if they are wise do not ask of others what they would not be prepared to do themselves if circumstances were reversed. In an enlightened sense, that is in the national interest. Indeed, to demand more of other nations than we are prepared to give ourselves is not only selfish; it may be very contrary to the national interest.

There is today, of course, a small minority in every free nation of the world which deliberately works against the national interest—which works consciously, vigorously, unscrupulously to promote the great imperialism of our time. In Brazil it betrays Brazil's interests as readily as it attacks those of the United States. It would subject us all, as the leaders of this imperialism so often conveniently remind us, to its ruthless yoke. It is curious that any patriot should be deceived by the propaganda of this imperialism's agents; yet it often happens.

Obviously in every country there will be wide differences of opinion as to what is fair and where the balance lies in a country's dealings with other nations. Citizens who equally love their country may differ widely as to how the country's interests may best be advanced. Recent experiences of Vice President Nixon suggest that some nations value more highly the mere hope that the strength of the United States—moral and material—will help

² For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 479.

¹ Address made before the American Chamber of Commerce for Brazil (São Paulo) at São Paulo, Brazil, on Oct. 15.

them to regain their lost freedom than other nations, now free and allied with us, value our solemn pledge that if need be we will defend their freedom as we would our own.

We must respect honest differences of opinion; we may properly uphold our own but should remember we may be wrong. It is unfortunately the fact that the people of most countries are more conscious of what their country has done for others than of what other countries have done for them.

No nation can prosper in peace without enjoying friendly, mutually beneficial relations with other countries. No nation can defend itself in a major war without allies. No nation can assure itself of peace through self-isolation or neutrality. When aggressive forces are on the prowl in the world, peace depends upon the existence of a coalition of nations determined to uphold it which is so strong and resolute that any aggressor knows that if he moves he will be crushed, whatever else happens.

From the earliest years of Brazilian independence, Brazil and the United States have enjoyed the friendliest and most cooperative relations. We were the first nation to recognize Brazil's independence, and we warned extracontinental nations that we would consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any newly independent American nation—which obviously included Brazil—an unfriendly act.

Brazil and the United States seem predestined by nature and history to cooperate. We are the two greatest republics of this hemisphere. In a world in which our present inter-American relationships did not exist, great Brazilian statesmen, such as the Barão do Rio Branco, based their foreign policy on United States support. Joaquim Nabuco, Brazil's first Ambassador to the United States, ably promoted that policy. I recall vividly when I came here as a junior secretary how close the relations were between our Ambassador, Edwin Morgan, and many Brazilian officials, with the result that they could work together effectively toward the solution of many basic inter-American problems.

Brazil's Role in International Affairs

The United States has a great debt of gratitude for the brilliant role which Brazil has played in inter-American affairs. It is one of the glories of

Brazilian diplomacy that over the years it was able to reconcile the differences between some of the other American Republics and the United States. That is in the noble Brazilian diplomatic tradition, and it is one of the reasons for the great prestige of Brazilian diplomacy in the world today. It is perhaps ironic that the role of Brazil as mediator in our inter-American differences was once asserted when we were trying to impose democracy on several Caribbean republics—which resulted eventually in our formal acceptance of the principle of nonintervention—and is now being exerted with other American Republics to dissuade them from tossing aside this vital principle. If we today have continental solidarity, it is in large measure due to the skill and vision of Brazilian diplomacy.

That thought scarcely needs proving. It is written in the proud history of a nation which has waged peace rather than war. Let us think, for example, of the Leticia incident, when Brazil's distinguished Foreign Minister Afranio de Mello Franco furnished the leadership which peacefully solved an acute incident between two sister republics. Let us think of Brazil's important role in the settlement of the Chaco war. And for nearly two decades it has been Brazil's leadership which has contributed so much to maintain the peace between Peru and Ecuador. Whenever an acute question arises in inter-American relations, we have become accustomed to Brazil's wise, far-sighted diplomacy and the tranquilizing effects of its efforts. Order and progress has ever been a Brazilian aspiration, and it is one which we have shared.

We have particular reason to remember gratefully Brazil's cooperation after we were attacked at Pearl Harbor. The United States in early 1942 lay under the shadow of that stinging defeat. It was at that moment that Brazilian diplomacy, recognizing fundamental Brazilian interests and determined to uphold the freedoms of our Western World, took the leadership in the alinement of Latin America with other free nations in their mortal struggle. We must never forget the courage of such great Brazilians as Getulio Vargas and Oswaldo Aranha at that crucial moment. Brazil's cooperation, whether we think of the military facilities it extended to us or the economic help it poured out in the war effort, was of inestimable importance in our common victory. The bases which Brazil made available to us were a

mighty bridge over which our military supplies flowed to smite our enemies. When Brazil was attacked, as we were, for helping free nations, it not only alined itself against the Axis powers but sent important forces to the Italian front. Gallant Brazilian blood sealed with ours our common ideal of preserving our freedom. Let us remember that Brazil deliberately chose the path of cooperation with us in the Second World War despite its dangers. Brazil has ever sought the peace of reason but not the peace of appeasement and injustice.

Cooperation in Economic Field

Brazil and the United States seem equally predestined to cooperate economically. Brazil is the world's largest coffee producer; the United States buys 58 percent of Brazil's coffee export. On the other side of the ledger, Brazil imports vast quantities of our manufactures and Temperate Zone products. This mutually beneficial trade remains, incidentally, the most effective way we can aid in Brazil's development—far more important in its beneficent effects than any special economic help our Government is in a position to provide or any trade which might be developed with totalitarian nations. As Brazil develops and industrializes, that trade will further expand.

The United States has often been criticized in Brazil for not providing more cooperation to Brazil's economic development. I shall leave it to others to decide whether this criticism is just or not; but our economic cooperation in Brazil's development has certainly been extensive. The Export-Import Bank has extended credits to Brazil for \$1.337 billion for 257 projects—in terms of money about 15 percent of all its loans to foreign countries. Private American banks and the International Bank, largely financed by the United States and private American investors, have made loans of \$258 million and \$292 million respectively toward Brazilian development. An Inter-American Development Bank,² to which the United States has provided about half its capital of \$1 billion, is about to start operating, and the United States has now proposed a \$1 billion International Development Association³ to supplement the International Bank. Both of these institutions clearly owe much of their inspiration

to President [Juscelino] Kubitschek's imaginative OPA [Operation Pan America] proposal.⁴ Cruzeiro payments for agricultural surplus products have been loaned to Brazil for development purposes in an amount equal to approximately \$150 million; and Brazil, by paying in cruzeiros, has had its exchange balances relieved of a corresponding burden.

Private United States investments have made important contributions to Brazil's development. American citizens and companies have over \$1.3 billion invested in Brazil. This capital in 1955 furnished employment to 94,000 Brazilians, resulted in purchases of \$427 million of supplies and equipment from Brazilian sources, and paid taxes in Brazil totaling \$77 million. Of the personnel employed, less than 1,000 were Americans. Training in specialized skills has been provided to thousands of Brazilians both locally and in the United States.

A further important contribution which the United States has made to Brazil's development is through our point 4 work. True to our tradition of cooperation, funds for this work are provided by both Governments. United States experts initiate the project, and as Brazilian technicians are trained the project is turned over to them. Point 4 then moves to a new field. The cooperative health service, now largely turned over, serves some 8 million Brazilians and has increased life expectancy in the Amazonian area by 10 years. It has trained over 1,000 doctors, nurses, and technicians. The training-within-industry program here in São Paulo, operated by this State, trained 27,000 supervisors and foremen and, indirectly, many times that number. The joint agricultural program trained about 2,500 agriculturalists in 1958 and served hundreds of thousands of Brazilians in 11 States. Point 4 has assisted the Getulio Vargas Foundation in establishing the first business administration school in South America. It cooperated in an expanded public and business administration program, extended help in a variety of technical educational projects, helped survey Brazil's iron ore resources, furnished technical assistance to Brazil's railways, and provided both technical help and equipment to Brazilian air navigation. Its latest and most important project is to cooperate in the eradica-

² For background, see BULLETIN of June 22, 1959, p. 928.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1090, and Oct. 13, 1958, p. 575.

tion from this vast territory of the scourge of malaria—just as the scourge of yellow fever was virtually eradicated years ago with the cooperation of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Other Areas of Cooperation

The figures of our very important military aid to Brazil are confidential, but I can mention that Brazil has obtained from us two cruisers, four destroyers, eight destroyer escorts, and two submarines, and further destroyers are still to be delivered. Brazil on its part has cooperated by permitting us temporarily to establish a missile-tracking base on Fernando de Noronha.

Brazilian professors and students have gone to the United States and American professors and students have come here under the auspices of our exchange-of-persons and Fulbright programs. Over 2,300 Brazilian technicians have received advance training abroad under the point 4 program. Brazilian citizens, with the cooperation of American residents and some help from official sources, have set up some 56 binational centers, where we can get to know each other's culture and language better. To mention but one more example of cooperation, in the past 5 years some \$16 million of food has been distributed by private American organizations to Brazilians who needed it.

I have no intention of entering into the domestic controversies regarding Brazil's internal development, but I do think it pertinent to register the fact that it has been very rapid and that United States cooperation in it has been important. Cold statistics give little enough idea of its importance. Basic factors in a nation's development are such items as steel, electric power, transportation, and fuel. Volta Redonda, Brazil's greatest steel plant, stands as a monument to Brazilian-American cooperation. Thanks largely to its ever-expanding output, Brazil's steel production is now some eight times greater than it was 14 years ago. In 7 years Brazil's electric-power output has doubled; and American public or private capital has played an important role in building this increased capacity. American loans are helping to rehabilitate Brazil's railways and their equipment and to buy equipment for Brazilian air lines. The United States has sold cargo vessels at low prices to Brazil. American capital has not participated to any considerable extent in the development of Brazil's fuel re-

sources, but I am glad to note that Brazil's oil production under Petrobras is now 20 times what it was 5 years ago, since this is of vital importance to Brazil's development and exchange position.

American private capital in Brazil is today making trucks, tires, electrical equipment, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, business machines, and many other products which contribute to Brazil's economic development. One automobile manufacturer is buying from 1,500 Brazilian factories; one American retail chain has helped Brazilian manufacturers to make hundreds of articles which it sells, thus reducing its importations from 55 percent to 2 percent of its sales.

Mutual Benefits of U.S.-Brazil Partnership

Both in Brazil and the United States there is today some criticism of our cooperation. In the United States there are people who refer to our aid programs as "giveaway programs"—so close to the term *entreguismo* which we hear in Brazil. Let me say that, if I am an *entreguista* because I favor our cooperation in Brazil's development, I am proud of it. Of course our programs favor Brazil; but they also favor us, and, warm as is the friendship I feel for Brazil, I would not recommend them if they did not. Experience has shown that Brazil's stability, prosperity, and progress help us, too.

I do not think it would profit either of us to discuss which nation derives the more from our cooperation. It is true that, between friendly nations as between individual friends, there is an unspoken understanding that there will be some balance between the favors which each, within his capacities, extends to the other. Neither nations nor individuals benefit from discussing these things; unless the balance be completely awry, the only effect of this would be to reduce drastically the cooperation each receives from the other. It has been on the basis of complete mutual confidence that Brazil and the United States have traditionally collaborated.

The point which I wish to underscore—which I cannot sufficiently underscore—is that both our nations have benefited enormously from our cooperation. Every act of cooperation extended by either nation to the other has benefited both, and if in individual cases one has benefited more than the other there has in the aggregate been an ap-

proximate balance. We have together defended our independence, our freedom, our security; we have upheld the peace of this hemisphere; we have kept from our shores the ravages of two world wars. Both nations have benefited from our close economic ties. If Brazil today is rapidly becoming one of the world's greatest nations, I think we can justly take pride in the share, modest though it be, that we have taken in its growth. The importance of our partnership grows with the growth of Brazil.

There are voices raised today to break that partnership. It is, of course, useless to argue with those who consciously serve an alien dictatorship implacably hostile to both our countries and all they stand for. But to those who wish to build up and not to tear down their countries and who yet sincerely think it would be to their country's advantage to break this partnership, or who recommend measures which would have that effect, I would suggest further consideration. Each country could beyond question do great harm to the other country in our historic partnership. Surely, nevertheless, if one considers anything that might be done in either country to hurt the other, it should be clear that such action would be almost equally harmful to both countries—and that retaliations would likewise hurt both. Thus, Brazil could adopt a new political orientation only at the cost of endangering its own security as well as that of the United States; the United States could hurt Brazilian coffee only at the cost of wrecking our fruitful political collaboration and destroying an important market for our exports. Any objective analysis can only conclude that our cooperation was indeed foreordained.

If there are any of us here who are inclined to criticize the cooperation of extremists of opposite wings against us, let us remember that precisely this has happened in the United States also. The isolationist Nye committee tried to pin the label of "merchants of death" on our munitions industry at the very moment that World War II was approaching. Was it of no significance that Alger Hiss, demonstrated to have been a Communist agent, was counsel for that committee? It is not only in other countries that Communist slogans become the battle cry of the extreme right.

When hatred and falsehood are heaped on those of us who favor international collaboration by the agents of a ruthless alien tyranny, it is a good sign that our work has not been useless. It is some-

what discouraging, however, to find people who on basic issues think very much as we do innocently joining with these agents in attacks on us. The United States and Brazil may differ as to means; yet there is no substantial difference between us as to ends. Specifically, we are delighted at every new triumph in Brazil's development. Our nations have a long, magnificent record of collaboration which has promoted the interests of both. I am confident that the two Governments will continue that collaboration and that the two peoples will demand that they do so. Surely history will record, if we do this, how right we were and, if we do not, that it was the beginning of disaster for us both.

U.S. Intensifies Enforcement of Laws Governing Departure for Cuba

Following are the texts of an announcement by the Department of Justice and a letter from Secretary Herter to Lawrence E. Walsh, Acting Attorney General.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ANNOUNCEMENT

The Department of Justice announced on November 1 (for release on November 2) that, acting in response to a request of the President to Attorney General William P. Rogers, representatives of the Department of Justice, the State Department and the Federal Aviation Agency had on that date agreed upon procedures that will intensify enforcement of the laws governing departure of persons from the United States to Cuba including departures of citizens of Cuba who have sought refuge in this country, with particular reference to flights by private aircraft.¹ The following action was taken:

1. Under Presidential proclamation No. 3004, issued January 17, 1953, certain powers and duties of the President under Section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act were delegated to the

¹ For texts of a Department statement expressing concern over U.S.-Cuban relations and a telegram from the Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, R. R. Rubottom, Jr., to the chairman of the Inter-American Peace Committee, offering U.S. cooperation on the problem of Latin American exiles in the United States, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, pp. 715 and 716.

Secretary of State, including the responsibility to decide when departures of aliens and citizens from the United States would be detrimental to the interests of this country. Under that delegated authority, the Secretary of State may call upon other agencies of the government to implement enforcement of the Immigration and Nationality Act and any regulations issued pursuant thereto. Thus, in the present situation, the Secretary of State is authorized to ask, and now has asked, the Attorney General to prevent departure by private aircraft from the United States to Cuba of aliens or citizens whenever it appears that their entry into Cuba is being attempted for the purpose of starting or furthering civil strife in that country.

2. In anticipation of the request of the Secretary of State, Commissioner Joseph M. Swing of the Immigration and Naturalization Service already has dispatched to Florida a special force of more than 100 officers, with necessary planes, automobiles, communications and other equipment, to reenforce the operations of the Service in that State. General Swing says that Immigration officers are now being deployed throughout the almost 200 airports in Florida and are ready to institute continuous vigilant guard to prevent unauthorized flights from the United States to Cuba by persons whose departure would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

3. The Federal Aviation Agency has prepared for immediate issuance a regulation requiring that any person operating a civil aircraft for flight into or over Cuba file within one hour prior to time of departure a written flight plan which will disclose, in addition to technical flight data, the destination of the plane, the names of passengers, the names of crew and the nature of any cargo carried. This regulation will further require departure of such planes from designated international airports.

All information available to the Federal Aviation Agency regarding flights to Cuba and all flight plans are to be made available to the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The Federal Aviation Agency warned that all pilots holding its certificates when in Cuban air space are expected to abide by the laws and regulations of Cuba.

Filing of a false flight plan under the new regulation will subject those responsible to criminal prosecution. Failure to comply with the require-

ment to file a flight plan will subject violators to a possible civil penalty of \$1,000 and loss of certificate.

Under Section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, if a plane is used as an instrument for the illegal departure of a person from the United States, the plane is subject to confiscation, in addition to criminal penalties which may be imposed upon the violator.

TEXT OF SECRETARY HERTER'S LETTER

OCTOBER 31, 1959

DEAR Mr. WALSH: The continued friendly relations between the United States and the other nations in the Caribbean area are important to the national defense of the United States and to measures taken by the United States for the defense of other countries in compliance with our treaty commitments. The usual friendly relations between this Government and the governments of such other nations may be embarrassed by allegations that aliens use our territory as a base of operations for starting or furthering civil strife against the governments of such nations. The Government of the United States has in the past diligently investigated all available information involving the possible violation of laws designed to prevent such activities and has brought before the courts all those cases where sufficient evidence existed.

The close geographic proximity of Cuba to the United States poses a special problem. It has been asserted that aliens have recently used private aircraft which have departed from the United States to make possible the dropping of leaflets and to engage in other activities for the purpose of starting or furthering civil strife in that country. I find that the departure of any alien from the United States to Cuba (including its air space) in such manner for these purposes is prejudicial to the interests of the United States.

In exercise of the power delegated to me by Presidential Proclamation 3004 and in accordance with the rules and regulations prescribed thereunder, I therefore request that, pursuant to the provisions of Section 215 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (66 Stat. 190) and the regulations of the Secretary of State relating thereto, 22 C.F.R. 46, you prevent the departure from the United States to Cuba by such means of any alien

who appears to be departing for the purpose of starting or furthering civil strife in the territory of the Republic of Cuba or aiding or abetting therein.

It has also been asserted that United States citizens have from time to time aided and abetted the promotion of civil strife in Cuba by facilitating or participating in the illegal departure of aliens from the United States to Cuba by private aircraft and by other acts intended for this purpose. Accordingly, pursuant to the power delegated to me by the aforesaid proclamation I hereby request that in accordance with the regulations promulgated thereunder, 22 C.F.R. 53, when it appears that any citizen of the United States or any person who owes allegiance to the United States is attempting or seeking to depart from the United States by such means for the purpose of starting or furthering civil strife in Cuba or aiding or abetting therein, you temporarily prevent the departure of said person in order to permit the completion of an appropriate investigation.

Sincerely yours,

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

U.S. and Panama Exchange Notes on Anti-American Demonstrations

Following are the texts of a note delivered on November 3 and an aide memoire delivered on October 21 by the U.S. Ambassador to Panama, Julian F. Harrington, to the Foreign Minister of Panama, Miguel J. Moreno, Jr., together with the text of a Panamanian note of November 4.

TEXTS OF U.S. NOTE AND AIDE MEMOIRE

Press release 773 dated November 3

Note of November 3

Under instructions from my Government I have the honor to protest the unwarranted desecration that took place today of the American flag flying at the Chancery of the United States Embassy in honor of the Panamanian Independence Day by a group of approximately 150 persons. I also protest the damage to the United States Government property inflicted both at the Chancery and offices of the United States Information Service on the same occasion.

At approximately 12:45 p.m. a group congregated in front of the Chancery. Soon thereafter they lowered the American flag and raised the Panamanian flag on the staff. They thereupon tore the American flag into shreds. At the same time members of the group threw stones breaking a considerable number of windows. They thereupon departed in a group carrying the remnants of the American flag.

Earlier a large group congregated in front of the building of the United States Information Service and shattered practically all the windows on the first and second floors. Ironically enough, the United States Information Service display window featured Panamanian Independence.

My Government regards the desecration of the American flag and damage to American property as seriously endangering the good relations between our two countries. The foregoing actions, moreover, took place despite the contents of the Aide Memoire I delivered to Your Excellency on October 21.

Aide Memoire of October 21

The Ambassador of the United States of America is appreciative of the reassuring statements made to the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim during the Ambassador's recent absence from Panama with respect to the demonstrations which certain Panamanians have said will take place in the Canal Zone on November 3, 1959. The Government of the United States is certain that the Government of Panama will take whatever steps may be necessary in Panama to ensure peace and order and to discourage any demonstration in the Canal Zone which might have serious consequences, thereby endangering the good relations which exist between the two countries.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Panama, October 21, 1959.

TEXT OF PANAMANIAN NOTE

Unofficial translation

NOVEMBER 4, 1959

MR. AMBASSADOR: I have received Your Excellency's note Number 169 of November 3 expressing Your Excellency's protest for acts of violence committed that same day by a group of persons congregated in front of the Chancery of the U.S.A. Embassy.

These actions form a part of a series of incidents which occurred yesterday [November 3] and which the Government has begun to investigate. According to informa-

tion received by the Government up to the present, the acts committed in front of the Chancery of the U.S.A. Embassy were preceded by analogous acts involving a Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone.

My Government laments that which happened yesterday and in no manner could subscribe to or approve acts of the nature that gave rise to Your Excellency's protest.

Nevertheless, I should now declare to Your Excellency that, with reference to the events that happened yesterday on the border of the Canal Zone, my Government has information regarding certain unjustifiable acts, such as firing against groups of unarmed Panamanians and launching tear gas bombs in various sectors of the city, that resulted in the wounding of more than forty Panamanian citizens by action of the U.S. armed forces. My

Government formally protests the attitude assumed and the acts committed at certain moments by the police forces of the Canal Zone and the military forces that came later to reinforce them. And in presenting this formal protest my Government trusts that the civilian and military authorities of the U.S. in the Canal Zone will act in future with greater consideration and prudence so that the repetition of the events we lament today might be avoided.

I take the opportunity to reiterate to Your Excellency the assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

MIGUEL J. MORENO, Jr.
Minister of Foreign Relations

The Future of the Mutual Security Program

by Leonard J. Saccio

Acting Director, International Cooperation Administration¹

Our greatest concern and interest today, I should think, is to divine correctly the true meaning of the events of the past month, particularly the significance of Mr. Khrushchev's visit.²

Of course no one event in history, no matter how startling, can be viewed without reference to other facts. Hence it may be well to look at and consider the past 10 years, a period which corresponds, roughly, with the life of the Mutual Security Program.

Certainly there has been no change in the dogma about the ultimate conquest of the world by international communism. Every time he had a chance Khrushchev recited the classic Marxist rote—feudalism, capitalism, communism—and claimed that there was no escape for anyone from this social and political determinism.

But there have been changes, important ones, during the past decade.

¹ Address made before a joint meeting of the Clerical Advisory Council and the Clergy-Industry Relations Advisory Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers at Washington, D.C., on Oct. 20.

² Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., visited the United States Sept. 15-27. For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476, and Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

1. The U.S.S.R. has shown a tremendous economic capability. It has developed its resources and has achieved outstanding success in science, that useful servant for peace or war, good or evil.

2. Within the Soviet Union there has been a relaxation of tyranny and government by secret police and a commitment, or at least a promise, to give more emphasis to the needs of the people.

3. The bloc has added a new tool to use in its foreign relations outside the bloc—a tool which bodes well for world peace in two respects:

(a) The tool is a peaceful one, namely, economic assistance;

(b) Use of this tool requires decent standards of international conduct. For example, the claim of "no strings attached" has made it necessary for the Soviet Union to continue substantial aid to certain countries even though the current policy of those countries was unpleasant to the U.S.S.R.

4. There has been open acknowledgment, in recent months, that any future all-out war would mean the annihilation of all civilization—the destruction of the "socialist" nations as well as the others.

We can hope, it seems to me, for the eventual development within the U.S.S.R. of governmental policies and programs more responsive to its

people's desire for peace—and a chance to obtain more material comforts—and more in line with its people's basic lack of interest in world conquest.

Maintaining Strength for Peace

From three factors—the apparent changes of Soviet tactics, our hard-won experience, our hope for further changes—we can deduce our course of action, especially the future of the Mutual Security Program.

First, inasmuch as our present policies of mutual security and collective defense have been instrumental in bringing about desirable changes in Soviet tactics, we must continue these policies as long as they are needed—that is, until the Sino-Soviet bloc decides to devote its productive capacity to meeting the peaceful needs of individual families and decides to renounce the use of armed force to win the world to communism. As long as there is an armed threat which can be countered only by military strength, we have little choice but to maintain our defenses.

Second, regardless of what happens to the status and cost of defense programs, we are going to have greater, not less, need for those parts of the Mutual Security Program which are concerned with development rather than with defense or disaster.

As to the first, my conclusion is based on the success of the past 10 years. Suppose there had been no military aid program to help build up free-world defense forces, no economic aid to shore up the economies of the countries which had to have large armies but which had only small incomes. Suppose there had been no adequate free-world defense strength, nor real determination to resist attack in Korea, in Viet-Nam, in Taiwan, or to stand up to threat and bluster in the Middle East. Suppose we and our partners had not worked together to make the risk of aggression too great. Do you think we would be talking today about peaceful negotiations?

Where do we go from here? Proposals for disarmament are springing up like mushrooms after rain. These proposals must be considered, not on the basis of their source but on the basis of their merits.

We have learned through hard experience that the real problem we face is not disarmament as such; it is disarmament with safety. We did disarm at the end of World War II, but the Com-

munist bloc did not. Let no one forget it was Communist efforts to take over the world by aggression and armed insurrections which finally pushed the United States and its partners into reluctant rearmament. Those among the neutrals who fall for the myth that we are the “aggressor,” encircling the Soviet bloc with air and naval bases, should remember that we and our partners put our defenses together only after events in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the Far East had made it crystal clear that the rulers of the Communist empire, unless stopped from the outside, would use armed force to try to take over their neighbors. We had to stop the outward march of Communist armies. We had to keep those armies stopped. We had to build armed strength on this side to deter aggression from the other, and we succeeded. Shall we now give up our strength?

Until we have some kind of workable and enforceable agreements involving inspection or other certain methods of control, we cannot afford to engage in any one-sided, dangerous disarmament. We do not have any real agreements yet; and, even should we and our defense partners reach agreement with the Russians, there are still the Red Chinese to consider.

We have no choice but to maintain the strength for peace which makes negotiation possible until we have bona fide agreements. We cannot afford military weakness at this crucial time in history; and I refer not only to our own military strength but equally and importantly to the strength of our allies and that part of it which is accounted for by military assistance programs and related economic programs within the mutual security appropriations.

The balance of power for peace is not yet assured. We must maintain, not jeopardize, it. Hence I do not foresee any lessening in the immediate future of the need for the two most costly parts of the Mutual Security Program: military assistance—hardware for allies; and defense support—economic backstopping for a dozen countries with large defense costs and small economies.

Opportunity for the Free World

Now assume, for the sake of argument, that we have no further need for defense programs of the present size and cost. What will happen to other parts of the Mutual Security Program?

In a world where nations have freedom of choice each one—the old as well as the new, the developed as well as the underdeveloped—can look and see and judge which general system of organizing the affairs of mankind offers it the most, which system would be the most advantageous to its interests. On the basis of self-interest each nation will then choose which system to associate with.

Should many nations conclude that the Soviet system has the most to offer, the balance of population and resources will shift drastically.

What will the map of the world look like 10 years from now—or 20? Part of the answer lies in ourselves, in our estimate of our own interests, in our willingness to pay the cost of jobs that need doing, in our ability to see an opportunity as clearly as we see a threat.

The opportunity is this: to work with other nations, old and new—maybe even some day with the Soviet bloc—to help create economic, social, and political conditions in which national freedom and personal liberties can flourish, to help build a world in which peaceful trade can climb, a world in which the human spirit can soar, unbound from threats of war, unbound from the shackles of past fears and suspicions.

This opportunity would exist and we should take advantage of it even were there no Communists in the world. We have, of course, humanitarian reasons for wishing to help other people. In addition we have reasons of national interest which are equally as compelling as our moral duty as individuals. A world torn with strife, a world depressed with lack of opportunity, a world in which people turn to drastic solutions to their problems when they get no effective action from existing institutions—in this kind of world we, as a people, as a nation, as businessmen, have nothing to gain and much to lose.

In helping to solve the problems which stand in the way of economic and social progress in many nations of the world, the United States as a Government has had considerable experience and has gained many useful insights. Most of the experience has been obtained through those aspects of the Mutual Security Program not directly related to defense.

Some of the jobs are relatively easy. For example, it is not too difficult to provide relief supplies to victims of natural or manmade disasters, nor is it too hard a job to give financial support to

a government in budgetary distress. In retrospect, it was not such a terribly difficult job to supply the nations of Western Europe with food, raw materials, and machinery which they needed—and, more importantly, knew how to use—to restore their economic mechanism to a healthy working condition. We have even found out that it is possible to work successfully on a worldwide basis to eradicate a major disease. I refer to malaria.

All of the above-named activities have elements in common: The problem was fairly easy to identify, the solution seemed inescapable, and the resources were available.

Lessons Learned From Technical Cooperation

It was when we started working at two other big jobs that we ran into difficulty—not permanently insurmountable difficulties but matters which will take much time and effort to deal with. I refer specifically to our activities in helping to finance economic development and in helping to develop skills, knowledge, and, above all, indigenous institutions which will make continued economic, social, and political progress possible.

Our principal governmental mechanism for working with other countries to develop skills and institutions has been the technical cooperation program. We have learned many lessons.

First, basic skills and attitudes cannot be transferred intact from the United States, or any other country, to another culture; they must evolve from the conditions and the culture in which they will be used.

Second, a series of unrelated demonstrations, no matter how good in itself each one may be, will have little effect outside the areas in which the demonstrations are made and may last only so long as the outside demonstrators stick around. This means that we and our partners have to work to build local institutions which are capable of operating effectively on a countrywide basis.

Third, in developing service institutions, some of the most important are those institutions of higher learning responsive to the practical needs of citizens and not concerned exclusively with cultural education. I hope you will understand I am not belittling the need for culture nor the need for classical education in any society. All I am saying is that society has other needs which must be served by institutions for higher learning and that these other needs should be taken into account.

Fourth, we have learned that there is great need for business skills, not only the skills of the adventurous entrepreneur nor just the skills of the trader or middleman. There is also a great need for management skills. Businesses have to be managed; government agencies have to be managed; countries have to be run; voluntary agencies, such as farm cooperatives or consumer cooperatives, have to be directed; and these management skills are among the hardest to help develop. It is easy, for example, to train 10,000 young men to work Indian pumps and to spray dieldrin on walls and ceilings of houses in a world-wide malaria eradication campaign. It is another matter to train people in the business management of steel mills, fertilizer plants, glass factories, railroads, highway construction and maintenance, and 10,000 other various enterprises which are found in a modern economy.

We believe, of course, that as much economic activity as possible should be in private hands and under private management. In ICA we have established an office of private enterprise to help make this view known and to help see to it that private enterprise is encouraged to do the jobs for which it is best fitted.

Fifth, a great deal more time is required in this job of developing service institutions than we had at first thought necessary.

I mention the element of time for two reasons: First, we would need more time to do the job even if we stuck with the three basic areas of technical cooperation; namely, agriculture, education, and health. There is still plenty of work to be done in these three fields. In addition we have received requests and responded favorably to them for help in a dozen other major fields including public administration, public safety, and community development, as well as industry and labor. Second, as problems in one field approach solution, whole new areas are opened up. For example, education in the field of public health on a need for sanitation may start out with environmental sanitation in rural areas and end up with requests for loans to put in a safe water supply system and a sewage system in the major cities.

The Essential Job Ahead

This kind of organic growth in cooperative programs leads me to the next point: We are going to continue to need money for developmental pur-

poses. Not all the funds need come from the United States since we expect our European partners to help—and perhaps even eventually the Sino-Soviet bloc.

Aside from meeting emergencies, aside from preventing collapse of countries burdened with needed defense forces, the essential job ahead is to spark the process of economic development to effect a substantial change in the standard of living and conduct of life in those areas now known as underdeveloped. In fact, most of the American public and the Congress itself apply the test of economic growth to measure the success of our program. It is not enough that we have prevented the advance of communism, that we have provided for and supported the defense of the free world, that we have fed the victims of famine and given shelter to the escapee and refugee, that we have helped rehabilitate areas destroyed by war, that we have prevented economic chaos in many parts of the free world. All this is not enough. We must show more: We must show positive progress in building flourishing 20th century economies and societies in those areas of the world that are still to a large extent in the primitive agricultural stage.

The difficulty of the task is enormous, and our knowledge is still uncertain. But it is my firm conviction that it is the most important job before us, and I fervently hope that all nations—and I mean *all*—can devote their efforts to the development task in peace and understanding.

Aid Offered Mexico To Alleviate Hardships of Pacific Coast Storm

Following is an exchange of messages between President Eisenhower and President Adolfo López Mateos of Mexico.

White House press release dated November 2

President Eisenhower to President López Mateos

OCTOBER 30, 1959

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I was shocked to learn of the cyclone, floods and landslide that are reported to have caused such havoc and loss of life in the vicinity of Manzanillo. The American people extend heartfelt sympathy to the Mexican people in this trying time. Although Ambassador Hill

has already been in touch with officials of your Government, I want to inform you personally that this Government stands ready to cooperate in any manner it can in alleviating the hardships now being borne by the citizens of Mexico.

With warm personal regard,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President López Mateos to President Eisenhower

OCTOBER 31, 1959

HIGHLY ESTEEMED MR. PRESIDENT: I have received with sincere emotion the message in which you convey to me your regret over the havoc caused by the Pacific cyclone in a vast region of the Republic.

In name of the Mexican people, I deeply appreciate this evidence of solidarity which the people of the United States manifests to us in these unfortunate moments.

In the midst of the loss of lives and the destruction which the disaster has brought us, this government is controlling and progressively dominating the situation, and you may be assured that we shall not fail to remember the cooperation of our friends in case of need.

I send you affectionate greetings, with my cordial consideration.

ADOLFO LÓPEZ MATEOS

U.S. and Rumania Begin Talks on Financial Claims

Press release 778 dated November 6

Representatives of the United States will begin negotiations with representatives of the Rumanian Government at Washington on November 16, 1959, in an effort to arrive at a settlement of the financial claims of American nationals against Rumania.

Under the terms of the treaty of peace with Rumania signed at Paris on February 10, 1947, the Rumanian Government is obligated to compensate United Nations nationals for losses suffered by reason of the damage, seizure, sequestration, or control of their property in Rumania between September 1, 1939, and the coming into force of the treaty, September 15, 1947. Moreover, the Rumanian Government is obligated un-

der recognized principles of international law to pay prompt, adequate, and effective compensation to American nationals whose property interests in Rumania were nationalized, expropriated, or otherwise taken subsequent to the entry into force of the treaty.

Since the Rumanian Government failed to take any effective steps to satisfy claims as provided in the treaty and as required by international law, the Government of the United States, in August 1955, exercising its rights under the treaty and under international law, vested certain Rumanian assets which had remained blocked in the United States since World War II.¹ This action, authorized under Public Law 285, 84th Congress, provided for the distribution of the proceeds of the vested assets to American nationals having claims against Rumania.

The adjudication of American claims against Rumania was completed by the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States on August 9, 1959. In accordance with Public Law 285, awards of the Commission have been certified to the United States Treasury for payment out of the proceeds of the seized assets of Rumania. Total awards by the Commission against Rumania (exclusive of interest) amounted to slightly more than \$60 million. The available funds for compensation to recipients of awards total about \$21 million. The objective of the U.S. in the forthcoming negotiations will be to arrive at a final settlement of the unsatisfied portion of U.S. claims against Rumania.

These negotiations are being undertaken at the initiative of the Rumanian Government, which first proposed to discuss these matters early in 1956. Exploratory talks held at Bucharest in October 1956,² however, did not result in any agreement as to how the negotiations should proceed. Several exchanges of communications since the termination of the Bucharest talks have led to the decision to begin negotiations at Washington on November 16.

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 21, 1955, p. 845.

² *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1956, p. 444.

U.N. Political Committee Unanimously Approves 82-Nation Disarmament Resolution

Following is a statement made in Committee I (Political and Security) on October 28 by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, together with the text of a resolution on disarmament adopted by the committee on November 2.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR LODGE

U.S. delegation press release 3273

Long before the United Nations was founded, and, as a matter of fact, ever since, states have supported the idea of bringing about real disarmament under effective international control in the belief that this would make a mighty contribution to building a peaceful world.

Every year the General Assembly has tried to make progress toward genuine disarmament. As rapid technological developments have increased the awesome destructive power of modern weapons, making nuclear war a suicidal enterprise, interest in bringing about disarmament has heightened.

This year each speaker has emphasized the desire of his country to see significant action taken in the disarmament field.

In the speech I made here¹ I even went a little further by making some suggestions regarding the need to begin to consider complementary steps that will eventually be required to maintain peace in a disarmed world. I also repeated that the United States unreservedly supports the greatest possible amount of controlled disarmament.

I think it has always been clear that comprehensive disarmament may be achieved in various ways and by various means. We can go gradu-

ally, step by step, or we can tackle the problem as a whole.

Technical and political considerations can be treated separately, or they can be treated together. As for the United States, let me repeat what I said earlier:

We are willing to take large steps or small steps—as long as they are real steps taken in confidence and all concerned take equal steps together.

It is crucial that, once we specify and agree on our objective, we must be flexible in devising ways and procedures to move toward it.

The way in which we describe our objective is unimportant. What is important is that we all understand it in the same way.

The goal has been called "real disarmament." Others refer to it as "comprehensive disarmament," a phrase which in the English language is particularly descriptive. The resolution before us uses the words "general and complete disarmament."

All these phrases mean disarmament right across the board, involving all types of weapons, covering every means of warfare. There are other words that could be used equally well. If we use the words "general and complete disarmament" on one occasion, on another we can just as well refer to "comprehensive disarmament."

Indeed, the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. [David] Ormsby-Gore, made precisely this point in his speech here the other day when, after using the phrase "comprehensive disarmament," he said:

I assure you that this single adjective "comprehensive" has the same meaning for us as the two adjectives "general and complete" which have been preferred by some speakers in this debate.

To give you another example: Chairman Khrush-

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 615.

shehev in his address to the Assembly referred to "comprehensive and complete" disarmament.

Now let me turn to the resolution which we will soon be introducing.²

The first three paragraphs of the preamble reflect certain basic aims of the United Nations—the desire to avoid war; the desire to end the armaments race and to use resources now devoted to armaments for man's benefit; the desire to create relations of mutual trust and cooperation.

The next paragraph recalls the action of the Disarmament Commission of this past September³ when it welcomed the resumption of negotiations on disarmament as agreed by France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States in establishing the new 10-nation disarmament group.

The concluding two paragraphs of the preamble reflect the general comments I have just made about the subject of disarmament. They define the problem before us, and they make it plain that any progress toward the objective of comprehensive disarmament will contribute to the development of a peaceful world. This language was designed to make plain that either large or small steps, or both, are worth while.

The first calls upon governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of the problem of comprehensive disarmament.

The second provides for the records of our discussions to be transmitted to our own Disarmament Commission and to the 10-nation disarmament group for thorough consideration. In particular, this paragraph notes two specific plans which were put forward this year, that of the United Kingdom⁴ and that of the U.S.S.R.,⁵ and refers them for consideration to the 10-nation disarmament committee. It neither endorses nor rejects any of the specific proposals or suggestions that have been put forward.

We believe that this is a wise decision, one which recognizes that these plans, as well as any others, will require careful and detailed examination. The resolution itself uses the words "thorough consideration." Consequently the resolution simply refers them to a body which can give them the detailed examination they must have.

² U.N. doc. A/C.1/L. 234.

³ For text of resolution of Sept. 10, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 439.

⁴ U.N. doc. A/C.1/820.

⁵ U.N. doc. A/4219.

The concluding operative paragraph is again a statement of hope and aspiration. The hope is that measures leading toward the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time. No one can disagree with that statement of objectives. Everyone can and must do his utmost to contribute to its achievement. The United States pledges its best efforts to achievement of this great goal.

We join in cosponsoring this resolution in the spirit of the communique at Camp David of September 27, 1959.⁶ In that communique Chairman Khrushchev and President Eisenhower agreed that the question of general disarmament is the most important one facing the world today. They further agreed that both Governments should make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem. This communique also—and I stress this because it refers to the circumstances upon which such a constructive solution depends—affirms that the Chairman and the President "agreed that all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation."

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, let me say that our agreement here on objectives is important. It can set the stage, as we believe it does, for constructive negotiations elsewhere. In those negotiations, also, the United States will do everything it can to bring about a successful outcome. It now becomes the task of others to translate our goals into concrete terms and to build the essential groundwork which we all fervently hope will open the way toward controlled and comprehensive disarmament.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION⁷

The General Assembly.

Moved by the desire to save the present and succeeding generations from the danger of a new and disastrous war,

Striving to put an end completely and forever to the armaments race which places a heavy burden on mankind, and to use resources thus released for the benefit of mankind,

⁶ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

⁷ U.N. doc. A/C.1/L.234, cosponsored by all 82 of the member nations and unanimously adopted by Committee I on Nov. 2.

Desiring to promote the creation of relations of trust and peaceful co-operation between States,

Mindful of the resolution of 10 September 1959 (DC/146) of the United Nations Disarmament Commission,

Being convinced that any progress towards the goal of complete and general disarmament under effective international control will contribute to the achievement of these high aims,

Considering that the question of general and complete disarmament is the most important one facing the world today,

Calls upon Governments to make every effort to achieve a constructive solution of this problem,

Transmits to the United Nations Disarmament Commission and requests the Secretary-General to make available to the ten-nation disarmament committee for thorough consideration the Declaration of the United Kingdom of 17 September 1959, and the Declaration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of 18 September 1959, and the other proposals or suggestions made, as well as the records of the Plenary meetings and the meetings of the First Committee at which the question of general and complete disarmament was discussed,

Expresses the hope that measures leading towards the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control will be worked out in detail and agreed upon in the shortest possible time.

United Nations Programs of Technical Assistance

Statement by Virgil B. Hancher
*U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

Last week the President of the United States issued a call to all free nations, large or small, rich or poor, to intensify their efforts toward providing economic assistance for underdeveloped nations.² A few of his observations are so pertinent to our deliberations that I should like to quote his reiteration of our aims. The President said:

Increasingly and insistently they [the peoples of the world] are demanding the elimination of the human indignities of starvation, ill-health, and peonage. They want independence, individual freedom, and responsible government. . . .

Clearly one objective of American foreign policy is and must be to help build a world economy in which each nation finds it possible to earn its own keep and to pay its own way, and do so in a manner which brings mean-

ing and fulfillment to the lives of its citizens. Such a policy is crucial to our own prosperity and security; it is vital to the cause of a just and lasting peace.

I believe, and I trust you believe, that every free nation should have this policy. I further believe, and hope you agree, that the free nations of the world, motivated by both humanitarianism and self-interest, should cooperate voluntarily in a long-range program aimed at helping the presently less privileged peoples work step by step toward a better life.

The ideals thus restated by our President have guided our Nation and many others for a long time. The Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, undertaken 10 years ago, was one of the early experiments in economic cooperation on an international scale.

The Expanded Program has good reasons to take pride in its past accomplishments. By virtue of the solid experience it has gained, it can also look forward with real confidence to the future. There is particular reason for satisfaction concerning the cooperative relationships which the Expanded Program has developed with the specialized agencies, with the United Nations Secretariat, with organizations in countries like my own which are engaged in bilateral technical cooperation programs, and with the recently established Special Fund. Even more gratifying, perhaps, is the mutual trust and understanding which has been forged in true partnership between the Expanded Program and the member governments which have received or are receiving technical assistance from the United Nations.

Noteworthy Aspects of Expanded Program

At least two aspects of the Expanded Program, in addition to its growth and the cooperative arrangements it has established, are particularly worthy of note.

The Executive Chairman [of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board, David Owen] has revealed that many countries are taking part in giving as well as in receiving technical assistance. In his words:

So many countries are now taking part on the giving end as well as on the receiving end, as it were, that what began as technical *assistance* has proved to be technical *cooperation* on a worldwide scale.

Bearing in mind Mr. Owen's observation as to the true cooperative nature of this venture, perhaps we should at an appropriate time consider

¹ Made in Committee II (Economic and Financial) on Oct. 20 (U.S. delegation press release 3260).

² BULLETIN of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 620.

a change in the title of the program which would reflect more accurately that what we are engaged in is a program of technical cooperation. I was pleased to hear similar views expressed by the distinguished representatives of Canada, France, and Japan.

Also worthy of attention is the fact mentioned by Mr. Owen and Mr. [Roberto M.] Heurtematte [U.N. Commissioner for Technical Assistance] in their statements that arrangements have been made with an increasing number of countries to receive supplementary technical assistance on a payment basis. This development is, as they said, a welcome extension of the possibilities of effective action.

My delegation joins with others who have spoken in expressing our appreciation to Mr. David Owen, the Executive Chairman. We are also pleased to welcome Mr. Heurtematte as he joins us for the first time and to express our confidence that he will carry on effectively the responsibilities so conscientiously performed by his predecessor, Mr. Hugh Keenleyside.

The projects undertaken by the United Nations technical assistance programs have steadily grown in number and variety over the years and have continued to improve in quality. The passage of time has, however, revealed more and greater needs in the area of technical assistance—many, of course, newly identified rather than newly created needs, but all worthy of the best efforts and fullest resources which the United Nations can devote to this extremely important phase of economic development.

Needs of Newly Independent Countries

My delegation particularly welcomes the increase in technical assistance furnished to newly independent countries of Africa, whose needs are so urgent. At the same time we fully realize the importance of carrying on without interruption the necessary programs in other parts of the world. Only increased contributions will make it possible to meet the exceptionally urgent problems of the newly independent countries without in any way diminishing technical assistance to other developing countries.

It is because of the particularly urgent needs of the newly independent countries, and of United Nations trust territories as well, that we believe

the OPEX project³ is an encouraging experiment. This program can result not only in filling temporarily certain important gaps but also in providing technical aid and training for some of the countries which particularly lack experienced corps of administrators and technicians. It is fundamental to our thinking, of course, that such operational and executive personnel go only to countries which want and need their services. As for the Secretary-General's request for funds for 1960, we shall make our comments in the Fifth Committee; however, we are prepared to support an increase, which appears to be justified in terms of need and good administration.

In the 28th session of the Economic and Social Council my Government supported resolutions which recommended several significant administrative reforms. When implemented, these changes might assure even greater efficiency in utilizing the funds of the Expanded Program.

For example, the United States fully supported resolution 735, under which it was decided, on an experimental basis and for the period 1961-62, that programing of specific projects might be undertaken on a 2-year basis without in any way affecting the annual pledging procedure. We will also be very much interested in the results of the study undertaken to explore the possibility of longer term programing.

Perhaps the most intricate administrative problem before the Economic and Social Council at its summer session was that relating to the policy of allocating administrative and operational services costs between regular and Expanded Program budgets. Without reviewing the complexities involved, I may say that my Government fully supported the compromise reflected in resolution 737 of ECOSOC (XXVIII), which envisages that funds allocated to the specialized agencies for the administrative and operational services costs of executing projects under the Expanded Program will ultimately amount to 12 percent of the costs of these projects. In order that resolution 737 may be implemented within the time specified, we are hopeful that govern-

³ The OPEX program, which was approved by the General Assembly in 1958 for an experimental 1-year period, is intended to help requesting governments recruit from outside their country experienced operational, executive, and administrative personnel to work as civil servants on a temporary basis.

ments, in reviewing the budgets of the specialized agencies, will take action consistent with this resolution.

Increased Contributions

At the recent pledging conference some member governments announced their intention to increase their contributions to the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. We are pleased by this result as well as by the statements of other governments that they plan to make new or increased contributions in the near future. My Government takes particular satisfaction in learning of every increase, large or small, including the assessed local contributions of recipient governments, because each addition makes it more nearly possible for the United Nations to use fully the maximum amount pledged by the United States.

We have listened to the representatives of many underdeveloped countries eloquently expound their nations' ultimate goals with a sense of urgency which is fully justified. We have also heard delegates from a few other countries, whose resources are large but whose contributions are meager in relation to their vaunted economic strength, advise, criticize, and generally expatiate upon the requirements and inadequacies of existing programs. Actions speak louder than words. We should welcome increased contributions by these nations without strings attached as to their use. In this connection we strongly endorse the view expressed yesterday by the distinguished representative of Canada that

... relatively developed countries who express a devotion to the cause of multilateral aid through the United Nations should not continue to encumber their pledges in such a way that the effect is to produce a disguised bilateral assistance program in the name of a multilateral effort of the United Nations.

We believe wholeheartedly that the newly independent countries of Africa have a particular need for increased technical assistance. We have shown it in deeds, not just in words. At the same time we cannot advocate a reduction in assistance to other underdeveloped countries. They, too, need more, not less. We can see only one solution—more resources. It is for those who proclaim their desire to assist the newly developing countries to demonstrate their sincerity in the only way that really counts: by contributing at least in proportion to their economic strength.

Question of Increasing Membership of Main U.N. Organs

*Statement by Harold Riegelman
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

Each year since the 11th session of the General Assembly the questions of enlarging the Economic and Social Council, the Security Council, and the International Court of Justice have been on the agenda of the General Assembly. The first two questions have been discussed at length by the Assembly. In addition the proposal for enlargement of the Economic and Social Council has been debated in the Economic and Social Council itself.

This concern is the logical outgrowth of a constantly expanding United Nations membership. Nearly one-third of the present members have joined the United Nations since the charter was written. The desire for a greater opportunity to play a useful part in the work of the Organization has caused more and more delegations to favor an increase in the membership of certain organs whose size is determined by the charter.

The United States has consistently favored a reasonable increase in both Councils. We have felt that a growing demand for participation on these bodies should be recognized through moderate expansion. We believe this can be done without impairing efficiency and operating flexibility, which are essential characteristics of the Economic and Social Council and the Security Council. Moreover, if there is no enlargement, the type of problem we face now in connection with the Security Council elections is likely to recur more frequently.

The stumbling block preventing effective action on the questions before us has been the insistence of one of the permanent members of the Security Council that no enlargement shall take place except upon a condition laid down by that member. And a permanent member of the Security Council can block any amendment of the charter. Evidently that particular member has been engaged in an effort to force its will on the entire General Assembly by attaching an irrelevant condition to the settlement of an important issue. Despite its frequent professions of friendship for the nations

¹ Made in the Special Political Committee on Oct. 13 (U.S. delegation press release 3251).

of Asia and Africa, that member has raised an insurmountable barrier to all efforts to give these nations reasonable representation on the key organs of the United Nations.

Last year, despite this obstacle, a majority, first in the Economic and Social Council and then in the General Assembly, expressed support for some enlargement of the Economic and Social Council. In the Economic and Social Council, 16 of the 18 members voted for a resolution favorable to enlargement of the Council in order to make it a more effective, a more representative organ. At the 13th General Assembly in the Second Committee, 47 delegates, including my own, endorsed the Council's resolution. In this Special Political Committee, a resolution endorsing the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council was adopted by 49 votes to 9.

My delegation supported all these actions. We considered the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council as basically nonpolitical. Our colleagues from the Netherlands last year described enlargement of the Economic and Social Council as essentially a technical adjustment to make that Council more effective. It seemed reasonable to hope that the Assembly could, at least, deal with the least controversial of the three enlargement items.

The resolution before this committee last year did not even pose the issue of charter amendment. It was simply designed to place the General Assembly on record in anticipation of the day when the intransigence which has blocked our endeavors would have changed. Even that resolution was opposed by nine members, including one of the permanent members of the Security Council.

The United States delegation realizes that the stumbling block which has frustrated our work since the 11th General Assembly may remain an obstacle today. We can only regret this. For our part we wish to reemphasize our hope that a change of attitude may take place which will allow a thorough discussion and decision on the questions of enlargement without regard to extraneous questions. We would hope that the question of enlarging certain United Nations bodies would not be blocked longer by any one great power.

We hope we may have before us a resolution dealing particularly with the Economic and Social Council. The primary functions of the Council are to debate more or less technical subjects, to

coordinate several United Nations operating programs, and, when appropriate, to initiate new programs concerned with economic and social questions. In our view all these functions could be carried out efficiently with a moderate enlargement in the size of the Council. At the same time we believe that the addition of more members would give a greater sense of participation in the program of the Council by involving directly more United Nations members in its deliberations. Therefore my delegation, in line with its position at the 13th General Assembly, would favor a resolution recommending some enlargement of the two Councils.²

United States Delegations to International Conferences

11th Session of ICEM Council

The Department of State announced on November 4 (press release 774) the designation of John W. Hanes, Jr., Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, as U.S. representative to the 11th session of the Council of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM), scheduled to be held at Geneva November 12-20, 1959. Other members of the delegation include:

Alternate U.S. Representatives

Robert S. McCollum, Deputy Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State
Francis E. Walter, House of Representatives

Congressional Advisers

Kenneth B. Keating, United States Senate
John E. Henderson, House of Representatives
H. Allen Smith, House of Representatives

Principal Adviser

George L. Warren, Sr., Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs, Department of State

Advisers

Robert K. Gray, Secretary to the Cabinet, White House

² On Oct. 28 the Special Political Committee adopted a resolution (A/SPC/38) setting up a committee "to study the possibility of arriving at an agreement which will facilitate the amendment of the Charter so as to increase the membership of the aforementioned organs. . . ." On Oct. 29 the committee adopted a resolution (A/SPC/39) "to include in the provisional agenda of its fifteenth session the items dealing with the question of an increase in these organs."

Eric M. Hughes, Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs,
Department of State
Charles H. Owsley, Deputy U.S. Representative to the
United Nations and Other International Organizations,
American Consulate General, Geneva, Switzerland
Walter Sillers, Speaker, House of Representatives, State
of Mississippi

Congressional Staff Members

Walter M. Besterman, House Committee on Judiciary
Joseph A. Davis, Senate Committee on Judiciary
Ruth Miskell, Secretary to Representative Walter
Helen Sutton, Secretary to Representative Walter

ICEM was established at Brussels in 1951 for the purpose of facilitating the movement of migrants and refugees from overcrowded areas of Western Europe to new homes overseas, primarily in Australia, Canada, Latin America, and the United States. A high proportion of these migrants—averaging over 45 percent since the existence of ICEM—has consisted of refugees. Such refugee movements, up to January 31, 1959, have totaled 391,034. ICEM also provides orientation and vocational and language training for many migrants to facilitate integration in their new land. Its membership is composed of governments of 28 countries. Its headquarters are at Geneva.

The Council, the policymaking body of the Committee, normally meets twice a year at Geneva. The 13th session of the Executive Committee, which usually meets immediately before the Council, convened at Geneva November 3. Robert S. McCollum is the U.S. representative to the Executive Committee meeting and is assisted by George L. Warren, Sr., as alternate U.S. representative.

Seventh Science Adviser Named for U.S. Antarctic Delegation

The Department of State announced on November 2 (press release 770) that John C. Reed, staff coordinator of the U.S. Geological Survey, has been named by the National Academy of Sciences as the seventh member of a committee to advise the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Antarctica.¹

¹ For Secretary Herter's welcoming address, a list of the heads of delegations, and an announcement of the appointment of the science advisers, see *BULLETIN* of Nov. 2, 1959, p. 650.

This committee, formed at the request of the Department of State, was announced October 19, 1959.

The committee is headed by Laurence M. Gould. Other members of the committee are Lloyd V. Berkner, Albert P. Crary, Francis W. Reichelderfer, Merle A. Tuve, and Harry Wexler.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

General Assembly

Administrative and Budgetary Co-ordination Between the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Information Annex III to Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960. Note by the Secretary-General. A/C.5/786. October 6, 1959. 14 pp.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East. Letter dated October 6, 1959, from the representatives of Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, and Yemen to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4236. October 7, 1959. 21 pp.

Question of South West Africa. Statement made by the representative of the Union of South Africa at the 884th meeting of Committee IV. A/C.4/424. October 15, 1959. 27 pp.

Progress Achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories in Pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter: Health Services and Activities in the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Corrigendum. A/4128/Corr. 1. October 15, 1959. 1 p.

Proposed Amendments to Certain Provisions of the Pension Scheme Regulations of the International Court of Justice. Note by the Secretary-General. A/4241. October 15, 1959. 10 pp.

Technical Assistance in Public Administration: Provision of Operational, Executive and Administrative Personnel. Supplementary report by the Secretary-General. A/4212/Add. 1 and Corr. 1. October 16, 1959. 7 pp.

General and Complete Disarmament. United Kingdom Declaration Comprehensive Disarmament made by the U.K. Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the General Assembly on September 17, 1959. A/C.1/820. October 16, 1959. 4 pp.

Economic and Social Council

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Summary Records, 15th session, March 9-19, 1959. E/CN.11/508. May 11, 1959. 222 pp.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Committee on Industry and Natural Resources—Summary Records, 11th session, February 5-12, 1959. E/CN.11/I & NR/17. May 18, 1959. 90 pp.

Programme Appraisal, 1959-1961: Work of the United Nations in the Economic, Social, Human Rights and Related Fields—Addendum: Individual Appraisals. E/3260/Add. I. May 29, 1959. 319 pp.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

World Economic Situation: Short-term Appraisals of the World Economic Situation. E/3226/Add. 1. June 1959. 35 pp.

Progress Reports of Non-governmental Organizations' Activities in Combating Prejudice and Discrimination. Additional material submitted by nongovernmental organizations in consultative status. E/NGO/CONF. 2/2/Add. 1. June 1959. 17 pp.

Technical Assistance Committee. Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. Addendum to the annual report of the Technical Assistance Board to the Technical Assistance Committee for 1958. E/3226/Add. 1. June 15, 1959. 76 pp.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Report of the Working Party of Telecommunication Experts to the Inland Transport and Communications Committee (8th Session). E/CN.11/TRANS/138. June 26, 1959. 30 pp.

General Review of the Development and Co-ordination of the Economic, Social and Human Rights Programmes and Activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies as a Whole. Supplementary report of the World Health Organization. E/3235/Add. 1. June 27, 1959. 27 pp.

Annual Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: Addendum. E/3263/Add. 1. July 2, 1959. 20 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹

Signature: Ecuador, November 6, 1959.

Ratification deposited: United States, November 3, 1959.

Austria

State treaty for the reestablishment of an independent and democratic Austria. Signed at Vienna May 15, 1955. Entered into force July 27, 1955. TIAS 3298. *Accession deposited:* New Zealand, September 26, 1959.

Safety at Sea

Agreement regarding financial support of the North Atlantic ice patrol. Opened for signature at Washington January 4, 1956. Entered into force July 5, 1956. TIAS 3597.

Notification by Federal Republic of Germany of application to: Land Berlin, July 9, 1958.

Sugar

International sugar agreement of 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force provisionally January 1, 1959.

Notification by United Kingdom of extension to: St. Helena and Sarawak, effective October 16, 1959.

¹ Not in force.

Weights and Measures

Convention concerning the creation of an international office of weights and measures; regulations and transient provisions. Signed at Paris May 20, 1875. Entered into force January 1, 1876. 20 Stat. 709.

Accession deposited: Korea, July 28, 1959.

Convention amending the convention relating to weights and measures of May 20, 1875. Dated at Sèvres October 6, 1921. Entered into force February 10, 1923. 43 Stat. 1686.

Accession deposited: Korea, July 28, 1959.

BILATERAL

Argentina

Agreement amending the Air Force mission agreement signed at Buenos Aires October 3, 1956 (TIAS 3652). Effected by exchange of notes at Buenos Aires October 16, 1959. Entered into force October 16, 1959.

India

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreements of August 29, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3661 and 3993), June 23, 1958 (TIAS 4058), and September 26, 1958 (TIAS 4107). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington October 1 and 28, 1959. Entered into force October 28, 1959.

Mexico

Agreement amending and extending the migrant labor agreement of 1951 (TIAS 2331), as amended and extended. Effected by exchange of notes at Mexico October 23, 1959. Enters into force December 1, 1959.

Netherlands

Agreement amending agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy of June 22, 1956, as amended (TIAS 3876). Signed at Washington July 22, 1959.

Entered into force: October 30, 1959.

Saint Christopher Nevis and Anguilla

Convention for the exchange of postal money orders. Signed at Basseterre, Saint Kitts, June 27, 1959, and at Washington September 14, 1959.

Ratified by the President: October 29, 1959.

Yugoslavia

Agreement granting special economic assistance to Yugoslavia to finance technical assistance projects programmed for fiscal year 1960. Effected by exchange of notes at Belgrade October 22, 1959. Entered into force October 22, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Designations

Wymberley DeR. Coerr as Director, Office of West Coast Affairs, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, effective November 1, 1959.

Harold C. Vedeler as Director, Office of Eastern European Affairs, effective November 2, 1959.

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

International Educational Exchange Program—January 1–June 30, 1958. Pub. 6830. International Information and Cultural Series 66. 50 pp. Limited distribution.

The 21st semiannual report to Congress on the exchange activities carried out during the second half of fiscal year 1958.

Mutual Security in Action—Paraguay. Pub. 6843. Inter-American Series 56. 12 pp. 10¢.

A fact sheet discussing the country, government, economy, and the role of U.S. technical assistance.

Technical Cooperation in Agriculture. Pub. 6846. Economic Cooperation Series 53. 22 pp. 15¢.

A pamphlet discussing ICA's role in helping to improve agricultural production in underdeveloped countries.

UNESCO—Organization and Program. Pub. 6849. International Organization and Conference Series 3. 18 pp. 15¢.

A brief description of the Organization and its major projects.

You and the United Nations, 1959–60. Pub. 6872. International Organization and Conference Series 6. 46 pp. 20¢.

Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, answers questions from U.S. citizens about the U.N.

The U.N. . . . meeting place of nations. Pub. 6873. International Organization and Conference Series 7. 12 pp. 10¢.

A pamphlet outlining the aims and accomplishments of the United Nations.

Toward Better Understanding. Pub. 6881. General Foreign Policy Series 140. 50 pp. 25¢.

A record of the speeches and other relevant documents concerning Vice President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union and Poland in July–August 1959.

Foreign Ministers Meeting. Pub. 6882. International Organization and Conference Series 8. xxi. 603 pp. \$1.75.

A documentary publication on the Geneva Meeting of Foreign Ministers, held May 11–June 20 and July 13–August 5, 1959.

President Eisenhower's European Trip, August–September 1959. Pub. 6888. General Foreign Policy Series 141. 36 pp. 20¢.

A record of the principal statements made by the President as well as those of various European leaders with whom he met, together with joint communiques and letters relevant to the President's visit.

Universal Postal Union. TIAS 4202. 310 pp. \$1.

Convention, final protocol, regulations, air-mail provisions, and final protocol to the air-mail provisions, between the United States of America and Other Governments, revising the Universal Postal Convention of July 11, 1952—Signed at Ottawa October 3, 1957. Ratified and approved by the Postmaster General of the United States of America December 9, 1958; approved by the President of the United States of America February 17, 1959. Entered into force April 1, 1959.

Settlement of Certain Claims Under Article 26 of the Austrian State Treaty. TIAS 4253. 28 pp. 15¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Austria. Exchange of notes—Signed at Vienna May 8, 15, and 22, 1959. Entered into force May 22, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4255. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Brazil, amending agreement of August 3, 1955. Signed at Washington July 9, 1958. Entered into force July 2, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4256. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Republic of Korea. Signed at Seoul June 30, 1959. Entered into force June 30, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4257. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Pakistan, amending agreement of November 26, 1958. Exchange of notes—Signed at Karachi May 21, 1959. Entered into force May 21, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4258. 31 pp. 15¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China—Signed at Taipei June 9, 1959. Entered into force June 9, 1959, and exchanges of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4259. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Austria, amending agreement of May 10, 1957. Exchange of notes—Signed at Vienna June 29, 1959. Entered into force June 29, 1959.

Special Economic Assistance. TIAS 4260. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iceland. Exchange of notes—Signed at Reykjavik June 23, 1959. Entered into force June 23, 1959.

Defense—Loan of Vessels to Spain. TIAS 4262. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Spain. Exchange of notes—Signed at Madrid June 23, 1959. Entered into force June 23, 1959.

Passport Visas. TIAS 4263. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Colombia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bogotá June 13 and 26, 1956, and May 22, 1957. Supplementary agreement. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bogotá June 5 and 11, 1957. Entered into force June 21, 1957.

Establishment of Ballistic Missile Early Warning System. TIAS 4264. 9 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Canada. Exchange of notes—Dated at Ottawa July 13, 1959. Entered into force July 13, 1959.

Financial Assistance—Facilities for Inter-American Conference. TIAS 4265. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Ecuador, amending agreement of June 27, 1958. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington July 17, 1959. Entered into force July 17, 1959.

Load Lines—Modification of Annex II of the Convention of July 5, 1930. TIAS 4266. 3 pp. 5¢.

Modification between the United States of America and Other Governments. Proposed by the Government of Canada, communicated to the Government of the United States of America by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland October 27, 1947; ratification advised by the Senate of the United States of America April 1, 1952; ratified by the President of the United States of America April 18, 1952; acceptance by the United States of America notified at London May 1, 1952, acceptances by all parties to the convention notified on or before July 13, 1957; proclaimed by the President of the United States of America July 8, 1959. Entered into force July 13, 1957.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4267. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, amending agreement of July 3, 1958. Signed at Washington May 7, 1959. Entered into force July 20, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4268. 9 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and France. Signed at Washington May 7, 1959. Entered into force July 20, 1959.

Air Transport Services. TIAS 4269. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico, extending provisional arrangement of March 7, 1957, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at México June 23, 1959. Entered into force July 1, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4270. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yugoslavia, supplementing agreement of December 22, 1958—Signed at Belgrade July 9, 1959. Entered into force July 9, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4271. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Canada—Signed at Washington May 22, 1959. Entered into force July 27, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4272. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey, amending agreement of February 13, 1959. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara June 25, 1959. Entered into force June 25, 1959.

Economic Assistance—Educational Facilities for Primary Schools. TIAS 4273. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara May 26, 1959. Entered into force May 26, 1959.

Guaranty of Private Investments. TIAS 4275. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Finland. Exchange of notes—Signed at Helsinki July 22, 1959. Entered into force July 22, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4276. 12 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany—Signed at Bonn May 5, 1959. Entered into force July 27, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4277. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the Netherlands—Signed at The Hague May 6, 1959. Entered into force July 27, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4278. 11 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara May 5, 1959. Entered into force July 27, 1959.

Money Orders. TIAS 4279. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic (Egyptian Territory)—Signed at Cairo October 6 and at Washington October 31, 1958; approved and ratified by the President of the United States of America December 10, 1958. Entered into force July 1, 1959.

Establishment of Communications Unit in Pakistan. TIAS 4281. 16 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Pakistan. Exchanges of notes—Signed at Karachi July 18, 1959. Entered into force July 18, 1959, with minute of understanding and exchange of notes.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: November 2-8

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Release issued prior to November 2 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 762 of October 29.

No.	Date	Subject
769	11/2	Burgess: "Can We Afford Our Foreign Policy?"
770	11/2	John C. Reed named adviser to delegation to Antarctic conference (rewrite).
*771	11/3	H. Alexander Smith (biographic details).
772	11/3	Secretary Herter meets with disarmament advisers (rewrite).
773	11/3	Protest to Panama on anti-U.S. demonstrations.
774	11/4	Delegation to ICEM Council (rewrite).
†775	11/4	Canada-U.S. Ministerial Committee on Joint Defense.
776	11/4	Thayer: "America's Cultural Relations Abroad."
†777	11/4	U.K. relaxation of import controls.
778	11/6	Claims negotiations with Rumania.

* Not printed.

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

Afghanistan. President To Visit Nine Countries in Europe, Middle East, and Africa (Eisenhower, Hagerty)	742
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Brazil. The Growing Importance of U.S.-Brazil Cooperation (Cabot)	753
Claims. U.S. and Rumania Begin Talks on Financial Claims	764
Cuba. U.S. Intensifies Enforcement of Laws Governing Departure for Cuba (Herter, Department of Justice announcement)	757
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Bulletin

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THE
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OF THE
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

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Cooperating With Free Asia for Social and Economic Progress

by Under Secretary Dillon¹

You and I have much in common. As the State Department official most directly concerned with our foreign aid program, I am seeking, on the governmental level, to achieve many of the things you have accomplished over the past 38 years on a person-to-person basis. Another bond is the fact that there are certainly many elements of social service in present-day diplomacy, and I can well imagine that there must be many calls for diplomacy in international social service today.

I was impressed to learn that your worldwide organization helped solve vexing personal problems last year for some 55,000 troubled people in more than 100 countries. Much of your work has been in the Far East, from where I returned last week after visiting Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.² Because of your interest in the welfare of the individual in these places, I should like to discuss some of the ways in which the United States is cooperating with the peoples of free Asia in their struggle for social and economic progress.

Asian eagerness for betterment, which sometimes borders on impatience, is something you sense as you travel through the Far East. With energy and tenacity of purpose the free nations of Asia are vastly enlarging their possibility of achieving security, stability, and progress.

¹ Address made before the International Social Service at New York, N.Y., on Nov. 13 (press release 790 dated Nov. 12).

² For text of a statement made by Mr. Dillon at Tokyo on Oct. 27 before a meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703; for the text of an address he made at Tokyo on Oct. 29 before the America-Japan Society, see *ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1959, p. 739.

This drive for progress under freedom is nowhere more evident today than in the Republic of China. The island of Taiwan has been aptly described as "a kind of pilot plant where an ancient civilization and Western techniques are blending to produce a new way of life and a new promise." It also demonstrates what can be accomplished in a newly developing area when adequate United States economic assistance is effectively used to supplement the area's own resources.

Taiwan lives under the constant threat of Communist Chinese aggression from the mainland. Inevitably the Communist menace makes the headlines rather than the island's rapid economic and social advancement over the past 10 years. As a recent visitor I can testify that this progress has been extraordinary. It is also beginning to exert a beneficial influence elsewhere in Asia by showing how a low-income area can move forward in freedom and, in the process, develop the needed momentum for sustained growth.

When hostilities broke out in Korea in 1950, Taiwan was nearly bankrupt. The island's productive facilities had been severely damaged during World War II, and the war-burdened economy could not finance needed repairs. Neither could it afford imports of necessary foodstuffs and raw materials. Farm production was extremely low. Industrial output was almost nonexistent. Inflation was rampant, unemployment high, and living standards were at bare subsistence levels.

This dangerous situation had been intensified by the influx of nearly 2 million persons from the mainland following the arrival of the Chinese Government in 1949.

The Republic of China faced the twin tasks of quickly improving its defensive posture and raising its inadequate living standards. Few observers gave the country much chance of simultaneous realization of these objectives. Yet today, only 10 years after the first American aid programs, these goals have been achieved beyond the most generous expectations. With U.S. assistance the industry of its Government and people has lifted the island from a state of partial paralysis, social dislocation, and economic exhaustion into an orderly, productive economy. Free China is not only growing in military security and increasingly dedicated to preserving its freedom from the Communist tyranny of the mainland but is eager to conquer new economic and social goals.

Achievements in Taiwan

I shall not burden you with detailed statistics, but I should like to cite these concrete achievements. Soon after the Chinese Government moved to Taiwan, it became apparent that land reform was urgently required if the island—slightly smaller than Vermont and Connecticut combined—was to support a population of more than 10 million people. The reform was carried out smoothly, and the landlords received fair compensation.

This important social transformation, which marked the start of a sustained process of rapid and lasting industrial expansion, was facilitated by a simple but ingenious device: part of the compensation given to the landlords was in stocks of Government-owned corporations. This resulted in the transfer of these Government corporations into diffused private ownership and the creation overnight of a new group of entrepreneurs.

Taiwan's main foreign exchange earner for many years has been sugar. There was a major slump in sugar earlier this year, and a dangerous reduction in foreign exchange earnings of as much as 15 million dollars was feared. Instead, thanks to growing industrialization under increasingly private auspices, such new commodities as cotton textiles, aluminum, and cement were placed on the world market. Despite the drastic slump in sugar prices, the total value of Taiwan's exports has held steady since the first of the year. This is an important landmark. It means that free China is beginning to graduate out of the vulnerable position characteristic of newly developing economies which depend for their export earnings only

on one or two primary products traditionally subject to violent price fluctuations.

Another development gives evidence of how a low-income area can advance within a free enterprise framework. Private industrial concerns have recently floated substantial bond issues with conspicuous success. Three months ago, for instance, the shares of the newly organized China Development Corporation—whose sole purpose is to channel investment into private enterprise—were oversubscribed by the general public. Thus the island is showing that a newly developing area can create a money and a capital market.

A good example of healthy private initiative is the Taiwan Plastics Corporation, which I visited. It is a thriving, privately owned plant, partly financed with a \$670,000 loan from our International Cooperation Administration. Output includes flooring, tubing, pipes, and thread. For the most part the factory uses raw materials produced locally. During my visit I learned that the owner has just doubled the capacity of his plant at practically no capital cost by an ingenious change in design involving the substitution of larger plastic piping produced in his own factory for the original metal piping. The success of this operation dramatizes the benefits that flow from vigorous and imaginative private enterprise.

Available data indicate that total output in Taiwan has been rising at a rate of 5 or 6 percent a year. It is a source of added satisfaction that this overall economic progress has also been accompanied by rapid progress in social fields.

In the field of health, malaria has been virtually eradicated; the incidence of trachoma and conjunctivitis has dropped from about 80 to 10 percent; tuberculosis mortality is down drastically. Impressive results have also been achieved in reducing the rate of infant mortality.

In the rural villages streets are clean and orderly. Ninety-five percent of Taiwan's children are attending school. Indeed students comprise 2 million out of a total population of nearly 11 million. Farm families now have children away in universities and colleges. Medical and nursing facilities are expanding. Housing is on the march in port cities as well as in the interior. Bus service now reaches nearly every hamlet. There are rapid advances in rural electrification, ownership of radios and sewing machines, and in

opportunities for modern cultural and recreational activities.

In short, in addition to reaching out for urgently desired economic growth, free China is also seeking to improve the human condition. At the same time it is maintaining 4,000 years of Chinese culture—"the most enormous weight of poetry, history, and philosophy in the world"—while managing to blend ancient tradition with modernity and Western ways. Overseas Chinese from other areas of southeast Asia are beginning to come to Taiwan by the thousands to complete their education.

Although aid from the United States is playing a very substantial role in the development of their economy, it is important to note that the Government and people of the Republic of China are bearing the major share of the development cost themselves. Taiwan has achieved a remarkable rate of social and economic development despite the fact that it is carrying the burden of a very substantial and costly military establishment. Our aid has not simply put back into the economy resources which were extracted by defense costs. It has also sparked an extraordinary burst of economic and social development.

Exchanging Technical Knowledge and Skills

One of the most important ways in which we are helping people throughout free Asia to raise their standards of living is through the exchange of technical knowledge and skills. Under this program the United States has sent more than 9,000 technicians and specialists to Far Eastern countries. Nearly 7,000 have been brought to the United States from the Far East for training in private organizations, industry, educational institutions, and Government agencies.

One of the most promising features of technical exchange is the program for arranging contracts between American and Asian universities. These programs now cover problems of food, health, education, transportation, industry, conditions of labor, and public administration.

In this connection I believe you will be interested in a project now under active study in the Department of State. This project, which owes much to the vigorous support of Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas, envisions the establishment of a center for cultural and technical interchange in Hawaii to serve as an effective bridge between the

United States and the Far East. Hawaii's unique geographical situation and ethnological diversity make it an ideal location.

The new center would be established at the University of Hawaii with two branches, one an international college offering academic programs, the other an international training center providing facilities for nonacademic work. Scholarships would be offered to students from the United States and from the Far East. Grants would bring outstanding scholars, scientists, other specialists, and men of leadership to the proposed center. I am sure that you will readily appreciate the possibilities this project offers for promoting better understanding between our people and those of Asia.

The urgent need for improved understanding between peoples is well known to all of you here today, for you are intimately concerned with people and their problems. You have seen how the solution of problems common to all peoples gives hope of eventual resolution of problems between nations. Fortunately more and more Americans are taking an increasingly active part in international relations on a people-to-people basis. But the main burden will continue to fall upon the small, hard core of Americans who are overseas in the service of our Government.

During my recent Far Eastern journey—as I have on previous travels to other parts of the world—I took every opportunity to talk face to face with these men and women who represent us abroad. I have found them universally to be loyal and hard working. Many of them are functioning under conditions of very real hardship. They do so without complaining and with a great sense of dedication to the welfare of our country.

I can tell you from my own personal and intimate knowledge that your country possesses a foreign service of which you can be justly proud. I refer not only to the United States Foreign Service itself, but also to the representatives of the International Cooperation Administration, the United States Information Agency, and the members of our military missions abroad. Let us remember that these men and women are in the foreign service of the United States, not just in the foreign service of the State Department, the ICA, or the USIA. They represent you. They are deserving of your fullest confidence and support.

Secretary Herter's News Conference of November 12

Press release 792 dated November 12

Assistant Secretary Berding: Gentlemen, as you know, this auditorium does not have the best acoustics. The Secretary has had difficulty at times hearing questions, and some of you have remarked to me about the difficulty you have had in hearing questions. We would like to ask those who ask questions to rise and ask the question. We are not asking you—we don't want you—to identify yourselves by name and newspaper. Simply get up and sound off, so that both the Secretary and all of you can hear the questions.

Thank you.

Secretary Herter: I haven't any preliminary statement to make, and so I would be delighted to receive questions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the Soviet Union has sent notes to the United States, Britain, and France, protesting the apparent intention of the Federal Republic of Germany to establish a radio transmitter in West Berlin. I would like to ask you, first, do we believe their protest is justified, and, second, could you explain a bit of what the legal position is about such operations by the Federal Republic in the Allied zone of Berlin?

A. We have only just today received this letter of protest from the Soviet Government. We are studying it, and I shall not comment on the position that we will take, but I will try to define what the problem is as we see it as of the moment.

The German Cabinet approved a bill in September creating a Federal German combination of radio and television, which would include a broadcasting station from West Berlin for broadcasting to Germany primarily. That bill has not yet been debated in the *Bundestag*. It is still lying there. We have no idea what its ultimate fate will be, but in any case we know that it is being opposed by the several States of Germany, the *Länder*, because cultural matters and control of cultural

matters has rested primarily in the *Länder* and not in the Federal German Government.

Insofar as the establishment of a West German station in Berlin is concerned, that would be a matter which would have to receive the approval of the Allied Kommandatura and hence would come under the aegis of the French and British and ourselves. Naturally, since it is only in a given stage of enactment, we have no idea whether it will ever come to us or not.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is the United States interest in the border dispute between India and Communist China? What position do we have on this problem?

A. Insofar as the facts are concerned, neither side has appealed to us in any way whatsoever. We know only the press reports and the publication of the notes as between India and China. I understand that Mr. Nehru in a conference the other day said that this was a matter that he might discuss with the President of the United States when the President visited there in December. As I say, it has never come before us in any way officially, and probably it would not come before us unless one or the other of the two nations stated that this was a threat to the peace and made an appeal for either intervention by the United Nations or mediation through some nation or other.

Q. Mr. Secretary, as we examine this dispute from afar, who do we think looks right in it?

A. I don't think we have taken any sides in that at all. The border, as you know, has been for many years pretty ill defined. And I don't think that we have any firsthand knowledge, particularly from the point of view of the northwestern area, with respect to the definitive border that could rightly be claimed by either side.

Q. Haven't we ever backed the McMahon Line in any way?

A. I don't know that we have ever backed it. I just think it has been assumed and I think it has been published in maps, but I don't think it has come up or been questioned in any way before.

Q. Mr. Secretary, to what extent might this dispute affect U.S. aid—economic aid—toward India, and can you say a little about what our current thinking is on aid to India?

A. I don't think that it need necessarily affect in any way our policy of aid to India, unless at some later stage, which certainly does not look probable now, we were making a determination of one nation or another being at fault with respect to some specific action taken in the border dispute.

As you know, we have been very sympathetic toward helping India. We have made loans, extended aid, and made P.L. 480 agreements of very considerable magnitude to India, we have approved of loans made by the World Bank, and we are continuing discussions of very considerable aid both in the area of specific projects and in the area of further P.L. 480 assistance.

Levels of Military and Economic Aid

Q. Mr. Secretary, there has been considerable support not only in this country but abroad for the administration's position that the industrialized nations of NATO can now afford to do more for the joint defense and also more lending to underdeveloped areas abroad. But along with this has gone the assumption, it seems to me, that if they did more we would do correspondingly less. Now, is that the administration's meaning, or do we mean that as they did more we would continue to do about the same level we are doing now?

A. Well, the question of the levels of assistance is essentially one for military determinations. We have certainly given no indication that we were going to do any less. We have discussed among ourselves the possibility that the Western European nations might do more, particularly with respect to the underdeveloped nations, and possibly be willing to undertake a larger share of the costs of some of the defense operations in Europe. However, these discussions have not even begun with the other nations, and this is merely something that has been considered in view of the changed position of the principal European countries financially.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that connection can you say whether as of now there has been any determination that the U.S. will not alter its military commitments anywhere in the world, especially in NATO, in an effort to meet part of this balance-of-payments problem? Or is it still open as a possibility?

A. We certainly have no present intention of changing any of our present commitments.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in addition to the anti-U.S. flareups in Cuba and Panama,¹ there have been reports of extreme nationalism coming out of Brazil and Ecuador and even Venezuela. Does this indicate a disturbing trend to us, or how do you assess the present situation?

A. It is very difficult to assess it as a specific trend. I would not be telling you the truth if I didn't tell you that it does disturb us. Certainly the quite violent anti-American statements that have been made in Cuba and some of the recent events in Panama are disturbing to us. There have always been in all countries of the world from time to time anti-American statements. I wouldn't say that there was a trend as far as South America is concerned, but naturally we watch with great interest and some concern any growing anti-American sentiment that may be rising.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that connection is it affecting our economic plans for that area?

A. No, not at all.

Q. There is a story out of Costa Rica that there is a trading from Costa Rica of armaments for tractors. Is that a new U.S. policy?

A. No. Actually I knew nothing at all about this particular operation. I know very little about it now. As I understand it, Costa Rica felt that it had some surplus arms that it wanted to dispose of to a private company and asked for our assistance in making the trade, feeling that it needed agricultural equipment more than it did those surplus arms. If it can make a legitimate and proper deal on that, I think we would be delighted.

Q. Mr. Secretary, we haven't talked to you since the U.N. subcommittee made its report on Laos.² There have been some editorial interpretations to the effect that the report didn't substantiate the

¹ For background, see p. 787.

² U.N. doc. S/4236 dated Nov. 5, 1959.

statements that the U.S. Government had made about the situation there.³ I am wondering if in general you could tell us what you thought about the U.N. report.

A. I think that on the whole, considering the facilities that the subcommittee had, it made a very objective and good report. As you know, one paragraph—I think it was paragraph 97 of that report—referred particularly to the witnesses who had been interviewed, all of whom, or 40 out of 41 of whom, had testified to the effect that the Pathet Lao or enemy groups that the witnesses had come in touch with had received their supplies, equipment, logistical assistance, and the help of political cadres, from across the border.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in your first answer on the question of the Berlin radio station you said that this was up to the Allied Kommandatura. Do the Russians have any veto power over a question like this?

A. No. They gave up their seat in the Kommandatura.

Question of Date for East-West Summit

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the summit situation, General de Gaulle has announced a state visit to England in April, and the stories out of Paris are indicating that the General also has said that there should be a second Western summit meeting preparatory to an East-West summit. Has this schedule firmed up any more? Does it now appear that the earliest date for an East-West summit meeting would be April or even May?

A. It is very hard to say when the date will be fixed. The dispatch that you referred to, that came out of Paris, that I think was the result of Couve de Murville's and Selwyn Lloyd's discussions there, indicated that Mr. Khrushchev, who had been invited first for February to Paris, preferred to come at a later date, that is, in March. This in turn means that many dates have to be adjusted to that particular date, since the implication was that it wouldn't be practical to hold the East-West summit before that visit. That would put the summit somewhere presumably in April at the earliest possible date, but those dates are being examined now to see what firm commitments other Heads

of States may have in that period. This of course is a matter of continuing consultation. But no date of any kind has been firmed up, and it may not be firmed up until the meeting in Paris on the 19th of December.

Q. Do we feel, sir, that a second Western summit would be necessary in view of the time gap between the first and the East-West summit?

A. That has not been discussed at all between us, and no decision taken. I would assume that a great deal would depend on the degree of agreement between the Western Powers which might have been arrived at either in Paris or through subsequent diplomatic exchanges.

Q. Mr. Secretary, where does the possibility of the proposed visit of President de Gaulle to Washington fit into this scheme of planning, and how does this indicate the possibilities for a Western summit meeting this spring before President Eisenhower goes to Russia?

A. That, again, is something that will have to be fitted in. The question is whether General de Gaulle, who had an invitation from the President to come at his convenience, would prefer to come before the visit to England or after the visit to England. Again, there are a number of visits that are hanging in the air, and a number of them will have to be resolved in connection with an East-West summit.

Q. Mr. Secretary, we have just been informed that the correspondent for the New York Times in Warsaw has been expelled by the Polish Government. Do you have any reaction to this news or any statement as to the effect it might have on U.S.-Polish relations, if any?

A. No, this is the first time I have heard of it. I don't know what the situation is, and Andy Berding just said we only received the dispatch as we were coming down to this conference.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what do you see as the purpose of the Western summit, and what specific agenda do you have in mind for it and your own talks prior to it with the NATO members?

A. Well, there are a number of questions that have to be resolved. The time and place have got to be determined. Then the agenda has to be determined. Obviously, each one of the major powers that are going to be present has a right to suggest such agenda items as he may see fit.

³ For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 475.

Q. Do you mean for an East-West summit?

A. For an East-West summit, yes. Presumably they will discuss those various agenda items, or suggested agenda items, in Paris and determine which ones are more fruitful to take up with the Russians at the East-West summit conference.

Q. Do you view the possibility of any discussion leading to a joint Western policy on, say, disarmament or Berlin or any other specific?

A. There might well be, yes; I hope there will be.

Q. Mr. Secretary, back to the summit again—we have to wait now for President Eisenhower to go to Moscow. Do we have to get all this diplomatic calling done before you decide when you have a summit?

A. I hope not. I think we are in complete sympathy with the statement that came out of Paris that the time should be placed at as early a date as practical. I am merely saying one has to look at all these calendars. The President has some obligations, having some state visits that have been planned a long time coming here to Washington. These all have to be checked against each other to see which is the most convenient date. Also the place has not been determined.

Q. Is it a protocol determination that has to be made as to who makes the last call?

A. No, that is not the case.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in the Western summit meeting in Paris what will be the position of Chancellor Adenauer? Will he be present only when Germany is being discussed, or will he be there for all of the discussion?

A. As far as I know he will be there for all of the discussion.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you indicated that the United States more or less favored the summit as soon as possible with the Soviets. Is there a date at which a summit would be too late in your view? If it got into June or July, would that be too late from our standpoint?

A. I don't think it would be necessarily too late. I think the President, as you know, has taken the position he would like to see an early summit meeting. I think he has also—I can't quote ex-

actly from his last press conference—indicated that preparation for that would be desirable. My hope is that the summit date can be fixed somewhere between the first of March and the middle of April, but I am not sure we can do that.

Q. Would you consider the possibility coming at the time of the national conventions in July? (Laughter.)

A. If you are suggesting that this might be a rival attraction, I believe that they will be kept separate.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you regard the continuance of U.S. Navy bases at Guantanamo Bay vital to the security of the U.S., or is it subject to negotiation with the Government of Cuba?

A. We have never discussed whether it was subject to negotiation. We have assumed that our relationship with Cuba was such that it would remain as it stood.

Geneva Negotiations on Tests

Q. Mr. Secretary, it looks now like there will be technical talks in the Geneva test negotiations. Could you tell us what you expect will come out of those technical talks—what sort of a result?

A. Well, as you know, for over a year now—ever since the testing that we had in the "Hard-tack" series in this country, when we made certain findings with regard to the efficacy of existing seismic instrumentation⁴—we have wanted very much to discuss these findings with the Russians, so that from the scientific point of view we would have a common understanding as to what existing instruments were capable of doing from the point of view of detecting. This, obviously, was a very vital point in connection with the instrumentation to be installed, the number of inspections that might be made, and so on.

The Russians up until very recently refused even to look at the new data. They have now agreed to look at it, but they have put one limitation on it and that is that the purpose of examining this data is to set objective criteria for the control commission in connection with the reading of seismic instruments which would justify an inspection.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, Jan. 26, 1959, p. 118.

Secretary Calls in Indian Chargé To Clarify News Conference Statement

Press release 795 dated November 13

Secretary Herter on November 13 called in the Indian Chargé d'Affaires, D. N. Chatterjee, to clarify any possible misconception regarding the statements he made at his news conference on November 12 concerning the India-China border situation.

The Secretary made it clear to Mr. Chatterjee that his statements were not meant to imply any condonement by the U.S. Government of the use of force by the Chinese Communists. In fact, the Chinese Communist actions in this respect are a reflection of the brutal disregard of normal international procedures which has characterized Red Chinese actions for the past decade. They have not hesitated to use aggressive, armed action, including the killing of Indian policemen, in an apparent attempt to establish a *de facto* position of strength in relation to India. Their actions are wholly abhorrent to the U.S. Government.

The Secretary also made it clear to Mr. Chatterjee that the United States strongly sympathizes with India's attempts to resolve the present issues with Communist China peacefully.

All of this gets to be very technical. But we are hoping that the terms of reference can be straightened out in the next day or two with the Russians, that the scientists will before long meet again, and that there will be some meeting of the minds with respect to this instrumentation and the possibility of improving it, so as to improve the chances of an effective control which might be agreed upon.

I may say that Dr. James Brown Fisk, who is the executive vice president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, has agreed to head an American scientific group for these discussions.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you favor an extension of the American ban on nuclear testing beyond the December 31st deadline, and, if so, how long and under what conditions?

A. Well, that is a very intricate subject. I would personally favor the extension, if it were a matter of weeks only while we were still talking. With respect to a longer moratorium than that, I would have serious doubts. However, none of us know how these talks are going to turn out. Sometimes there are favorable developments, sometimes unfavorable. And until we know how these talks are likely to turn out, I think it is

foolish to speculate in advance about any extended moratorium.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can you give any reading on the changes which have occurred in the Polish Government?

A. No. I know we have examined the situation rather carefully. It looks as though there were going to be a tightening up, and a tightening up particularly from an ideological point of view. How great that is likely to be we just don't know.

India-China Border Situation

Q. Mr. Secretary, to go back to the initial question about the Indian-Chinese frontiers, do you wish to leave the impression, as I think some of us may have, that the United States has no view whatsoever as to the rightness or wrongness of this issue between the two Governments?

A. I think you are probably correct. I doubt whether any American has ever been on the border to see whether those particular boundaries have been properly delineated or not. We naturally presume that the claims made by the Indians are entirely valid claims, but from the point of view of what you might call an objective reading we have no basis to go on. We have only the word of a friend.

[In response to questions following the press conference Secretary Herter authorized the following: "The questions asked me on this subject seemed to me directed at the legal rights along the border, and my answers accordingly related only to the legalities of the rival claims. There is the further, and more important point, that, whatever may be the merits of a dispute, force must not be used to settle it. The Chinese Communist regime has clearly used force and, in this respect, is wholly in the wrong."]

Q. Mr. Secretary, on the balance-of-payments situation, the State Department has issued a statement saying that the International Cooperation Administration policy on loans and grants is being looked at and constantly reassessed in this whole situation.⁵ What is the likelihood or the possibility that ICA grants and loans will be put on the so-called "Buy America" basis?

A. I am making a speech before the Foreign Trade Council in New York on Monday [No-

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

vember 16] and hope to deal with that subject in some detail.

Q. Is it a secret until then, Mr. Secretary? (Laughter.)

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you give us any comment on what you think of the Conlon recommendations, particularly the Conlon report,⁶ particularly the recommendations concerning the policy we should pursue toward China?

A. I personally have not read that report. I have seen the press comment on it. The report, as you know, was made to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is not a committee report, as such. Already, apparently, some differences of opinion have developed among the members of the committee with respect to that report, and unless it is referred to us officially for comment, which it may be, by the committee I would rather not comment on it at all.

Q. Could I ask you what you think of the idea of abandoning our present policy of containment through isolation and trying the recommended policy of this report of exploratory negotiations, beginning with an exchange of journalists between China and the United States?

A. Well, I am not going to get into a debate on the subject of that report. I think you can draw your own conclusions from what I have said with regard to our China policy in the past.

Q. Would you favor an exchange of journalists between the two countries?

A. We have been trying to advance that very objective for some 2 years now without any success whatsoever.

U.S. and Panama Officials Confer on Anti-American Demonstrations

Press release 787 dated November 10

Assistant Secretary of State R. R. Rubottom, Jr., on November 10 called in the Chargé d'Affaires of Panama, Arturo Morgan-Morales, to review United States-Panamanian relations with

⁶ United States Foreign Policy, Asia: Studies Prepared at the Request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by Conlon Associates Ltd., No. 5, Nov. 1, 1959 (86th Cong., 1st sess., committee print).

reference to the regrettable incidents which took place on November 3 and 4 in the Republic of Panama.¹ Mr. Rubottom pointed out that the mob action, and particularly the desecration of the American flag at the U.S. Embassy, transcended the norms of courtesy habitually existing between countries which maintain friendly relations and, in passing, mentioned the absence of Panamanian police from the scene of violence at the Canal Zone border, which the United States considers a major factor contributing to the unfortunate events. Nevertheless, it was made clear that the United States seeks to dispel without delay any misunderstandings between the two Governments resulting from these deplorable incidents. Mr. Rubottom said that inflammatory public allegations served no useful purpose in our relations but, on the contrary, helped unfriendly elements who seek to exploit any breach in order to weaken the inter-American system.

Mr. Rubottom recognized that there were differences between Panama and the United States but then referred to the progress being made to eliminate frictions in our relations. He pointed out that measures have been under study by the U.S. Government with a view to assisting Panama in attaining its objective of expanding the base of its economy.

The U.S. Ambassador to Panama, Julian F. Harrington, has been instructed to make a parallel approach to President Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., of Panama.

U.S. Reports on Investigation of B-25 Incident in Cuba

Department Statement

Press release 781 dated November 9

Inaccurate, malicious, and misleading reports have been spread throughout the world concerning the alleged bombing or machinegunning of Cuban citizens in Habana on October 21, 1959, by a plane from the United States. A campaign, evidently designed further to create an atmosphere of hostility in United States-Cuban relations, now includes an offensive brochure on this subject apparently published by the Ministry of State of the Government of Cuba. The United States Gov-

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 23, 1959, p. 759.

ernment desires to make the following statement on the results of its further investigation of this incident.

On October 27, 1959, the United States Ambassador to Cuba informed the President of Cuba that the Government of the United States possessed no evidence that the B-25 aircraft which distributed leaflets over the city of Habana on October 21 had also dropped bombs or strafed during its flight.¹ In the interim since that date a careful examination of this plane has revealed that its bomb bay was fitted with a permanent luggage rack which made it impossible for it to drop bombs. Furthermore, the former automatic-weapons positions were found to be permanently sealed, making it impossible to mount machine-guns or cannon on this plane. No trace was found of explosives or weapons or any evidence that explosives had been dropped or weapons fired from this plane; nor does it bear any marks of damage from antiaircraft fire. This Government's intense investigation, furthermore, has developed no evidence that any other aircraft from the United States was flying over Habana on this occasion.

The United States Government has also noted that in addition to the press report of the National Police of Cuba various other informed sources in Cuba have reported that the above-mentioned plane was not observed to drop bombs or strafe. An analysis of the available evidence, including eye-witness reports, indicates that many, if not all, of the persons injured received their wounds either from stray rounds of 20 and 40 mm. shell fragments from antiaircraft fire of the Cuban armed forces or from grenades or bombs thrown from automobiles by terrorists.

It is the well-known and established policy of the United States Government to encourage the well-being and peaceful progress of peoples throughout the world. Because of the especially close historical and friendly relations with the people of its neighbor, Cuba, the United States Government particularly deplores the deaths and injuries suffered by innocent Cuban citizens on the evening of October 21. However, it again categorically rejects any implication that the

¹ BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 715; for a Justice Department announcement and a letter from Secretary Herter to the Acting Attorney General on the intensification of enforcement of laws governing departure for Cuba, see *ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1959, p. 757.

United States Government gave its tacit approval to the flight of the B-25 or was in any way responsible for this tragic circumstance.

United States and Canada Review Joint Defense Problems

ANNOUNCEMENT OF MEETING

Press release 775 dated November 4

The Department of State announced on November 4 that the second meeting¹ of the Canada-United States Ministerial Committee on Joint Defense will be held at Camp David, Md., November 8-9.

The Canada-United States Ministerial Committee on Joint Defense was established as a result of discussions in July 1958 between Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and President Eisenhower.² Its organization and terms of reference were set out in an exchange of notes³ between the two Governments on August 29, 1958, and September 2, 1958. The Committee was established to provide for periodic consultation at the ministerial level on all matters affecting the joint defense of Canada and the United States.

The Canadian delegation at the forthcoming meeting of the Ministerial Committee will consist of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Howard C. Green, the Minister of National Defence, George R. Pearkes, the Minister of Finance, Donald M. Fleming, and the Minister of Defence Production, Raymond J. M. O'Hurley. The United States delegation will consist of the Secretary of State, Christian A. Herter, the Secretary of Defense, Neil H. McElroy, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert B. Anderson.

The periodic review of joint defense problems by the Committee encompasses not only military questions but also the political and economic aspects of joint defense problems. These discussions assist the two Governments in the maintenance and development of the individual and collective ca-

¹ The first meeting was held at Paris in December 1958 during the regular annual ministerial meeting of the North Atlantic Council.

² For text of a joint statement, see BULLETIN of Aug. 4, 1958, p. 208.

³ Not printed here.

capacity of the two countries to fulfill their obligations under the charter of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty for the maintenance of international peace and security.

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE

Press release 780 dated November 9

The second meeting of the Canada-United States Ministerial Committee on Joint Defense was held at Camp David, Maryland, November 8 and 9.

Canada was represented at the meeting by the Honorable Howard C. Green, Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Honorable Donald M. Fleming, Minister of Finance, the Honorable George R. Pearkes, Minister of National Defence, and the Honorable Raymond J. O'Hurley, Minister of Defence Production. The United States was represented by the Honorable Christian A. Herter, Secretary of State, the Honorable Neil McElroy, the Secretary of Defense, and the Honorable Fred C. Scribner, Jr., the Under Secretary of the Treasury. Senior officials of the two governments were also in attendance.

The Committee was established as a result of discussions in July 1958, in Ottawa between Prime Minister Diefenbaker and President Eisenhower. It was established to consult periodically on all matters affecting the joint defense of Canada and the United States. From the outset, it was clearly envisaged that the Committee should review at the Ministerial level not only military questions but also the political and economic aspects of joint defense problems. In the informal atmosphere of Camp David Ministers discussed a broad range of factors, both international and domestic, which affect Canada-United States defense cooperation.

The Ministers discussed current international developments and examined the significance of these developments for Canada-United States defense plans. In so doing they recalled their Governments' obligations, under the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

They discussed in general terms the strategic implications of modern weapon development and the problems created by the mounting costs of modern defense facilities and weapons.

Ministers reviewed the prospects for disarmament.

They were agreed that every effort should be continued to explore the possibilities of a world-wide agreement on an effective system of controlled disarmament. They were further agreed that meanwhile there should be no relaxation of defensive measures and arrangements.

Special consideration was given to the continued need for cooperative defense arrangements in North America designed to contribute to the greater strength of collective security within the broader framework of NATO. In the latter connection, the Ministers reaffirmed their common desire and intention further to strengthen consultation in the North Atlantic Council generally and in particular with respect to preparations for forthcoming negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Ministers also reaffirmed their support for the principles of defense production sharing between the two countries. Progress was reviewed and it was agreed that renewed efforts would be made to assure even more fruitful cooperation in this respect in the future.

Finally, Ministers reviewed the machinery for consultation on defense matters which exists between the two countries and considered it satisfactory. Both countries welcomed the opportunity presented by the Committee's meeting for Ministerial consultation on broad lines of policy and agreed to meet again in Canada by mid-1960.

P.L. 480 Supplemental Agreement Signed With Poland

Press release 786 dated November 10

A supplemental agreement for the sale to Poland of 200,000 tons of surplus feed grains was signed on November 10 at Washington by representatives of the Governments of the United States and Poland. The agreement supplements one signed by the two Governments on June 10, 1959,¹ which provided for the sale to Poland of \$44 million worth of surplus agricultural commodities, including certain ocean transportation costs.

The supplemental agreement results from discussions undertaken since signing of the June 10 agreement and is an amendment to it. Under the same terms as in the June agreement, the

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of June 29, 1959, p. 960.

United States will sell for local currency (Polish zlotys) additional quantities of feed grains, which have an export market value of \$11.8 million including ocean transportation costs for commodi-

ties shipped on U.S. flag vessels. The transactions are authorized by the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act as amended (Public Law 480).

The Meaning of the Division of Germany

by Eleanor Lansing Dulles

Special Assistant to the Director, Office of German Affairs¹

The Manner in Which Germany Became Divided

Even though the division of Germany, creating the isolation of Berlin, is one of the most disturbing elements in the current European situation, there is in many quarters a misunderstanding of the manner in which this division took place. A failure to understand the way the division occurred and the manner in which it accentuates the cold-war issues would be misleading to those concerned with our national security and the foundation of foreign policy. It is worth while, therefore, to give thought to the conditions and problems resulting from the cutting off of this area by the Iron Curtain.

The nature of the misunderstanding, where it prevails, grows out of a lack of knowledge as to the nature of the planning that took place before the end of the war. The agreements reached in Washington, London, and elsewhere did not envisage a division of Germany into zones which would leave to the occupying powers the opportunity to act unilaterally and to establish separate systems without regard to each other. The plans agreed upon by the Allies, including the U.S.S.R., were very different in nature and intent. In fact neither in Germany nor in Austria were separate economic and political systems by zones envisaged.

There was, in the early plans which were worked out by the Allies from 1942 to 1945, a recognition of the fact that military occupation would bring special problems which would make it desirable

that the troops be stationed in separate areas where control would be exercised by their own appropriate national military authorities and thus they would be less likely to come into conflict. It was also planned—and carried through with reasonable success in Austria—that there must be in the countries of occupation a unified economic program. All administrative procedures which would be critical in the reconstruction phases, such as the Potsdam agreements, should have centralized agencies uniformly coordinated so as to result in a single policy.

In Germany the difficulties in carrying out the agreed policy became apparent in 1946 and 1947 but were not fully evident until the currency reform in 1948. At this time—coinciding with the seizure of Czechoslovakia by the Communists and with the rejection by Communist countries of the Marshall plan—the economic struggle came to a head.

It took the form of the refusal by the Soviets to permit the currency reform, so essential to economic recovery, to be carried through in their zone of administration. Up until then there was no clear reason to despair of an early achievement of centralized government of East and West Germany.

Thus the economic struggle which had been frustrating the efforts of the Western Allies in their dealings with the Communists in the Eastern occupied zone came to an open clash and the Iron Curtain closed down in Germany, leaving Berlin in its unusual and isolated position vulnerable to the blockade. Once the Western Allies were in

¹ Address made before the League of Women Voters at Watertown, N.Y., on Nov. 12 (press release 784 dated Nov. 10).

Berlin, the problem of access to Berlin was of little real consequence prior to 1948. There were rules and procedures governing travel, but the few restrictions did not effectively reduce the volume of movement by road, rail, or plane.

Although the blockade was lifted in 1949, and although the Paris agreements between the Russians and the Western Allies of 1949 provided for an improvement and a normalization of access between Berlin and the West, since 1948 there has been, except in Berlin, a growing attempt to close off the Eastern provinces from West Germany. The situation for Germans is in contrast to Communist policy applied to Americans; for example, recent American travelers have stated, "The Iron Curtain is hard to find."

While it may not serve any useful purpose to justify the early plans and programs and the administrative actions in their entirety, it is still essential in our dealings with the problems of the East-West struggle to recognize that the division of Germany, like several other anomalies in the political situation, could have been avoided if the Soviets had in fact kept the arrangements they made.

Thus the tragedy of this divided country is a condition which results not so much from the failure to write the right contracts and agreements as from the aggressive intentions of the Communists with respect to German economic and political potentialities, which led them to disregard these agreements. There are few who would doubt that their aim from the start was to assure a Communist-controlled Germany.

The early plans for cooperative administration by the four occupying powers became an impossibility by 1948, and the endeavor to restore at least a portion of Germany to normal conditions rested entirely on the shoulders of the French, British, and American administrators. The three powers made possible the integration of their three zones of administration and prepared the foundation of a solidly based government in the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as for the continued existence in freedom and the reconstruction of West Berlin.

I am sure every experienced observer would agree it is not now possible, nor is it my intention, to attempt to forecast at this time when there will be an end to the division of Germany. Many changes in Soviet policy may be necessary before

this result is achieved. It is rather my purpose to indicate the significance of this division to those who remain in the zone, to those who left it, and to our various governments in a time where this significance may have a bearing not only on long-range policy but also on certain short-range action.

Present Situation—The People Who Stay in the Zone

Those who live in the Communist-dominated zone are separated from the rest of the world by barbed wire, machineguns, a waste strip, dogs, and electric barriers. This has been called the border against humanity.

There was occasion on a recent trip to Berlin to talk to a number of men and women who reside in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. Their stories vary with respect to their professions, their locations, and the extent to which they have been able to keep contact with the West. They all, however, without exception, made the same plea and echoed the same request. They said that the one unbearable element which might break the spirit in the zone would be a conviction that the rest of the world had forgotten their situation. They begged us to keep constantly in mind the German character of the area, which they feared might be ignored in the shaping of world policy.

In making this plea for continued awareness of the nature of their situation, they indicated quite clearly that they recognized the great difficulties presently standing in the way of reunification. They did not accuse the Western World of neglect or weakness. They did, however, feel that an extraordinary effort was needed to maintain over the years and, if necessary, over the decades an understanding of their situation among political leaders abroad and the public generally. This understanding is important in maintaining the ability to act and the spirit to resist tyranny.

With regard to the conditions under which they live, their emphasis was more on the lack of freedom of action than it was on the material conditions of their life. These conditions are, however, characterized by considerable hardship. Somewhat contrary to recent reports that it is now possible to secure the more essential consumer goods without difficulty, they stated that such things as butter, eggs, and meat could only be obtained from time to time and that in order to secure fruit and vegetables and other supplies of

basic importance they had to stand in line many hours. Although clothing is somewhat easier to buy, they indicated that women's shoes were still virtually unobtainable and that men's shoes of a decent quality cost approximately 1 week's work. With regard to other household goods, they insisted that many needed items, such as kitchen equipment and household products such as those seen in the recent showy exhibit in East Berlin, were virtually unobtainable to the average family.

Thus the picture given me by those persons with whom I talked indicated only little improvement over the last few years in the consumer goods field. These people and others, however, recognized the fact that heavy goods industries were making strides which give support to the claims of the German authorities in the East Zone that they are, after the U.S.S.R., the most important industrial producer in the Soviet bloc. The discrepancy between advancement in industry and difficulties in agriculture, however, is still notable and is not likely to be closed in the near future.

In industry and agriculture, as well as in other areas of production, the problem of manpower and particularly skilled workers is crucial. For this reason the exit of hundreds and even thousands of refugees each month in spite of attempts to prevent their leaving is a problem. This loss of population causes the regime in the Eastern provinces, as well as the Soviet authorities, grave concern. They are importing doctors and some types of workers into the zone.

Whether or not the economy of the East Zone can continue to improve according to the proposed schedule which would bring per capita income in the East Zone close to the Federal Republic in a few years, it would be dangerous to underestimate their advances in many fields. They are now substantial exporters, sometimes at a financial loss, of machine tools, electrical equipment, ships and ship fittings, chemical products, ceramics, uranium, precision instruments, and artificial rubber, and their output is thus of interest not only to people in the zone but also to all in the Communist bloc.

The people with whom I talked, however, who have benefited only slightly from this expansion, were more concerned with the lack of freedom of movement and the sense that they were being spied upon than they were with the material living standard, which they could accept, even as it is. They cited cases of meetingrooms and churches

which had been linked by microphones to police centers. Recently a bishop was arrested for uncovering microphones in his new house. My friends told of the difficulty of communication of person to person, the sense of danger in conversations which might be interpreted as critical of the regime, and problems of reporting by fellow workers and even their own children. They indicated that the nerves of the people, meeting casually in the streets and buses and other public places, were so frayed that there were frequent clashes and minor disturbances.

In spite of these tensions all the persons with whom I talked agreed that there is now no prospect of a serious uprising in the Soviet-occupied zone. They referred to the problems which prevented action by the West when faced with requests to support anti-Communist efforts in East Berlin on June 17, 1953, in Hungary, in Tibet, and at other times and places. With their keen sensitivity to Communist pressures, they are also aware apparently of the serious threat to world survival which might come now with any ill-considered or hasty action on the part of the free world to repulse Communist aggression.

They indicated an enormous sense of helplessness. They stated that they were fighting against a deep despair which, if it became dominant among them, might mean that they could not fulfill any role, even one of quiet resistance. Thus they fully recognized a difficult task of maintaining for months to come the spirit of independence among people in the zone.

A doctor who left the zone recently explained that he was earning the equivalent of more than \$20,000 a year, with very fine laboratory facilities and other special advantages which placed him among professional men in the highest economic class. He said, however, that the atmosphere was so repressive that he could not breathe freely and would prefer to leave everything behind and try to start a new life in the West. This story is repeated by hundreds of persons, as the number of intellectuals among the refugees has become a greater proportion of the total. This change contrasts with the earlier period, when economic motives played a relatively larger part. Others have echoed this statement and said that the newspapers are full of hatred and vilification of the free world's statesmen and particularly of the leaders in the *Bundesrepublik*. Forbidden the

free-world papers, they feel they are shut off from information and the truth.

There is no prospect that this situation is likely to change. The very nature of the insecure and ill-founded regime is such that there is no likelihood that there can be any greater latitude for intellectual freedom. It is still extremely difficult to travel between the zone and other parts of Germany or Europe and even to travel within the zone. Everyone who wishes to move from his hometown must be ready with a plausible excuse and must when traveling prepare to leave his suitcase on bus or train if it seems to provide a telltale evidence of fleeing from his legal home.

For those who live in the zone the division of Germany means separation from the world of freedom and from relatives, friends, and past associates and the forced diversion of economic efforts in the direction of the Soviet bloc. Meanwhile they must hold on with all the strength they can muster to avoid precipitate action and to try to keep the spirit of freedom and independence alive. They must hold their ground while suffering great restrictions. This is perhaps the only place in the world where the population is declining.

Those Who Leave—Refugees

The steady stream of refugees out of the East Zone of Germany, which has totaled so far almost 3.5 million persons, after the transfer of 9 million expellees from the Eastern provinces, represents a phenomenon never seen in recent centuries. Although there are many other problems connected with the absorption of refugees in other areas in the Middle and Far East, the voluntary long-continued movement of persons, motivated by varying considerations but all seeking a freedom which has been denied them, is in many ways unique in history.

The continuing flow of refugees leaving the zone has decreased somewhat in recent months. There are various explanations for this, including the fact that a large proportion of those who could most easily leave have already found homes in the West. Another factor which may be of significant influence is that it is the established policy of the Federal Republic to encourage persons to stay in the Soviet Zone wherever this is possible without serious risk of political persecution or imprisonment.

I have been told of cases, for example, where clergymen have consulted with their church leaders as to whether they could migrate to the Federal Republic. They have been instructed that it is their duty to remain with their people. There is also considerable effort to persuade physicians to remain to help those cities and towns suffering from the shortage of physicians in all branches of medicine. At the same time it has been recognized that for young men and women to leave, to escape from forced military services and from various types of controls which are invoked to make them associate themselves with the Communist Party, is a motivation that cannot, under present circumstances, be discouraged by the West Germans.

It is striking to observe the fact that, although there are hardships and strains connected with the absorption of 3.5 million persons, in addition to 9 million expellees transferred by agreement from beyond the Oder-Neisse line, they have been given new homes and jobs. It is the belief of many that the prosperity of present-day Germany is based in no small measure on the fact that there was a constant supply of competent labor available throughout this period to work in expanding industry.

Thus, in spite of the continued existence of a small hard-core group with little to look forward to, the refugee story is not completely sad. Several billion deutsche marks have been spent by the West German Government in building houses, schools, churches, roads, and public services to take care of the additional population. The Government and the economy have enjoyed net gains because of the industry and productive efforts of these people, many of them in the prime of life and all desperately trying to reestablish themselves.

Thus, although there is much human tragedy in the refugee camps and particularly among the so-called hard-core group, difficult to absorb, and although the determination to leave the homeland in which they were born is difficult, there has been a surprising adjustment of people to their new conditions. Many succeed fairly soon in leaving the camps. Some go directly to relatives and friends and secure suitable jobs.

From the point of view of the Federal Republic the refugees have been predominantly an asset. Moreover the refugees by their courage and in-

dustry have helped keep the world aware of the difference between a free democratic state and a regime of an oppressed society in which the choices of education, profession, and dwelling place are all circumscribed to meet the needs of a party system.

Berlin and Its Relation to a Divided Germany

The meaning of the division for the city of Berlin is clear in that the unique importance of the city is to serve as a bridge, a gateway, a linchpin, between two large areas. Here relatives and friends who could not otherwise be in touch with each other in any effective way with ingenuity manage to come together in spite of the possibility of arrests and penalties which they risk but often manage to avoid. Here even those who cannot come to Berlin for any reason manage to keep fairly frequent and close links with each other, thus maintaining at least a portion of those relationships which would be normal within a nation. Here, too, the meaning of living in a free society becomes evident to both East and West and keeps alive the determination to maintain wherever possible those features which we regard as the more important freedoms of the Western way of life.

From a legal and political point of view the existence of Berlin, deep in the zone, makes clear to hundreds of millions of persons that there was no intention on the part of the West in the past, and no willingness in the present, to perpetuate a situation in which Germans are separated from Germans under pressure from an alien power.

The demands of the zone on Berlin are real and give a special importance since they are so amply met that they make Berlin a unique and indispensable focus of our policy in the cold war. This role is central to the broad political meaning of this city and the Allied position there.

The opportunity in Berlin, which is not equaled in any other area, to bring to the center of a Communist-controlled region the best of our Western institutions, our friendship, and our assistance is indeed something which was not anticipated and cannot be duplicated.

If now a contrary view were to be taken and if Berlin were to be considered a burden and its anti-Communist people of little or no importance, the blow to those who have resisted in their hearts, and to those who have remained independent in their actions, would be immeasurable. The world sig-

nificance of Berlin is largely moral and symbolic but nonetheless vital to the security of Europe and may in fact outweigh the direct importance of the city looked at from a narrower point of view.

There is no point in discussing here military or strategic aspects of the existence of an outpost of a highly sensitive nature to the east of the main defenses. This matter has been discussed on various occasions but lies outside my specific knowledge and the type of consideration undertaken here. We can, however, recognize the political meaning of this city, which has been of crucial importance to our postwar period in relation not only to the two portions of a divided Germany but also to other European countries which remain constantly aware of the meaning of the anti-Communist stand taken both by the friends of Berlin and by the Berliners themselves. As a result the people in the Eastern Zone are not completely isolated or abandoned.

The Federal Republic and a Divided Germany

To the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin in a divided Germany is both a burden and an asset of inestimable worth. It is valuable in that it provides a symbol of "reunification." The burden lies both in the need for heavy financial subsidies to the city's budget, for refugees, for Berlin and for residents of the zone, as well as for special assistance to industry, bringing with it special administrative and political problems.

One illustration of the type of problem which weighs heavily both from a financial and tactical point of view is the role which the Federal Republic plays in helping maintain traffic in and out of the city of Berlin. When in April of 1955 the Communists in East Germany, working within the framework of their dependence on Soviet policy, raised their demands for exorbitant tolls based on earlier moderate charges for all vehicles entering the city, the problem for the Government in Bonn, as well as for the city of Berlin, was how to keep the traffic flowing.

Since the Germans did not have at that time the possibility of refusing to pay the tolls or of exacting any countertribute from the Communists, it was decided, after serious efforts to secure a reduction of the tolls, that the Federal Republic would take over this not inconsiderable burden amounting to approximately \$10 million a year.

Here the problem was not only how to protect the commerce of the city of Berlin, on which its life is dependent, but also how the demand should be met and the relations with those persons who have to do with roads and traffic through the zone. One cannot say that the present method of dealing with these problems is necessarily the right solution or the only solution. It is still true that through many incidents that could be cited the situation has been kept under control. Economic activities in West Berlin have improved, and the cultural and economic life of the people in the city of Berlin is in many respects as good or better than that in some other large cities in Germany.

Who can question the fact that without the maintenance of West Berlin in the East Zone, within the Western orbit though behind the Iron Curtain, which has excluded Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, and many other countries from the normal relations with the West, the Soviets would have cut off the entire occupied zone with a degree of finality which would be difficult to overcome.

Without this vital, active economic and cultural center—referred to generally as *Hauptstadt* Berlin, the capital of future Germany—the reality which underlies the superficial appearances might be lost to view. Because of this understanding in Bonn and elsewhere billions of marks and the efforts of many thousands of persons have been devoted to the remarkable reconstruction that has taken place in the last 10 years.

One cannot say with any degree of clarity what will develop in the coming decade. One can be sure, however, that Berlin, as a beacon to the East, and the efforts of the Berlin people have provided the most successful achievement of the German people in keeping the world alive to the true meaning of the conditions of a divided Germany.

The American View of the East Zone and Berlin

To the average American, Berlin and the zone stand for the heroic effort of small groups who made a deliberate choice and who have had the patience and endurance to hold firm under great pressure. This appeals to the interest of people in the heroic, and, because Berliners have a wit-ness and a spirit which Americans admire, it also creates a feeling of comradeship which exists in relation to the people of few, if any, other cities.

Berlin in its far-extended position in an uncertain territory, with its narrow lifeline and its

sensitive reactions to Communist activities, is of more psychological, political, and moral value than many earth-circling satellites. The division of Germany tends to become real in the division of Berlin.

Because of these major factors, aid for Berlin in varying form but in significant amounts has been continued for a longer period than that for other parts of the European area. We believe in the future of the city as we count on a future Germany as a sound and dependable friend of the West.

They Know the Meaning of the Division of Germany

In the zone they know that the division of Germany into two political systems, inherently antagonistic to each other, was not contemplated in 1945. The emergence of two incompatible and hostile economic systems was not anticipated. The imposition on the zone of Soviet occupation of an alien and anti-Western social system lay outside the approved plans for postwar readjustment.

Even those who feared a strong Germany did not visualize the imposition of a regime, fanatically Communist, which would at first enslave and then attempt to seduce and persuade independent-minded Germans to become vassals of a dictatorial tyranny.

They know that the dangers of a continued development along these lines are real. A genuinely communized East Germany would become a strong element in the Soviet system, as strong or stronger than any other single element in the bloc. Its contribution to an already formidable economic and military potential would add to the threat not only to West Germany but to all Europe.

For this understanding we must thank the people of Berlin and those in the Soviet-occupied zone. We must recognize that they know the meaning of freedom and of despotism and are holding back this danger from the Western provinces so far. They have shown resistance in these postwar years, while the ebb and flow of Communist influence over the world in general is making a final solution of the German problem difficult.

To these people we must say in gratitude that we respect their strength and wish them courage for the difficult months ahead. They know, whereas we can merely speculate with informed guesses, the meaning of the division of Germany.

American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy

by H. Schuyler Foster

Chief, Public Studies Division¹

The recent coming of Nikita Khrushchev to our shores has stimulated once again discussion of the role of the American public in U.S. foreign relations. Somewhat paradoxically, it seems that the era of personal diplomacy has enlarged the role of the general public as well as that of the top-level leaders who engage in intimate talks.

President Eisenhower's conclusion that the public conducted itself in "creditable" and "enlightened" fashion during the Khrushchev tour is shared by many Americans. Yet a number of questions about the competence of the American people in the field of foreign policy remain. Does it take the visit of a world-famous figure, having a vivid personality, to arouse the American people from their "usual apathy"? Or do our fellow countrymen have serious thoughts about our foreign relations year in and year out? Are their opinions sound and stable, or do the people shift about like weathervanes, from one quarter to the other, in response to the latest blast of hot air? Are the people sharply divided among themselves, creating a serious lack of national unity on matters which are of critical importance in this era of rocket and nuclear weapons? These questions are clearly worth discussing if we are to arrive at valid conclusions about the role of public opinion in U.S. foreign relations.

Answers to such questions are not self-evident. Even though many of our friends may confidently state what the American public thinks about foreign affairs, this is a field in which it is difficult for the ordinary citizen—or even the foreign affairs expert—to be accurately informed. On the day

after any close election—and also some which turn out to be not so close—I believe we have all had the experience of encountering friends who expressed astonishment at the outcome. Those of you who are as old as I am may recall the case of the New York debutante, who, after the presidential election of 1932, was heard to remark: "I can't understand how Roosevelt got elected; I don't know a single person who voted for him!"

It is doubtless because of the difficulty of obtaining a comprehensive picture of American public opinion, without special facilities for this purpose, that you have invited me here tonight to discuss the role of the American public in U.S. foreign policy. It was this same difficulty that prompted your Department of State in Washington, some 16 years ago, to set up a division for the systematic study and analysis of American opinion.

How the Department Analyzes Public Opinion

I should like to emphasize that the State Department has a very keen interest in what the American people are thinking about our foreign relations. The Public Studies Division of the Department makes a comprehensive examination of every available type of American opinion as it finds expression in the editorial and news columns of American newspapers and magazines, in the views of foreign affairs analysts on television and radio, and also in the views of private citizens in letters and in public opinion polls. Many private organizations in this country also express incisive views on various aspects of U.S. foreign policy; these, too, are carefully examined by the Division.

Reports on American opinion are prepared for the use of officers in the Department in Wash-

¹ Address made before the Middletown University Club at Middletown, Conn., on Oct. 15.

ington and of Foreign Service officers stationed overseas. These reports, which appear on a daily, weekly, and monthly basis, are not prepared for publication; but they afford a comprehensive view of American opinion on foreign affairs upon which I shall draw for our discussion here this evening.

The requests which the Public Studies Division receives from Department officers and from overseas posts make it clear that there is great interest in public opinion—especially at the higher and middle levels of the Department and Foreign Service. (Parenthetically, I should point out that at any given moment many Department officers are working on aspects of our foreign relations where there is no question of public support of the policy; but the economic and political problems may prove absorbingly difficult.) The officers working on development of current policy do have, through these opinion reports, access to a continual flow of analyses of what the American people are thinking concerning each of the problems on which they are working.

This interest in what you—as members of the American public—think is based upon an appreciation of the importance of public support to U.S. policy. The impact of public opinion is felt directly by the State Department and also through the people's representatives in Congress, who have—through the power of the purse and otherwise—a much greater share in fixing our foreign policy than was the case 20 years ago. When discussing the attitude of the State Department, Secretary Herter observed in April 1958² that “a successful foreign policy must, . . . to be effective, command the support of the vast majority of the American people—otherwise it would not be given the tools by the Congress which are essential to its fulfillment. And so it becomes the business of all of us.”

Response of Public to Foreign Policy Problems

How have the American people felt about carrying out this business which has become theirs? In the period since World War II, which has witnessed remarkable changes in traditional American foreign policies, we can all recall hot debates and sharp attacks upon U.S. policy and

upon the State Department. Indeed, some criticisms of plans for a summit meeting and of the handling of our Mutual Security Program can still be heard—to mention only two topics of current interest.

Yet a dispassionate examination of the nationwide expressions of opinion on foreign policy issues shows that, ever since Pearl Harbor, a substantial majority of the American public has supported all of our major foreign policies; and it has shown predominant approval of our State Department and Foreign Service as well.

One of the factors which led the State Department to inaugurate a systematic analysis of American opinion in 1943 was the concern about the people's willingness to put their Nation into an international organization to maintain the peace. The earlier failure of the Senate to uphold President Wilson on the League of Nations Charter and the failure of the public to induce any alteration of the Senate's position combined to produce a natural question about the readiness of the public for U.S. participation in a new international organization to maintain the peace. Were the people willing, 25 years after the defeat of the League, for us to join the United Nations?

This time, approval was not long in making itself evident. A basic change in the foreign policy outlook of the American people had already been registered by public opinion polls taken shortly after America's entry into World War II. Asked what U.S. policy should be after the war, about 70 percent of the nationwide sample affirmed that we should take an “active part in world affairs,” whereas about 20 percent felt that we should “stay out” of world affairs as much as possible. Here was a great shift from the century-old policy of isolation. It is a significant fact that the many public opinion polls taken on this issue during the ensuing 17 years have always had substantially the same result. About 70 percent of our people continue to favor an “active” international role for our country; nearly 20 percent continue to prefer the policy of “staying out” as much as we can; and the remaining 10 percent continue to express no opinion one way or the other.

United Nations

Specific attitudes toward the United Nations in 1944 and 1945 followed the same general pattern as has been indicated in terms of broader significance. In fact, popular approval for U.S.

² In an address made at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., on Apr. 14, 1958 (not printed).

membership in the new U.N. was well above 70 percent, reaching 80 percent and even higher. Specific disapproval was quite small—usually well under 10 percent. Evidently a number of Americans who felt that, in general, we ought to stay out of world affairs concluded that we could not afford to stay out of the U.N.

Nor were public opinion polls the only evidence of public support for our participation. All the other opinion indicators—newspaper “columns” and editorials, radio comment, resolutions passed by numerous nationwide organizations in the fields of business, labor, and agriculture, as well as women’s groups, church groups, and many others—all made evident the thoroughgoing character of the national support for U.S. membership in the U.N.

Since 1945 there have been occasions—especially at times during the Korean war—when outcries against the U.N. made news in the press and on the radio. Also, numbers of concerned citizens reported to State Department officers that in their communities and local groups outspoken condemnation of the U.N. was increasingly heard. In fact, this became one of those periods when it was difficult for the ordinary citizen to discover what the public opinion really was. Many Americans saw what they took to be a great national movement away from the U.N.—perhaps, they thought, back to isolationism.

Careful analysis of opinion data, however, showed that the shift in opinion was more apparent than real. Most editors continued to support the U.N., national organizations did not reverse their favorable stands, and the public opinion polls showed only a relatively small increase in the proportion advocating withdrawal. Such sentiment rose to a maximum of 13 percent. On the other hand, three-quarters of the public continued to affirm their support for U.S. membership; and on several subsequent occasions approval has been much higher. The case of the U.N. is one of the cases I had in mind as indicating that public support for basic U.S. policies has been substantial and consistent during this postwar period.

Greek-Turkish Aid

About a year and a half after the Senate ratified the U.N. Charter, situations arose in Greece and Turkey which called for prompt decision on another course of action that was in marked contrast to prewar U.S. policy. President Truman called

upon the Congress to appropriate substantial amounts of both economic and military assistance to each of these two countries menaced by Soviet Russia. Much public discussion ensued, with the great majority of press writers and radio commentators speaking in support of this new undertaking. It is interesting to record that the public opinion polls showed a somewhat different pattern of opinion. They showed majority approval for economic aid to Greece and Turkey but an unreadiness to experiment with military aid. A larger number of respondents opposed military aid than favored it. Well, you will recall what the Congress did. It voted the package of economic and military aid, in line with the recommendation of the President and the majority of those better informed members of the American public who write newspaper and magazine editorials on foreign affairs. It did not give legislative effect to the opposition indicated by a plurality of the general public at that time.

It is worth while to think about what happened next, after Congress voted for a program not having majority approval. Were the Congressmen turned out of office? No, the people changed their minds; the majority of the public presently accepted the military aid program which had been already supported by the majority of commentators and had been voted by Congress. Not only that. You all realize that U.S. military aid has subsequently become an integral part of the Mutual Security Program, including aid to other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and to other allies on other continents. This extension of military aid now has the support of a majority of the general public, as shown by recent polls, as well as that of numerous commentators and of many national organizations.

Marshall Plan

In the same year of 1947, which witnessed the prompt institution of U.S. aid to Greece and Turkey, Secretary of State George C. Marshall broached the idea of the Marshall plan in a brief talk at the Harvard commencement. The public reaction to the Marshall plan is so significant and so indicative of the role of the public and Congress in U.S. foreign policy that it is especially rewarding to consider it in this connection.

Secretary Marshall’s proposal was immediately received with sympathy by a number of editors

and columnists, who realized that some program of U.S. aid to our war-torn European allies was essential; but the Marshall plan did not immediately commend itself to a majority of the general public, according to nationwide public opinion polls. More Americans in the summer of 1947 were unsympathetic to the idea than applauded it. Certainly it is not surprising that this brand-new idea in the world—that our country should give (or lend) \$4 billion or \$5 billion a year to other countries—should not be instantly recognized by a majority of our people as in the best interest of the United States.

The Gallup poll threw further light on the public opinion situation of that time by pointing out that Marshall's proposal was regarded as a good idea by two out of three of those sampled who had attended college, but by only one out of three of those whose education stopped in grammar school. The other two-thirds of this less educated group were not all opposed to Secretary Marshall's idea—many of them gave no opinion; but the opponents were numerous enough to outweigh the approval from the college-educated in the nationwide poll.

What should a government leader do when a policy which he believes vitally important to the interests of this country is not approved by a majority of the American public? You remember what General Marshall did. With the backing of President Truman, he took the issue up in the normal manner under our system of democratic government. He laid his plan before the appropriate committees of Senate and House; he was followed, in further public hearings, by his aides, who explained in fuller detail the plan which was destined to produce a remarkably rapid European recovery.

The explanations and discussions before the committees were faithfully reported and discussed in the press, on the radio, and thus in local communities throughout the country. By the following spring, when Congress enacted the European Recovery Program, this plan had the support of the great majority of newspapers and commentators, of numerous outstanding national organizations, and also of a substantial majority of the general public—including a majority of those having only a grammar school education. What is more, this nationwide discussion of 11 years ago was so thorough and pervasive that it

has provided a firm foundation for popular support of later large-scale programs of economic aid intended for other areas and justified for other purposes.

Hardly was the Marshall plan enacted into law when the Berlin blockade again drew attention to the menace of Communist expansion, which had already necessitated our aid to Greece and Turkey. The Soviet threat had also been one of the factors leading to the Marshall plan; but now the necessity of military defense in Europe prompted another sharp departure from prewar United States policy, which had for over a century prohibited our entering into alliances. Together with Canada and the nations of Western Europe, the United States joined in creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—NATO. As in the case of other new policies of the postwar period, many observers were fearful that the people might be reluctant, or even unwilling, to make such a drastic reversal of past policies. But once again support came from the great bulk of the press, numerous influential organizations, and a majority of the general public.

The sequel in the field of defense alliances, as in that of economic and military aid, has been one of extending the new policy to additional countries, especially in the Pacific region and the Middle East. Together with the defense arrangements with our Latin American "good neighbors," the United States now has such ties with more than 40 countries; and all of these ties are firmly supported by the American public.

Reciprocal Trade Program

To round out a discussion of our basic foreign policies today, we should note the steady support for our reciprocal trade program. In this case, the change from traditional protectionism began before the war, with Secretary of State Cordell Hull's espousal of the reciprocal trade program and congressional enactment in 1934 of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. Prior to the Eisenhower administrations, one might have wondered whether the trade program was a partisan policy or a national policy; but by this time I think the evidence is clear. Here again, we find the policy strongly supported by the press, by numerous organizations, and by a majority of the general public, including rank-and-file members of both major political parties.

Stability of Public Support

At this point we have considered the most significant foreign policies which have been adopted during the past quarter century. The public support for each of these global policies has been stressed—for the United Nations, for our wide-ranging defense agreements, for our Mutual Security Program of military and economic aid, and for our international trade policies. To those who fear that the American public shifts about in too flighty a fashion, I would like to point out that these basic policies have received steady support ever since their adoption. True, some Americans are opposed to each or maybe all of these major policies; but the great majority of the people have backed each of them.

Additional evidence of the stability of public support is revealed by opinion polls which break down the population into geographic regions and into groups based upon political affiliation. Each of these great U.S. foreign policies is upheld in each region of the country; polls show only slight differences in the percentages of approval in the East and the Far West, in the Midwest and the South. State polls show that in Minnesota, as in Texas, the people divide on our foreign policies in much the same proportions as in the Nation as a whole.

Happily, also, the rank-and-file members of our two major political parties are very similar in their attitudes toward our relations with the rest of the world. As in the various regions, Americans who regard themselves as Republicans agree with the Democrats in holding—about 70 percent of them—that the United States must take an active part in world affairs. In each camp, 18 or 20 percent would like us to “stay out” of world affairs as much as we can. And, on the individual policies we have been considering, the approving majority is much the same in both groups—on trade questions as much as on the U.N. or the Mutual Security Program.

Having stressed the stability and solidarity of American public opinion, I don't want to give the impression that we are a nation of parrots or puppets, with 7 out of every 10 men and women forced into an “internationalist” mold by their Government leaders, their newspapers, and TV programs, and 2 out of every 10 forced into a “nationalist” mold by the media to which they expose themselves. Americans are not like that. For

one thing, some of these policies enjoy broader popular support than others. Approval of NATO is at the top of the list, closely followed by approval of our membership in the United Nations; polls have usually shown 80 percent or 85 percent approval. Disapproval of NATO is practically nonexistent in the press and among organizations; and opposition to the U.N. is quite small from a nationwide point of view.

Somewhat greater and more persistent opposition is voiced to our trade and aid policies; but the record of predominant support is clear in the press, among national organizations, and in public opinion polls—as it is also in congressional legislation and appropriations. I am referring now, in the matter of aid, to public sentiment for a program of military and economic aid of the general dimensions of those carried out in recent years.

Divisions in Public Opinion on Economic Aid

For a realistic understanding of the attitude of our fellow Americans, who are humans and not parrots, it will be helpful to note some further divisions of opinion. The great majority of newspapers, of organizations, and of people interviewed in opinion polls take a clear stand in favor of aid for our allies. For countries not our allies, there is considerable division of opinion and some fluctuation of sentiment.

Opinion is also divided on the total amount of aid to be appropriated each year for all countries. Some newspapers, and a small percentage of persons polled, have felt that the administration has not requested large enough funds. A much larger group, but still a minority—of both the press and the general public, have called for drastic reduction of the amounts requested by the President (whether Truman or Eisenhower). As I mentioned earlier, a large-scale program is favored; it would certainly be very difficult, however, to attempt to say whether the annual amount voted by the Congress is the precise amount favored by a majority of the American public.

But it is possible to say something significant about public views and congressional action on extending aid to countries which have not become our allies—like India or Communist countries such as Poland and Yugoslavia. On these questions the opinion picture is less sharp and clear, and more subject to fluctuation, than on the issue

of whether or not to have a large-scale program. At various times in recent years aid to India, Yugoslavia, and Poland has drawn greater opposition than support in public opinion polls. But at the same time, aid to these nonallies has usually been favored by poll respondents who have attended college and also by the greater number of those editors and columnists who have discussed these issues. What is perfectly clear is that Congress has responded to the requests of the executive branch—both the previous and present administrations—and has made aid specifically available to both India and Yugoslavia. In the case of Poland, Congress has subsequently acquiesced to loans extended by the executive branch on the basis of broad legislation which had not specifically included Poland.

Here again, as in the case a dozen years ago of military aid to Greece and Turkey, we find Congress acting in line with the recommendations of the administration and of those commentators and citizens who may be presumed to have given greater and deeper thought to these important and difficult problems than have the remaining members of the public.

From time to time our Congress has been criticized for being "behind" the people. I would like to point out that, on a number of foreign policy questions, Congress has taken action which is "ahead" of the position taken at that time by the general average of the general public. Congress has acted favorably on various important international questions which have been little understood by the general public, as in voting for U.S. participation in the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Civil Aviation Organization. It was "ahead" of the people in revising our immigration laws to admit Chinese persons; and in 1946 it authorized a multibillion-dollar loan to Great Britain. On all of these questions the positive approval of a majority of the general public was lacking. But support was forthcoming from the press and from national organizations; and in none of these cases has subsequent opinion turned against the congressional action. On the contrary, in most cases there has been later positive agreement by the public with the action taken, after fuller consideration of the factors involved in reaching a sound judgment on the policy objectives in view.

Errors in Assessing American Opinion

Having discussed the varying degrees of public support for specific foreign policies, I should like to stress once again the generally approving character of American opinion. This has included, during most recent years, majority approval of the way in which the administration in office has been conducting our foreign relations generally; the chief exceptions occurred during some phases of the fighting in Korea. For many of my colleagues in Washington, fully aware of volleys of criticism, it is difficult to credit public opinion polls which indicate that actually the broad public is inclined to express greater confidence in the State Department than in Washington Departments in general. Similarly, my friends in the Foreign Service seem dubious about crediting polls which show a majority feeling that members of the Foreign Service are doing a "pretty good job." These reactions may be taken, I believe, as additional illustrations of the proposition that it is difficult for any individual to judge the sentiment of the entire public. The evidence available to any one person does not ordinarily afford an adequate basis for broad conclusions.

One source of mistaken judgments about American opinion lies in the conclusions which some people draw from the fact that Americans appear ill informed about some significant aspects of foreign affairs. For example, it is not flattering that only 20 percent of a national cross section have heard of the Foreign Service of the United States; and only about half of the people can answer the question, "What does the State Department do?" But what these findings really mean is that many people are unfamiliar with the official names of organizations, rather than unaware of the functions of these organizations.

To illustrate further, only about half of the general public are familiar with the initials or name of NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; but 80 percent or more call it a "good idea" when asked about the "mutual defense treaty that the U.S. has with Canada and the countries of Western Europe, under which an attack against any one is regarded as an attack against all." It is unfortunate that our fellow countrymen are not better informed; but we need to be cautious about equating their general understanding with their specific information.

Public apathy about public affairs is a charge that has frequently been uttered in recent months. Certainly it would be good for our country if more people took a deeper interest in our foreign affairs. But, again, it is difficult to get an accurate measure of public interest in a question. I recall the experience of a Department colleague who visited his hometown in rural Ohio just after the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in 1949—a project to which he had been devoting most of his time during the preceding several weeks. Concerned about how the American public was taking to this revolution in U.S. policy, he finally remarked to his father that he had been back 3 days and he hadn't heard a single soul mention the North Atlantic Treaty. "Why, the people are all for it," the father replied, "they understand that times have changed and that we need the treaty now. Go ahead and ask them about it." My friend took up the suggestion and soon satisfied himself that his father was an accurate analyst of community opinion. He also resolved that he would never again complain about public apathy on the basis of not having encountered many people who were spontaneously expressing enthusiasm on a particular subject.

Interest in Foreign Affairs Increasing

Apathy, of course, is a relative matter. One thing that seems certain is that the American people are paying very much greater attention to foreign relations now than they did before World War II. It seems probable that public attention is greater today than it was 5 years ago. Our mass media are giving unflagging attention to foreign affairs. The cash-register test seems to be telling our newspapers, magazines, and television and radio networks that there is a widespread popular interest in foreign relations. At least that is the impression one got during the 13 days that Chairman Khrushchev was here.

Some of you are doubtless familiar with the success, in recent years, of the efforts of the Foreign Policy Association to encourage the formation of small discussion groups to talk over the issues of our foreign relations in systematic fashion. Communities in all parts of the country have witnessed the formation of many such groups, often under the leadership of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the World Affairs Council, or other organizations having public affairs programs.

The success of this program is a testimonial to the increase in serious attention to our foreign affairs on the part of many Americans.

One important phase of our current foreign policy, which I haven't mentioned earlier this evening, is our program of cultural relations and exchanges with other countries. I'm sure that in this college community it is well understood that, when exchange students or professors come to this country, the role of the American public is highly important. Our visitors are keen observers, and the impressions of the American people and Nation which they take away with them will affect their concept of America for many years. This exchange program—which brings here many organization leaders, political figures, and newspapermen as well as academic persons—is one in which many thousands of Americans have taken an active part, inviting visitors into their homes and showing them our local community life. The operation of this program, which was not a part of our foreign policy 25 years ago, is another indication of active public interest; and it has also added immeasurably to the understanding by Americans of what our foreign policy means in human terms.

Need for Fuller Understanding

While I have underscored tonight that public support is essential for the success of our foreign policy, I would like to point out that there is a broader need, the need for as full understanding of foreign affairs as we can get. The helpfulness of public understanding of the foreign affairs situation is well illustrated by the ready favorable response to the Marshall plan on the part of Americans who had attended college. Presumably these more highly educated people already appreciated much of the need for, and practicality of, the plan, which their neighbors realized only when nationwide discussion focused attention on this problem.

I am not arguing that one needs a college education to understand U.S. foreign policy. You will recall that one out of three persons having only a grammar school education was favorably impressed with Secretary Marshall's idea from the beginning and not all of the college people were so impressed. But formal education is certainly one way of obtaining a grasp of the world situation and its implications for the United States. This also explains, I think, why college people have more readily seen the advantages of our sending

economic aid to such nonallies as India, Yugoslavia, and Poland.

A broad public understanding greatly aids the Government as it develops new policies to meet new conditions. The aim of our aid program in the Marshall plan days was emergency assistance to get our allies back on their economic feet. Although the nationwide discussion of the Marshall plan has contributed heavily to public understanding of how our own welfare is tied to the economic condition of other countries, there are some Americans who genuinely supported the Marshall plan but who have experienced difficulty in understanding why it is in the interest of the United States to extend longer term assistance for the economic development of the less developed countries—whether or not they were our allies in the last war or are participating in our present defense agreements. I think we can agree that support for our present Mutual Security Program calls for a broader understanding of many forces at work in the world than did support for the Marshall plan 10 years ago.

Much of the information released by the State Department is directed not only at making news developments public as soon as possible but toward providing the public with a broader understanding of world affairs and how these affect the United States. One of the Department's pamphlets designed to stimulate citizen interest in foreign affairs is entitled *Your Opinion Counts*.³ It seeks to promote a broader realization among our people that, in foreign affairs as well as in domestic affairs, the opinion of every citizen has weight in our democracy. It is worth while, accordingly, for each citizen to have as well-informed and well-grounded an opinion as possible.

The expansion of public understanding is also the goal of Department officers when they give talks in response to the invitations which the Department receives from all parts of the country. This is also the goal in the talks which are given by Department officers before the numerous groups which visit Washington and desire to hear, and participate in, a discussion of our foreign policy.

It is, of course, impossible for the State Department to reach each of the hundred million adults in America—plus the millions of young people

³ Department of State publication 5606. Copies may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. (10 cents).

who are approaching voting age—for the purpose of giving them a broad understanding of world affairs. This is a task for which the Department needs, and receives, the cooperation of the newspapers and magazines, television and radio, in their daily efforts to keep Americans posted on events and situations throughout the world. The programs carried on by many national and local organizations to develop a fuller understanding of foreign affairs are constantly helpful and appreciated. Manifestly, also, we need as full a treatment of international relations as possible in our junior high schools, high schools, and universities.

We need incisive and thoughtful comment on current policy in addition to sheer information. And, while criticism may be painful, the State Department recognizes that policies which cannot stand up under criticism are policies which need to be changed. Public discussion may lead to greater understanding on the part of officials as well as on the part of the public.

In closing, I would like to quote a statement which Secretary Herter made 2 years ago at the commencement exercises at Northwestern University,⁴ since it sums up the significance of the public's role today. "The challenge of the future," said Mr. Herter, "lies not in the hands of officials alone but in the understanding of the world problems and world challenges toward which each and every one of you can contribute."

President Requests Investigation of Imports of Cotton Textiles

White House press release dated November 10

White House Announcement

The President has requested the U.S. Tariff Commission to make an investigation of imports of cotton textiles. The President's action was taken in response to a recommendation from the Secretary of Agriculture. The Commission's investigation will be made pursuant to section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, which authorizes action to prevent undue interference with agricultural programs.

Under existing legislation U.S. cotton is supported at a price considerably above the world level. Cotton is required by law to be exported

⁴ BULLETIN of July 8, 1957, p. 47.

from the United States in order to regain our "fair share" of the world market. This is done with the help of a subsidy, which presently is 8 cents per pound. Some of this subsidized cotton is manufactured into textiles abroad and reenters the United States in competition with domestically manufactured cotton textiles which reflect the full support price for cotton. The President has asked the Tariff Commission to determine whether a fee on imported cotton textiles, equal to the amount of the subsidy, is necessary in order to prevent cotton textile imports from interfering with programs of the Department of Agriculture.

President's Letter to Chairman of Tariff Commission

NOVEMBER 10, 1959

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been advised by the Secretary of Agriculture that there is reason to believe that cotton in articles containing cotton is being, or is practically certain to be, imported into the United States under such conditions and in such quantities as to render or tend to render ineffective or materially interfere with the Department's export program for cotton and cotton products in that the export payment, equivalent to eight cents per pound on cotton and the cotton content of cotton products, is in effect a loss to the Commodity Credit Corporation to the extent that cotton in articles containing cotton is imported into the United States.

The Secretary of Agriculture has reported that the Department of Agriculture is conducting a program, pursuant to Section 203 of the Agricultural Act of 1956, involving subsidy payments on exports of cotton and cotton products to reduce the cotton surplus in the United States. The present subsidy rate is eight cents per pound on cotton and the cotton content of cotton products. He advises me that there is reason to believe that textiles and other articles made abroad from this and similar cotton are being imported into the United States, and that to the extent that such articles containing cotton are imported into the United States, the purpose of the subsidy program is impaired.

The United States Tariff Commission is requested to make an immediate investigation under Section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended, to determine whether a fee equivalent to the per pound export subsidy rate on the cotton content of imported articles containing cotton is necessary to prevent the imports of such articles from rendering or tending to render ineffective or materially interfering with the Department's export program for cotton and cotton products.

The Commission's findings should be completed as soon as practicable.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable JOSEPH E. TALBOT
Chairman
United States Tariff Commission
Washington, D.C.

Joint Commission Submits Report on St. Croix River Basin

Press release 785 dated November 10

The Department of State announced on November 10 that the International Joint Commission has submitted to the Governments of the United States and Canada its report¹ under the Reference of June 10, 1955,² relating to the development of the water resources of the St. Croix River Basin, which is located partly in the State of Maine and partly in the Province of New Brunswick.

The joint Reference to the Commission by the two Governments was made under the provisions of article IX of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, and requested the Commission to make an investigation in order to determine whether further development of the water resources of the St. Croix River Basin would be practicable and in the public interest and which projects would seem to warrant further detailed study.

The International Joint Commission concludes in its report that further development of the water resources of the St. Croix River Basin is practicable and in the public interest from the point of view of both Governments. It further concludes that a multipurpose program for such further development should include such principal features as the operation of storage reservoirs and regulation of streamflow with due regard to all water uses, the maintenance and improvement of inland fishery resources, the restoration of anadromous fish runs, the establishment of water quality objectives, the abatement of pollution, the redevelopment of the existing hydroelectric power plant at Milltown, New Brunswick, and the further development of recreational facilities in the Basin. The Commission's report also includes cost estimates for many of the features of such a multipurpose development program.

The Commission's report contains nine recommendations dealing principally with the problems of regulation of water levels and streamflow, prevention and abatement of pollution, possible restoration of anadromous fish runs, and hydroelectric power generation. The Commission also recommends that it be authorized to continue studies

¹ Copies of the report may be obtained upon request from the Public Services Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

² For text, see BULLETIN of July 4, 1955, p. 21.

of the possibilities for the development of the Basin's water resources.

The U.S. Government is carefully studying the report and is also requesting the views thereon of the State of Maine and public and private interests in the St. Croix River Basin area. It is anticipated that after the two Governments have considered the report and have studied the comments submitted by interested parties, they will decide what joint or separate steps should be taken with respect to the Commission's recommendations.

U.S. Welcomes Relaxation of British Import Controls

Press release 777 dated November 4

Following is a joint statement by the Departments of State, Treasury, and Commerce regarding the announcement on November 4 by the United Kingdom that many of the remaining controls on imports will be removed, effective November 9.

The United States Government welcomes this further major step by the United Kingdom in the relaxation of import controls, which removes many of the discriminatory restrictions previously applied to commodities imported from the United States.

This liberalization move improves the opportunities of United States firms to compete in British markets. The list of products which United States exporters will now be able to market in the United Kingdom without quantitative restrictions includes machinery, stockings, textiles and clothing, photographic equipment and films, vehicles including motor cars, fresh and frozen salmon, and fresh lemons, oranges and tangerines. With the exception of tobacco manufactures and pharmaceuticals, all products previously imported from North America under the British Token Import Plan will also be free from restrictions.

The action by the Government of the United Kingdom is a welcome move in the furtherance of the multilateral trade policy which both the United States and the United Kingdom strongly

support. It is particularly welcome at this time, following so soon on the decision taken by the Executive Directors of the International Monetary Fund on October 25¹ that "there is no longer any balance of payments justification for discrimination by members whose current receipts are largely in externally convertible currencies", and the concerted effort at elimination of discriminatory trade controls being made by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.²

The United Kingdom will still apply discriminatory restrictions on a number of dollar commodities including some important agricultural products. The United States Government hopes that the United Kingdom will continue making rapid progress in removing restrictions until complete liberalization is achieved.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Merger of International Telegraph Carriers. Hearings before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on a proposal to amend the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to permit consolidations or mergers of international telegraph and marine carriers, and for other purposes. March 20-May 20, 1959. 391 pp.

High Seas Salmon Conservation. Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on S. 502, a bill to facilitate the application and operation of the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, and for other purposes. April 1-May 5, 1959. 318 pp.

Trading With the Enemy Act. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee on bills amending the Trading With the Enemy Act and War Claims Act of 1948. June 18-July 9, 1959. 515 pp.

Regulations on Importation of Foreign Excess Property. Hearings before a subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. June 23-25, 1959. 259 pp.

United States Foreign Policy: Africa. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Program of African Studies, Northwestern University. October 23, 1959. 84 pp.

United States Foreign Policy: Asia. Studies prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Conlon Associates Ltd. November 1, 1959. 157 pp.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Nov. 9, 1959, p. 681.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703.

U.S. Comments on Health Hazards Involved in Nuclear Weapons Tests

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

The United States has listened carefully to the comments that have been made on the subject under consideration both during the debate in the plenary and in the First Committee.

The United States favors an effectively controlled agreement to end all nuclear weapons tests. An end to nuclear testing under effective international control would eliminate the further introduction of radioactive debris into the earth's atmosphere. We are participating in the negotiations now going on in Geneva which are designed to bring about an end to nuclear testing under effective international control. It is our deep conviction that, if an agreement on test suspension results from the Geneva discussions, other states should join in such an agreement. This will not only result in the ending of nuclear weapons testing but will also, we believe, help to create conditions and practices which might lead to further progress toward solving the overall problem of disarmament.

We have heard a great deal in this committee regarding the danger of tests to the health and safety of peoples of the world. We feel a responsibility, as a country that has in the past conducted nuclear weapons tests, to address ourselves briefly to the problem of health hazards. Since this subject has already been covered so well by others, I intend to limit myself to only a few additional comments.

The United States has conducted nuclear weapons tests in relative proximity to population cen-

ters. Some of the United States tests were conducted above ground at a distance of only 85 miles from Las Vegas, Nevada. Every possible safety measure was taken, and they did not constitute a threat to persons living in the nearby population centers.

We think that the highest levels of radiation caused by fallout from all known tests of nuclear devices to date are less than the normal variations in natural background levels of radiation. Thus the additional radiation which an individual may receive as a result of all past weapons tests is less than the increase in natural background radiation to which he would be subjected as a result of his living at elevations a few hundred feet above sea level instead of living at sea level. The contribution to the overall fission debris already in the atmosphere which would be made by the testing of lower yield nuclear devices would constitute only a tiny fraction of that already released.

Mr. Chairman, the United States has no technical details on the device which the French Government may be testing or the details of the precautions which it is taking at the testing site to eliminate health and safety hazards.

The French Government, however, has stated that it will be testing a small nuclear device, that they are taking full safety precautions, and that testing will take place several hundred kilometers from the nearest population center. The experience which the United States Government has had in the testing of nuclear devices, and which I have just described, is germane in evaluating the questions of health hazards which have been raised in the case of the anticipated French tests.

Mr. Chairman, I trust that the few words which I have spoken regarding our own experience will be helpful.²

¹ Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Nov. 9 (U.S. delegation press release 3284) during debate on the question of French nuclear tests in the Sahara.

² On Nov. 20 by a vote of 51-16 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (A/C.1/L. 238, as amended) requesting France to "refrain from such tests."

The Question of South-West Africa

Following are statements made in Committee IV (Trusteeship) of the U.N. General Assembly during the debate on the question of South-West Africa by Mason Sears, U.S. Representative on the Trusteeship Council and Special Adviser to the U.S. delegation to the 14th General Assembly, together with the texts of two resolutions adopted by the committee.

STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 21

U.S. delegation press release 3265

It is nearly 10 years since the International Court held that South-West Africa was an international territory and that its administration by the Union of South Africa was subject to international supervision. Since that time the General Assembly, through various committees, has tried to reach agreement with the Union Government on the future of the territory.

The United States deeply regrets that in spite of these protracted efforts no solution to this problem has yet been found. We continue to believe, however, that the problem is not insoluble and that it is still possible to serve the interests of the people of South-West Africa as well as the long-range interests of the Union of South Africa by some arrangement with the United Nations which will be acceptable to all.

Such an arrangement is what we strive for as we meet here today, with the sixth report of the Committee on South-West Africa before us.¹ Examination of its contents, together with the statement which Mr. Eric Louw [Foreign Minister of the Union of South Africa] made here a few days ago, brings out clearly the nature of the problem which concerns us and why a solution to it is so urgently needed.

Essentially the report states that the committee was particularly disturbed by the Government's emphasis on its determination to continue enforcing its policy of racial segregation. It was also disturbed by reported Government plans for the mass removals of "native" inhabitants to provide for new space for expanding European settlements and by repeated statements of the ultimate aim

to annex the territory into the Union. The committee was also concerned over increasing evidence of reprisals against critics of the administration and by infringements of the freedom of the press and the free exercise of religion.

The committee concluded by stating that

... the Union of South Africa ... continues to fail to carry out the obligation it undertook to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory."

Altogether, this year's report parallels previous reports which the United States has always supported. The United States delegation will therefore once again support the report of this committee, although in some of its conclusions we would have preferred a somewhat different language.

Legal Actions Open to U.N.

This leads to a further question—the question of what legal actions or other possibilities remain open to the United Nations in their efforts to insure or to bring about the fulfillment of the obligations assumed by the South African Government toward South-West Africa.

We have examined the report of the Subcommittee on Legal Questions,² which was set up to study certain pertinent aspects of the problem. The United States delegation believes that the conclusions of this subcommittee were generally correct. Our delegation also agrees with both the full committee and the subcommittee about the kind of legal questions which the organs of the United Nations are entitled to submit to the International Court of Justice in order to determine what further action may usefully be taken by the General Assembly in its efforts to insure some acceptable form of international supervision.

These questions fall into two main categories—those relating to the international status of the territory and those relating to the moral and material well-being of the inhabitants, including questions about the practice of *apartheid*.

The committee declared that this policy of *apartheid*, based as it is on racial discrimination and segregation, was

... a flagrant violation of the sacred trust which permeates the Mandate and the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

¹ U.N. doc. A/4191.

² U.N. doc. A/AC.73/2.

Last year, speaking on this underlying issue, the United States representative in the Special Political Committee expressed regret and concern that the Government of the Union of South Africa had not responded to the appeals of the General Assembly concerning its racial policies.³ He went on to say,

The United States finds it difficult to equate a policy based on segregation with the obligations assumed under article 56 of the charter. It is our belief that a multi-racial and multireligious society cannot be based on segregation or separation. The history of the United States proclaims its opposition to concepts based on segregation. In our view men of all races and religions are the product of a common creation. We all share a common creation. We all share a common destiny. In our view separation on the basis of race is inconsistent with the principles of equal rights of peoples to which we have all subscribed.

Although we appreciate that Union representatives have informed the Good Offices Committee of their opposition to agreements to which the United Nations would be a party, we have not given up the hope that a suitably adapted mandate could become the basis for an agreed settlement of this question. We deeply regret, therefore, that the Good Offices Committee was obliged to report that it had not succeeded in finding a basis for an agreement under its terms of reference.

Mr. Chairman, does this mean that we have come to the end of the line—that no mutually agreeable solution is possible? We sincerely hope not.

While we have not hesitated in this statement to speak frankly about the reasons which underlie our position with respect to South-West Africa, we cannot believe that the door to a satisfactory solution has been finally closed.

Possibility of Carrying Out Mandate

The United States considers that, without prejudice to any action which the General Assembly may take now or later, there is one constructive possibility which emerges from the discussions which have taken place over the past 10 years. This is that in some form it should still be possible to carry out the existing mandate for South-West Africa.

³ For text of a statement by George McGregor Harrison, see BULLETIN of Nov. 24, 1958, p. 842.

Last year we were encouraged when the Good Offices Committee, under the able chairmanship of Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, recommended consideration of a suitably adapted mandate for the administration of the territory.

Although the General Assembly would prefer to see the territory within the trusteeship system, we also believe that the Assembly would consider it a constructive achievement if the mandate were to be made effective along the lines indicated in the International Court's opinion. The mandate could thus represent that area of common agreement where the interests of the territory and of the Union of South Africa and the United Nations could be brought into practical operation.

On the other hand, we are aware of the difficulties which the Union Government has seen in the proposal for giving effect to the mandate. Nevertheless, we feel that these difficulties are not insurmountable and that an observance of the mandate is perhaps the most promising solution of this longstanding issue.

Mr. Chairman, over the past 10 years tremendous efforts have been made in order to find a solution to this question, and nearly every conceivable solution has been examined. At the same time we are quite certain that all parties to this question will see the immense advantage which would result if a mutually agreeable solution could finally be found.

It would again show that the United Nations, which is symbolic of the rule of reason, would be greatly strengthened and that the Union of South Africa in agreeing to this step would be making a significant contribution to extending the influence of the world organization which stands between all of us and catastrophe.

A New Africa in the Making

Mr. Chairman, I shall conclude by saying that there is something out of balance in the whole situation. Somehow, before it is too late, there must be a meeting of minds.

A new Africa is in the making. The year 1960—the year of independence for many African nations—is nearly upon us. During this year Independence Day will be celebrated in Nigeria, Somalia, Cameroun, and Togoland. This day will bring with it, as it always does, the rights and prerogatives of sovereign states as well as the

heavy responsibilities that fall upon full-fledged members of the international community.

In these countries African prime ministers will lead African governments elected by African voters into a new life of national freedom. The United States has consistently supported the evolution of these peoples toward independence. We will follow with sympathetic interest their continued progress and the constructive role which we are confident they will play in the world.

In view of these dramatic developments it seems clear that in an area of Africa held by the Court to have an international character there must be a resolution of the controversy which South-West Africa symbolizes in this fast-developing continent.

Mr. Chairman, this ends the statement of the United States. But, before concluding, we wish to thank the committees which are involved in the problems of South-West Africa. They have done their work well.

STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 29

U.S. delegation press release 3275

Mr. Chairman, I would like to comment briefly on the draft resolutions now before us.

At the outset let me state that the United States delegation approves and will vote for draft resolution L.596, which

Draws the attention of Member States to the conclusions of the special report of the Committee on South West Africa covering the legal action open to Member States to refer any dispute with the Union of South Africa concerning . . . South West Africa to the International Court of Justice for adjudication. . . .

The United States has always advocated legal solutions for difficult problems susceptible to adjudication. We have always taken the position that the right to employ article 7 of the mandate is vested in all members of the United Nations which were also members of the League of Nations.

This right will, of course, exist whether or not this resolution is adopted.

But we assume that no delegation here will wish to undertake judicial proceedings so long as satisfactory negotiations are in progress between the Union and the United Nations.

Turning to the other major resolution before us, L.595, and the amendments contained in L.599, I would like to make a brief comment.

On October 21 I stated that the United States continues to believe that the problem of South-West Africa is not insoluble and that the interests of its people as well as the long-range interests of the Union of South Africa can best be served by some arrangement with the United Nations which will be acceptable to all.

In this connection we were interested in the October 26 statement of the distinguished representative of the Union, when he told this committee that the Union stands ready

. . . to enter into discussions with an appropriate United Nations *ad hoc* body that may be appointed after prior consultation with the Union Government.

Thus for the first time the Union Government has suggested to the United Nations, rather than vice versa, that further negotiations might prove fruitful.

Negotiation, provided it leads to giving effect to the existing mandate under United Nations supervision or to the conclusion of a trusteeship agreement would, of course, profoundly affect the destinies of all the inhabitants of the territory. However, it is on the type of negotiation contemplated in draft resolution L. 595, as well as the amendments contained in L. 599, that my delegation has some mental reservations.

This resolution calls upon the Government of the Union to enter into negotiations with the Committee on South-West Africa or with any other committee which the General Assembly may appoint.

The carefully worded statement of the Union delegate, to which I have referred, would seem to rule out the possibility of negotiation with the Committee on South-West Africa since it speaks of "discussions with an appropriate *ad hoc* body that may be appointed after prior consultation with the Union Government."

What type of committee, with what terms of reference, and with what membership do sponsors of both resolutions have in mind?

Furthermore, the committee must be very clear that if it adopts this resolution, either with or without the amendments, it will be faced with the necessity of adopting another resolution on this subject before the end of this session.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we are not clear about what this new committee will be called upon to dis-

cuss. Over the past few years almost every conceivable compromise has been discussed and rejected by one party or another. Even during the course of this debate, Mr. Chairman, my delegation has failed to detect any substantial change in the basic positions which have been discussed and rediscussed for the past 13 years.

I mention these points, Mr. Chairman, not to raise obstacles but because my delegation believes that a realistic appraisal of what will confront a new *ad hoc* committee is essential if negotiations are to commence in the good faith which we know animates both sides of the controversy.

This, in short, is the position of the United States and will explain our decision to support draft resolution L. 596, which involves possible adjudication of the issue by the International Court, and why we believe we will be able to favor an appropriately amended resolution calling for further negotiations between the United Nations and the Union of South Africa.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

Resolution Calling for Further Negotiations⁴

The General Assembly,

Recalling its previous resolutions in which the Assembly recommended that the Mandated Territory of South West Africa be placed under the International Trusteeship System, and repeatedly invited the Government of the Union of South Africa to propose, for the consideration of the General Assembly, a trusteeship agreement for South West Africa,

Considering that, in accordance with Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations, all Mandated Territories, with the sole exception of South West Africa, have been placed under the International Trusteeship System,

Recalling further its resolution 449 A (V) of 13 December 1950, by which the Assembly accepted the opinion of 11 July 1950 of the International Court of Justice to the effect, *inter alia*, that:

(a) South West Africa is a Territory under the International Mandate assumed by the Union of South Africa on 17 December 1920;

(b) The Union of South Africa continues to have the international obligations stated in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the Mandate for South West Africa, the supervisory functions to be exercised by the United Nations;

⁴ Draft resolution V, U.N. doc. A/4272 (A/C.4/L.595 and Add. 1, as amended); adopted in plenary session on Nov. 17 by a vote of 55 (U.S.) to 5 (Belgium, France, Portugal, Union of South Africa, and U.K.), with 11 abstentions.

(c) That the Union of South Africa acting alone has not the competence to modify the international status of the Territory of South West Africa,

Noting with grave concern that the administration of the Territory, in recent years, has been conducted increasingly in a manner contrary to the Mandate, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, and the resolutions of the General Assembly,

Having received from the Committee on South West Africa the sixth report submitted in accordance with General Assembly resolution 749 A (VIII) of 28 November 1953,

Noting further the conclusion of the Committee on South West Africa that it is essential to the welfare and security of the peoples of South West Africa that the administration of the Territory be altered without undue delay,

Having also heard the statements of petitioners which further corroborate the conclusions and opinions formed by the Committee on South West Africa concerning political, social, economic and educational conditions prevailing in the Territory,

Considering further that while the former Mandated Territories placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations have rapidly progressed towards independence, the conditions in the Territory of South West Africa present a totally different picture,

1. *Notes* the statement made by the representative of the Union of South Africa at the 924th meeting of the Fourth Committee expressing, *inter alia*, the Union's readiness to enter into discussions with the United Nations;

2. *Invites* the Government of the Union of South Africa to enter into negotiations with the United Nations through the Committee on South West Africa, which is authorized under its terms of reference to continue negotiations with the Union, or through any other committee which the General Assembly may appoint, with a view to placing the Mandated Territory under the International Trusteeship System;

3. *Requests* the Government of the Union of South Africa to formulate for the consideration of the General Assembly at its fifteenth session proposals which will enable the Mandated Territory of South West Africa to be administered in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Mandate, the supervisory functions being exercised by the United Nations according to the terms and intent of the Charter;

4. *Approves* the report of the Committee on South West Africa and commends it to the urgent attention of the Government of the Union of South Africa;

5. *Requests* the Committee on South West Africa, or any other committee which may be appointed in pursuance of paragraph 2 of the present resolution, to submit to the General Assembly at its fifteenth session a report on the negotiations with the Union Government in addition to the annual report on conditions in the Territory of South West Africa.

Resolution on Legal Action ⁵

The General Assembly,

Recalling the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 11 July 1950 concerning the international status of South West Africa,

Recalling that by its resolution 449 A (V) of 13 December 1950, it accepted the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,

Recalling further that by its resolution 1142 (XII) of 25 October 1957 it commended the special report of the Committee on South West Africa on legal action which might be taken for that purpose, and in particular drew the attention of Member States to the legal action provided for in article 7 of the Mandate read with Article 37 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice,

Draws the attention of Member States to the conclusions of the special report of the Committee on South West Africa ⁶ covering the legal action open to Member States to refer any dispute with the Union of South Africa concerning the interpretation or application of the Mandate for South West Africa to the International Court of Justice for adjudication in accordance with article 7 of the Mandate read in conjunction with Article 37 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and Pakistan Sign Treaty of Friendship and Commerce

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 789 dated November 12

A treaty of friendship and commerce between the United States and Pakistan was signed on November 12 at Washington. The Secretary of State signed the treaty for the United States and Pakistan's Minister for Commerce, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, for Pakistan.

The treaty is the first of its type to be entered into between the two countries. It is designed to provide a comprehensive, integrated legal framework within which general economic relations between the two countries may develop in harmony with modern economic conditions. As an essen-

tial part of this framework, it defines in broad and liberal terms the fundamental rights and privileges which nationals and enterprises of each country enjoy in the other. Its 24 articles and protocol include provisions on basic personal freedoms, the status and treatment of persons and corporations, the protection of persons and property, treatment of imports and exports, exchange regulations, and other matters affecting the status and activities of the citizens and enterprises of either country when within the territories of the other.

This is the most comprehensive treaty of this kind that Pakistan has undertaken to conclude with any country and represents another step in the development of that country's forward-looking plans for promoting economic development and improving the welfare of its people by various means, including encouragement of foreign private investment and utilization of foreign technical assistance.

The United States program for negotiation of treaties of this type is an integral part of this country's policy to further liberal principles of trade and economic relations in general and particularly to create throughout the world conditions favorable to economic development. This treaty is the 18th of its type which the United States has signed since World War II and follows, except for omission of provisions relating to shipping and navigation, the same general pattern as the others. Internationally these treaties provide a detailed legal basis for the protection of American private investment abroad. Domestically they reinforce in terms of international obligation the position of our Federal Government as guardian of the rights of foreigners and foreign enterprises in this country, a policy that has developed in conformity with the Constitution and Federal statutes. Treaties of this type also confer upon qualified foreign nationals "treaty merchant" and "treaty investor" status under the immigration laws, i.e. the privilege of indefinite sojourn in the United States for the purpose of engaging in trade between the countries or for supervising a substantial investment.

The treaty will be transmitted to the United States Senate for its advice and consent to ratification and after the ratification processes of both countries have been completed will enter into force 1 month after exchange of instruments of ratification.

⁵ Draft resolution VI, U.N. doc. A/4272 (A/C.4/L.596 and Add. 1); adopted in plenary session on Nov. 17 by a vote of 55 (U.S. in favor) to 4 (Australia, Portugal, Union of South Africa, and U.K.), with 16 abstentions.

⁶ U.N. doc. A/3625.

REMARKS MADE ON OCCASION OF SIGNING

Press release 791 dated November 12

Secretary Herter

Mr. Minister: We have just signed a treaty together, and I think it might be appropriate to refer briefly to the value and meaning that is assigned to such treaties in this country.

The first international agreement made by the United States after establishment of its national independence was a treaty of this general type, concluded with France in 1778. Throughout a very long period of our history, treaties of friendship and commerce constituted a major part of our international commitments. We are convinced that the application in our relations with other nations of such rules of conduct as those expressed in our treaties contributed substantially to our country's growth and facilitated our obtaining from abroad essential components of economic development. In the vast network of agreements that now govern international relations, our treaties of friendship and commerce understandably hold an honored place.

We are not prone to regard one of these treaties as mainly a body of commitments designed for the material advantage of one party or the other. We think of them as simply recording in a formal way certain basic principles derived from the ideals of the two governments and peoples and reflecting the high standards of conduct that prevail in their relations with each other.

As its commercial treaty network has been of assistance in the development of the United States, so we hope this treaty will contribute to the advantage of your country in accordance with the highest aspirations of the people of Pakistan. It bears witness, for the years to come, to the deep friendship that has already developed between our countries.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan Minister of Commerce

Mr. Secretary: It gives me great pleasure to sign this treaty of friendship and commerce on behalf of the Government of Pakistan. This treaty will further expand the area of fruitful association between the citizens of our two countries and lead to an increased flow of trade and investment between them.

The treaty defines the status, rights, and obligations of the nationals and firms of our two coun-

tries when engaged in commercial activities within the territory of the other country. It puts them on a firm legal basis and protects them against any unfair treatment. It should greatly improve the psychological climate within which trade and investment will flourish and grow.

The Government of Pakistan attaches great importance to the role of private enterprise in developing the country's economy and considers private foreign investment particularly welcome in that context. It has recently enlarged the scope for private enterprise in the country and provided liberal incentives and facilities for attracting foreign private capital. This treaty offers further inducement to nationals of this country for investing in Pakistan, and we hope that the coming years will witness increasing American interest in investment possibilities in Pakistan.

I have so far dwelt on the new commercial and investment opportunities likely to be opened up by this treaty. I should like to conclude by stressing that commerce and investment constitute a belt for the transmission of new ideas, techniques, and skills from one country to the other. They can also be instruments for strengthening the bonds of friendship and understanding between the peoples of one country and another. It is in this broader perspective that the conclusion of this treaty is a matter of special satisfaction to my Government.

Secretary of Commerce Frederick H. Mueller

Mr. Minister, Mr. Ambassador: Among the duties of the United States Department of Commerce are those of fostering foreign trade and investment and promoting private enterprise. As Secretary of Commerce this treaty is of special interest to me because it is designed to serve those profitable ends. It establishes a formal legal framework within which both Pakistani and American traders and investors may operate to the mutual advantage of both themselves and their respective countries.

This treaty of friendship and commerce is visible evidence of the expressed desire of the Government of Pakistan to utilize to the maximum extent possible the talents and resources of private enterprise—foreign as well as domestic—in developing the economy of Pakistan. We are pleased because free enterprise plays a paramount role in developing and expanding our own economy.

The treaty also is one more inducement to American businessmen, in addition to the existing convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the investment guarantee agreement. It is my hope that this agreement will influence more American investors to investigate the business possibilities offered by your great and growing country. Although in the United States the ultimate decisions on specific trading arrangements and investments are made by individual businessmen, we know from past experiences that similar treaties have stimulated private overseas investment.

As Minister of Commerce for Pakistan, I think you will agree with me that no written law, treaty, or government guarantee—important though these are—can be more effective in promoting trade and investment than those reports which businessmen make to one another on their actual experiences.

We in the Commerce Department have found that Pakistani businessmen think much the way Americans do, and I am pleased to think that this treaty may be the means of broadening the scope of such contacts and that the cause of free enterprise, freedom, and peace may thus be advanced.

Income-Tax Treaty Signed With India

Department Announcement

Press release 783 dated November 10

Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, in behalf of the United States, and D. N. Chatterjee, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, in behalf of India, signed on November 10 a treaty between the United States and India for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income.

The treaty follows in general the pattern of treaties now in force between the United States and numerous other countries for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income. An important feature of the treaty, not found in other such treaties in force, is a provision under which the United States would allow a credit against U.S. tax on income derived by American enterprises from operations in India for certain exemptions from tax granted by India to attract new investment. The treaty is designed to eliminate obstacles to the international flow of trade

and investment. It contains provisions relating to business, investment, and personal-service income, official salaries, pensions and annuities, remuneration of teachers, and remittances to students and apprentices. It also contains, as is customary, provisions regarding administrative procedures, including exchange of information, for giving effect to the treaty.

The treaty applies, so far as U.S. taxes are concerned, to the Federal income taxes, including surtaxes. In India the treaty would be applicable to the income tax, the super tax, and the surcharge.

The treaty, after approval by the Senate, would be brought into force by the exchange of instruments of ratification and would be effective in the United States for taxable years beginning on or after January 1 of the year in which such exchange takes place. It would be effective in India for "previous years" beginning on or after January 1 of the year in which the exchange takes place.

Remarks by Secretary Herter ¹

It is a great pleasure for me to have signed today in behalf of the United States a treaty with India for the avoidance of double taxation on incomes. Its signing reflects once again the friendly and cooperative relations existing between our two countries and is a further indication of the interest of the United States in the healthy development of business and cultural institutions both at home and abroad.

This treaty follows in general the pattern of treaties already in force between the United States and numerous other countries. When ratification procedures will have been completed and the treaty comes into force, it will serve to encourage new investment in India from private American sources.

A unique feature of this treaty is that it provides for the United States to give a tax credit to American corporations for tax exemptions granted by India. It is hoped that the vitality of free enterprise will increasingly engage in India's economic development through the application of this treaty which is designed to eliminate obstacles to the flow of trade and investment between us.

¹ Made on the occasion of signing the income-tax treaty with India on Nov. 10 (press release 788).

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Copyright

Universal copyright convention. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force September 16, 1955. TIAS 3324.

Ratification deposited: Brazil, October 13, 1959.

Protocol 1 to the universal copyright convention concerning the application of that convention to the works of stateless persons and refugees. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force September 16, 1955. TIAS 3324.

Ratification deposited: Brazil, October 13, 1959.

Protocol 2 to the universal copyright convention concerning the application of that convention to the works of certain international organizations. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force September 16, 1955. TIAS 3324.

Ratification deposited: Brazil, October 13, 1959.

Protocol 3 to the universal copyright convention concerning the effective date of instruments of ratification or acceptance of or accession to that convention. Done at Geneva September 6, 1952. Entered into force August 19, 1954. TIAS 3324.

Ratification deposited: Brazil, October 13, 1959.

Postal Services

Universal postal convention with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding air-mail with final protocol. Done at Ottawa October 3, 1957. Entered into force April 1, 1959. TIAS 4202.

Ratifications deposited: San Marino, March 31, 1959; Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, May 5, 1959; Peru, May 21, 1959; Philippines, June 18, 1959; Morocco, July 9, 1959; United Kingdom (including the Channel Islands and Isle of Man), July 17, 1959; Spain (including its African territories), July 29, 1959; Czechoslovakia, August 13, 1959; Netherlands (including Netherlands New Guinea, Surinam, and Netherlands Antilles), August 27, 1959; Monaco, September 2, 1959; Albania, September 14, 1959.

BILATERAL

India

Treaty for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Washington November 10, 1959. Enters into force upon exchange of instruments of ratification.

Pakistan

Treaty of friendship and commerce. Signed at Washington November 12, 1959. Enters into force 1 month after the day of exchange of instruments of ratification.

Poland

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of June 10, 1959 (TIAS 4245), with exchange of notes. Signed at Washington November 10, 1959. Entered into force November 10, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Recess Appointments

The President on November 7 appointed Walter C. Dowling to be Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 782 dated November 9.)

The President on November 9 appointed William P. Snow to be Ambassador to the Union of Burma. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 779 dated November 9.)

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: November 9-15

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to November 9 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 775 and 777 of November 4.

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*779	11/9	Snow appointed Ambassador to Burma (biographic details).
780	11/9	Canada-U.S. joint defense communique.
781	11/9	Investigation of plane incident in Cuba.
*782	11/9	Dowling appointed Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany (biographic details).
783	11/10	Income-tax treaty with India.
784	11/10	Eleanor Dulles: "The Meaning of the Division of Germany."
785	11/10	IJC report on St. Croix River Basin.
786	11/10	Agricultural agreement with Poland.
787	11/10	Anti-American demonstrations in Panama.
788	11/10	Herter: signing of income-tax treaty with India.
789	11/12	Treaty of friendship and commerce with Pakistan.
790	11/12	Dillon: International Social Service.
791	11/12	Herter, Bhutto, Mueller: signing of treaty with Pakistan.
792	11/12	Herter: news conference.
†793	11/13	Publication on situation in Laos.
*794	11/14	Wood designated Director, USOM, and Minister for Economic Affairs, India (biographic details).
795	11/13	Herter: India-China border situation.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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Bulletin

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THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

The Survival of Freedom

Address by Secretary Herter¹

That "competition is the life of trade" is a saying that has stood the test of time. Today we face a test no society has ever fully met: how to make competition the life, not death, of nations.

The problem is urgent as never before because of two facts. One is a revolutionary movement based on great and growing power, which seeks to polarize all international competition around social survival. The other is that, hanging over this conflict, are the means of vast destruction.

How can we meet such competition, yet keep it safely back from the abyss of universal ruin? I will take the second point first.

Ground Rules for Cosurvival

The paramount question facing our world today is how the great rivalry between political systems can work itself out in the course of history without exploding into thermonuclear war.

Such an explosion has been uncomfortably close more than once in recent years, most lately over Berlin. Last summer it became clear that the Soviet Union, despite its protests to the contrary, was still engaging in duress in an effort to bring West Berlin under its influence.

Then President Eisenhower, concluding that the outlook for peace was darkening, determined to turn the course of history away from war and toward a lasting peace. He began by inviting Chairman Khrushchev to visit our country. You know of the meetings to follow. What do all these mean?

So far the element of duress over Berlin has been submerged; but otherwise there were few tangible results of the Khrushchev visit, nor were such to be expected. Indeed, it may be better so,

for early successes tend to breed self-deceptive euphoria.

The real meaning of the series of high-level meetings is that a new process of communication may be developing through them. I say "may" because only time can tell whether we shall have learned to talk somewhat less at cross-purposes than in the past, and with better understanding of opposing points of view.

Mr. Khrushchev has said that we need to develop a common language despite the ideological conflict to which he staunchly adheres. Many will find this hard to believe after the years of baffling doubletalk. Yet I believe that on certain fundamentals we can find a common language because we have a common interest.

That interest lies simply in the basic will to survive, shared by free men and Communists alike. I think the Soviet leadership is reaching a conclusion similar to our own—that, unless the course of events is changed and changed soon, both sides face unacceptable risks of general nuclear war, which would approximate mutual suicide.

Thus the one area in which a common language has best chance to grow is that of ground rules for the great competition which dominates our time—some "rules of the game" to keep it within bounds set by the conditions of cosurvival.

Such rules must be devised to temper acute political problems which cannot now be fully solved and to bring under control the spiraling arms race which those problems goad onward. That is the main task for the negotiations that lie in the months and perhaps years ahead.

There are other areas in which a common language can take root, thereby mitigating to some extent the underlying conflict. Shared interests in the arts and sciences, in the essentials of human

¹ Made before the National Foreign Trade Council at New York, N.Y., on Nov. 16 (press release 798).

welfare and everyday life, are now being fostered through many kinds of exchange which we are prepared to expand as fully as the Soviets will reciprocate. In these fields we are even finding ways of turning competition into cooperation through such common ventures as the International Geophysical Year. We should never miss a bona fide opportunity to expand the area of cooperation.

Competition will continue to be rugged, however, despite any ground rules or exchanges. Mr. Khrushchev makes no bones about his ultimate aims, and we can certainly expect many sorts of lures and pressures in all parts of the free world, backed with mounting industrial power, designed to confuse, subvert, and take over. The need to keep a firm grasp on both sets of facts—the necessity for common ground rules *and* the aggressive competition—will be a severe test of our political maturity as a people.

It was much simpler when we could think in black and white terms of sheer confrontation with 100 percent hostile communism. Even today, though the present arms race is dangerous beyond description, it still seems easier to continue on the familiar path than to try to break new ground.

Thus it will take courage of a high order and strong nerves over a long time to construct a new relationship between the antagonistic systems. But that must be done if civilization is to survive. It is nothing less than this immense and long-term project on which we are now engaged.

Meeting the Competition

I now turn to the other part of my opening question: How can we, while combining in restraint of war, meet the most ruthless competition the world has seen?

It will take our most strenuous, devoted, and persistent efforts. Nothing could be more fatal than to confuse relaxation of tensions with relaxation of ourselves, and one of the most serious dangers ahead is that people will be tempted to do exactly that.

Intelligent visitors to the Soviet Union have noted the zeal there for "catching up" with the United States. We will not fare well in competition with the Soviets unless we can match their enthusiasm for achievement.

The common effort will require continued and possibly increasing claims on our treasure, our

intelligence, and our patience. Most importantly, it will require much wider participation and support by the great majority of all Americans. It is not enough to pay our taxes and leave the rest for "those people in Washington." The cause of peace and freedom is too important to be left to the few.

We have, of late, been too much absorbed, I feel, in mere enjoyment of a prosperous life behind our defensive curtain of nuclear power. We must realize instead that the fateful competition with communism has placed a first claim on the energy and interests of us all. That means subordinating our private interests to the paramount public interest. It also means using our economy less for the things which do not really matter and more for the things which do—for the uses which would train and inform our minds, promote the health of our society, and keep our country free.

Our greatest advantage in the world struggle is that we are not alone. Many countries are with us wholeheartedly and confidently. Many others are with us in spirit, even though they cannot say so.

One of the most heartening sights in recent years has been the revival of the economic strength of our free-world partners in Western Europe and Japan. They are now able to offer their peoples the prospect of continuing economic growth and of sustained high levels of economic activity. In so doing they demonstrate the continuing vitality of free societies.

Our current balance-of-payments problem is, in part, a result of this growing free-world recovery. We want to meet the problem through measures which promote rather than restrict world trade. I am confident that we can do so as other industrialized free countries assume the full role which their recovery permits. These countries no longer need to lean on us for the preponderant support of most common ventures. Rather, they are able, and I believe willing, to participate increasingly in the common cause of freeing and expanding trade and helping the newly developing countries to find their way to health, growth, and stability.

Last year, as a result of its economic transactions with other countries, the United States had a deficit in its balance of payments, as measured by the transfer to other countries of gold and liquid dollar assets, of about \$3.4 billion. This year we may expect a deficit of some \$4 billion. Deficits

of this magnitude, as this audience knows, are substantially higher than in previous years. Clearly a matter for attention, they cannot, of course, continue indefinitely.

The source of the current deficit is simply this: While the United States currently has a surplus of some \$3.5 billion in its exports of goods and services, this surplus is not large enough to match the payments which the United States is making to the rest of the world in order to maintain strong defenses overseas, to encourage private investment, and to assist the development of the less developed areas. United States military expenditures abroad—that is, those expenditures incurred in maintaining United States forces in foreign countries—amount to about \$3 billion annually; Government grants, loans, and other capital outflow, most of which contribute to increased American exports, are about \$2.5 billion per year; and private capital outflow for investment is about \$2 billion annually.

The problem is to see to it that the deficit is reduced by means which enlarge international trade and do not restrict it—by methods which promote competition and the flow of development capital rather than restrict them.

If this approach is to succeed, action is required of other countries, particularly Western Europe and Japan, to open their doors to American exports and to provide additional capital to the development-hungry nations of Asia, Africa, the Near East, and Latin America.

At the recent meetings of the International Monetary Fund² and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade,³ the United States called for an end to the discriminatory restrictions which many foreign countries had been compelled to maintain against American exports in earlier years, but which are no longer needed. Our request received gratifying support on all sides. Both the Fund and GATT institutions recorded the view that discriminatory restrictions can no longer be generally justified on balance-of-payments grounds, and many countries have taken action to eliminate discriminations.

Only a few days ago both the United Kingdom⁴

and France⁵ announced further important steps to lift discriminatory restrictions over a broad range of American exports. It is our expectation that continued rapid progress will be made, so that all significant discriminatory restrictions against American goods will be brought to an end in the very near future.

There is a growing opportunity for other industrial countries to assist in the development of the free world, not only by exporting goods but also by providing more financing of these goods and on terms that more nearly meet the requirements of the less developed areas. One way in which this objective can be pursued is through the International Development Association.

Last September at the annual meeting of the International Bank the United States proposed a resolution calling for the formulation of articles of agreement of this Association. This resolution was unanimously adopted. The purpose is to mobilize funds from the members of the International Bank and to make these funds available to less developed areas on terms that would impose substantially less strain on their balances of payments than the loans of the Bank.

In the International Development Association the funds subscribed by the United States would be more than matched by the aggregate subscriptions of other industrial countries. As a close affiliate of the International Bank, the Association will be administered by the able and experienced management of the Bank and will be operated in such a way as to support sound financial practices and further private enterprise. We believe, as the President indicated last September,⁶ that no other institution can meet the needs of the free world for a multilateral approach to the problem of accelerating development so effectively as the International Development Association.

As many of you know, our Development Loan Fund recently announced its intention in the future to place primary emphasis in its lending to the less developed countries on the financing of goods and services which they require from the United States.⁷ This decision was taken in the knowledge that other industrialized countries that supply capital goods to the newly developing countries are now in a position to provide the necessary

² BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531. For text of IMF decision on discriminatory restrictions, see *ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1959, p. 681.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1959, p. 805.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 559.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

financing for these exports. This new policy of the Development Loan Fund will, of course, be applied carefully and with every consideration for the needs of the developing countries.

The worldwide procurement policies of the International Cooperation Administration, like the financial policies of other agencies of this Government, are always subject to review. A review has just been completed.

It must be recognized that there are substantial differences between the types of assistance provided by the International Cooperation Administration and the Development Loan Fund. In the ICA we try basically to provide economic strength to economies maintaining heavy military burdens in the defense of the free world and deal primarily in consumable items such as food, fertilizers, fuel, and the like. Many of these articles are financed on a grant basis. Some of them are procured from less developed countries, and this procurement provides needed help to their economic development.

In short, the circumstances under which ICA operates generally differ from those applying to the DLF. Therefore, for the present we do not contemplate basic changes in the ICA procurement policies. We recognize, however, the desirability of transferring from the ICA to the DLF, to the greatest extent possible, assistance which ICA grants in the form of help to specific development projects. We intend to move in this direction. Projects so transferred would then be financed under the new procedures of the DLF.

Another important reason for maintaining the present ICA procurement policy is the fact that it operates to promote private enterprise in the recipient countries and has worked successfully to this end. Private businessmen buy and resell the commodities concerned on a competitive basis. This would not be possible if they were required to buy at higher than world prices. A change to U.S. procurement by the ICA would in turn force a change from private to government operation in the distribution of our assistance and so would run directly counter to our endeavor to promote the establishment of free private enterprise in the newly developing countries.

There are indications of improvement in American exports during recent months. We hope this trend will be maintained and that it will lead to an improvement in our overall balance of pay-

ments next year. We shall, of course, continue to review our economic programs in the light of the payments situation, but I can assure you that there is no intention of retreating from America's basic policies of liberal trade or of proposing solutions which would weaken the overall defensive or economic strength of the free world. We must find solutions to our problems through expansion, not curtailment. With the cooperation of our friends and allies we shall succeed in this effort, and in the process we shall build a stronger, better balanced, and more prosperous free world for all.

Faith in Freedom

Chairman Khrushchev sees the future as competition between rival social systems by means other than war. We Americans welcome competition, and we are ready to join him in finding ways of making it securely peaceful.

But perhaps Mr. Khrushchev will agree that each of us has a right to see the future in his own way. We, in the United States, believe that we share with millions of our fellow men in East and West a vision differing from his. However various we are in creed, race, and culture, we are united in welcoming just this variety. We believe in the God-given multififormity of man and man's future.

From our point of view, therefore, the competition is not between two uniform, but opposite, social systems. It is a contest to decide whether the great problems of our age can be met better in a free variety of cooperating ways or in the single starkly monolithic way of communism.

Thus I would put the challenge differently from Mr. Khrushchev. But I would agree with him that it is profoundly urgent. It calls for every ounce of sacrifice and devotion that you and I, and all like-minded men and women, can muster in the years ahead.

As we move forward in what may become a new era of competitive peace, our chief source of strength will lie not in material things but in our faith in freedom. The Communists repeatedly proclaim their belief in their creed and system, and its eventual triumph. We must match their expressed belief with faith in our own principles, which spring from man's millennial striving toward freedom.

As against Marxist materialism, we uphold a universal humanism which stresses man's spiritual

nature without ignoring his physical needs. We reject materialism as the main shaping force in human affairs, whether embodied in economic determinism, statism, or in any other system externally imposed upon the individual. We believe that the real dynamic of human life is inner spiritual force working in a cosmos ruled by divine power, law, and purpose.

Our main concern is not that the Soviets are trying to outproduce us in pigs, or milk, or even steel. We rejoice at their progress to the extent that it makes for human betterment and for peace.

What we most need to fear is the loss of our own vision and sense of destiny—of our belief in the eventual spread of democratic freedom to all peoples on our planet. In this we should have a faith as deep and intense as that of the most devoted disciple of communism. We should, above all, demonstrate that faith in action.

Freedom thrives on competition. Therefore we do not need to look with foreboding on the era ahead. Ours is no perfected system, incapable of further growth. America is still in the making. The most inviting of all frontiers lies ahead. To accept the challenge with courage—yes, with buoyant hope—is to be true to the traditions that made America great.

President's Trip To Include Tunisia and Spain

*Statement by James C. Hagerty
Press Secretary to the President*

White House press release dated November 11

President Eisenhower will meet with President [Habib] Bourguiba on the Presidential cruiser off Tunis on December 17th.¹ Details of this meeting will be announced later.

President Eisenhower has accepted the invitation from the Chief of State [Francisco Franco], extended in his letter of August 24th,² to visit Spain. The President will arrive in Madrid from Paris on the afternoon of December 21st. He will

¹ For an announcement of President Eisenhower's plans to leave Washington on Dec. 4 for a trip to Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, see BULLETIN of Nov. 23, 1959, p. 742.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1959, p. 404.

remain in Madrid overnight and leave for Rabat in the morning of December 22d.

Secretary Names Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs

The Department of State announced on November 17 (press release 804) that the President had accepted on November 14 the recommendation of the Secretary of State for the establishment of a small committee to advise the Secretary on inter-American relations. This recommendation had been originally included in Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower's last report to the President and the Secretary of State on United States-Latin American relations.¹ The President has authorized the Secretary of State to establish such a committee, to be known as the National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs.

The Committee will be composed of six public members and will be chaired by the Secretary of State, with the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs acting as vice chairman. Its purpose is to consider current and long-range problems in our relations with Latin America and to make recommendations to the Secretary of State in connection therewith. To accomplish this purpose it will meet at Washington from time to time to be briefed on and to study various aspects of our Latin American relations.

The persons named by the Secretary of State as members of the Committee are: Walter J. Donnelly, Milton S. Eisenhower, G. Kenneth Holland, O. A. Knight, Charles A. Meyer, and Dana G. Munro.

In authorizing the establishment of this Committee, the President expressed his conviction that it would perform a very helpful function both in terms of developing useful ideas with respect to our inter-American relations and in promoting wider understanding of these relations among the peoples of this country. The President also stated that the Committee would be tangible evidence of the importance which the United States attaches to relations with the other American Republics, and he noted that the members appointed by the Secretary were well qualified for their task, each having a wide and perceptive knowledge of Latin America.

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 19, 1959, p. 89.

The United States in NATO

Address by Secretary Herter¹

NATO is an alliance of parliamentary democracies. It is not surprising, then, that parliaments should occupy an important place in the life of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization].

Parliaments are the paymasters of the military. They profoundly influence and sometimes create, or remove, governments. Not least of all, they are in large part spokesmen for, and shapers of, the public opinion upon which the life of this Alliance finally depends.

We therefore recognize the significance of the Conference of NATO Parliamentarians. We are pleased that the members of our Congress have a share in the Conference, and we are delighted that they are the hosts to the fifth annual gathering, being held for the first time on our soil.

This, the fifth year of the Parliamentary Conference, is the 10th year of NATO. The Conference gave recognition to this important anniversary by initiating the Atlantic Congress in London last June.

Europe's New Area for Leadership

The history of Western Europe over the past 10 years has, by and large, been a happy one. The prospects for the next 10 years are hopeful indeed. The unity and strength of NATO have served to keep the peace. If the world is to enter into a more peaceful era, it will be because our unity remains firm and our strength adequate for our defense needs. Furthermore, the nations of the Alliance have acquired the habit of consultation and cooperation to an unparalleled extent. This Conference is an impressive example

of this habit in action. In great measure, as a result both of the strength of defense and the degree of cooperation, Western Europe has attained such a level of prosperity and economic strength as she has never known. This prosperity and strength hold promise, in turn, of broadening and expanding the world leadership which Western Europe has traditionally exercised.

More and more, as the Atlantic Community solves problems within itself, its horizons broaden beyond itself. This is true not alone because of the growing vitality within the Community but because of the opportunities and challenges beyond. As the Western European countries gain in economic strength, they gain also in their capacity to exert leadership and to contribute to the overall effort of the free world, both economically and militarily.

The new affluence of Europe has contributed in recent years, as you know, to a situation in which the United States has incurred a substantial deficit in its international accounts. Naturally we are concerned to correct this imbalance. Toward that end we have urged the elimination of remaining restrictions against dollar trade, with very gratifying response. We also believe the time has come for other prosperous industrial nations to share more fully in the responsibility for assisting the developing areas of the world in their efforts at economic advancement. This is, perhaps, the most creative and critical area of world leadership today.

We have every hope that much of the necessary adjustment in payments can be accomplished through an expansion of our exports. With this end in mind we welcome and support the continued lowering of trade barriers throughout the world. We hope also to see the American merchant and manufacturer spare no effort to compete

¹ Made before the NATO Parliamentarians Conference at Washington, D.C., on Nov. 17 (press release 796 dated Nov. 16).

as effectively as possible in world trade. We Americans believe that any man or nation must earn its way. Thus we believe that freer trade and more vigorous competitiveness provide the best answer to such problems as this one we face.

Recently there have been speculations in the press that United States concern with its balance of payments is an indication that it might fail to give adequate support to NATO. In answer to this speculation let me say clearly that the United States will continue to throw its full support to NATO, as the record shows we have always done since its inception. We shall continue to carry our fair share.

That is our policy. There is no change.

Maintaining Our Common Purpose

It has been suggested recently that the United States takes the view that the visit of Premier Khrushchev² has resulted in a relaxation of tensions justifying some relaxation of the common defense effort.

As an aftermath of the Khrushchev visit, there does appear to be a greater willingness on the part of the Soviet Union to discuss problems frankly. This in itself is testimonial to the success of NATO, in demonstrating convincingly that more violent means of resolving disputes will not succeed. On the other hand, except for Soviet agreement that the talks on Berlin would not have a fixed time limit, Mr. Khrushchev altered no substantive positions during the visit. The degree, if any, of Soviet willingness to reach reasonable solutions to outstanding problems will not be disclosed until further discussions take place.

When he visited the North Atlantic Council shortly before the Khrushchev visit, President Eisenhower made a statement which is not less valid after the visit. These were his words:³

If we are firm among ourselves, if we refuse to retreat one inch from principle, . . . if we keep high our zeal and give to NATO the same patriotic passion and deep devotion that we each give to our own country, then there will be no war—we will be safe, we will progress together to a better world.

In international relations there is certainly no substitute for formal dealings between the duly accredited representatives of governments. Yet

the success or failure of the formal relationships depends in large part upon the vigor with which policies or programs are supported and understood *within* the countries in question and also upon the unity of purpose that exists *between* those countries.

The consultations of the NATO parliamentarians must certainly increase the consciousness of our common purpose. The information, the understanding, and, I hope, the enthusiasm you carry back with you to your parliaments and electorates must increase both the strength and the enlightenment of their support.

Ten years ago the NATO alliance was so young and the need for purely military defense so pressing that only limited attention could be given to creating institutions for consultation and support. Today the importance of military defense to the Atlantic Community remains the same, but economic cooperation and political consultation have come to play a far broader role.

Thus the NATO Parliamentarians Conference is both a product of, and a contributor to, the maturing and broadening of our Alliance. It also affords important support to our continued security. And it will continue, I am sure, as a source—a seedbed—of future strength, future leadership, future progress.

NATO—Cooperation in Freedom

by Andrew H. Berding
Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs¹

The roll of those who have received the Freedom House award includes world-famous statesmen, writers, leaders in military and civilian life both here and abroad. It also includes those, like the U.N. soldiers in Korea and the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, who may never be known individually to the world but who proved their devotion to liberty in the ultimate way—by fighting and dying for it in the hour of challenge. It is a truly distinguished company, characterized by strong devotion to freedom and exceptional service in its

² BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476, and Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

³ *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1959, p. 412.

¹ Address made at Freedom House on the occasion of the presentation of the Freedom Award for 1959 to Paul-Henri Spaak, Secretary General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, at New York, N.Y., on Nov. 16 (press release 797).

behalf. M. Paul-Henri Spaak is a worthy member of this great company.

It would be pointless for me to attempt to summarize M. Spaak's many outstanding accomplishments. What I should like to emphasize instead is a most unusual quality in M. Spaak, one which runs like a common thread through all the fields of his activities. It has enabled him to make a unique contribution to the cause of freedom.

M. Spaak is a man of vision and dreams but at the same time a practical man who knows that merely to dream is not enough in this world of blood, sweat, and tears. He has the ability to conceive the vision and then to work with the materials at hand to bring it to pass. There are men aplenty in the world who can either dream idly or devote themselves energetically and even successfully to what we call practical accomplishments. When these abilities are fused in one man, as they too rarely are, and when that man is sparked by energy and enthusiasm for the cause of freedom for all peoples, we can be truly thankful.

Instrument Against Aggression

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which M. Spaak has served splendidly as Secretary General since the spring of 1957, has been in existence for 10 years. During these 10 years NATO has kept the peace in Europe. Cooperating in freedom, the 15 NATO members have forged a strong shield and mighty sword for their mutual safety. It is a lesson of history that, when free men stay alert and band together, they need fear no foe. The NATO experience underlines that lesson. The military forces available to the Alliance, which have made it possible to keep the peace, are four to five times more numerous, and infinitely more effective in terms of firepower and a common plan, than the 12 divisions, 400 aircraft, and 400 ships which General Eisenhower had at his disposal when he became first Supreme Allied Commander in Europe in December 1950. This is a truly mighty instrument against aggression. It exists; it is ready.

And what of the future? If there is genuine peace and the military threat is removed, will NATO wither away? I am sure all NATO members devoutly hope for genuine peace and will work with whole hearts and clean hands toward that end. The United States welcomes the signs so far apparent of a relaxation in the tensions

which have so long divided the world, and we hope these signs point toward a better future. We would greatly prefer not to live on guard; the burden of an adequate defense is a heavy one, even when it is equitably shared, and we would rather not have to shoulder it.

During the process of exploring every conceivable way and means of bringing genuine peace, the U.S. expects to consult fully with all its NATO partners. We believe that this consultation is an indispensable part of the overall functioning of the Alliance.

We and the other members of the Alliance, however, must not lose sight of the fact that, as much as we hope for genuine peace, the removal of the military threat to NATO is as yet only a hope for the future. We must therefore remain vigilant and prepared, even while we discuss and negotiate. To mistake shadow for substance in a matter of this importance would be to betray our peoples.

More Than a Military Alliance

Although it was the military threat which brought NATO into being and remains its primary reason for existence, it has been realized, almost from the beginning, that NATO could and should become more than a military alliance. It is essentially a community of like-minded nations, and its members have learned to work together to their mutual advantage in many other fields than the military one. Such broader cooperation, in fact, has served increasingly to reinforce and solidify the basic military cooperation.

The Alliance has been strengthened and solidified through the practice of comprehensive political consultation, through cultural and informational programs, through cooperation in scientific activities, through averting or ameliorating differences of opinion between members, and through consultation on economic matters.

Political consultation has broadened and deepened over the past 2 years under the chairmanship of Secretary General Spaak. Such consultation, in which the representatives of all NATO member countries sit around a table in the Palais de Chaillot and frankly and fully discuss member governments' policies and views on matters of all kinds affecting the Alliance, is truly something new under the sun, a new dimension in diplomacy. The military threat forced the NATO members to learn how to fight together, if need be. In

learning this they have also learned how to live together in an ever more fruitful and mutually beneficial way.

This is not to say that NATO is perfect. It is to say that NATO has proven itself to be a living organization, capable of meeting some of the critical needs of a community of like-minded nations, dedicated to liberty. God willing, it will long endure to meet those continuing needs, enabling its members to cooperate in freedom. For the distinguished contribution M. Spaak has already made to this objective, and for what we know he has still to give in leadership and inspiration for the future, the free world owes him an immeasurable debt. For its part the United States reiterates its pledge of full support to NATO and to Secretary General Spaak in his continuing efforts to lead the Alliance toward even greater effectiveness.

U.S. and Panama Officials Confer on Present Relations

Press release 800 dated November 16

The Secretary of State and the Panamanian Ambassador, Ricardo Arias Espinosa, on November 16 discussed the present situation in Panama.¹ In the course of the conversation, held in the Secretary's office, Mr. Herter told the Panamanian diplomat that the Department is receiving disturbing reports from our Embassy there which indicate the threat of further violence such as occurred on November 3 and 4 and that he is becoming increasingly concerned for the safety of American citizens resident in the Republic of Panama.

The Secretary requested Ambassador Arias to communicate this concern to his Government while reminding him that the Government of Panama continues to have the fundamental responsibility for maintaining public order in Panama. He added that representatives of the United States continued to be willing, as in the past, to seek mutually satisfactory solutions to

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 23, 1959, p. 759, and Nov. 30, 1959, p. 787.

outstanding problems but that this can be accomplished only in an atmosphere of calm.

If it would be helpful, the Secretary told Ambassador Arias, the United States would be willing to send a high-ranking official² of the Department of State to Panama to discuss the issues about which there has been misunderstanding, granted, of course, that the conversations could be conducted under normal conditions.

Department Publishes Study on Situation in Laos

Press release 793 dated November 13, for release November 14

The Department of State has published a background study entitled *The Situation in Laos*.³

The Situation in Laos reviews briefly the history of Laos and the efforts of the Royal Lao Government to preserve the independence of that country. This study describes the Communist movement and covers events through the outbreak of fighting in July up to the subsequent appeal to the United Nations by the Royal Lao Government.⁴ It documents the origins and development of the continuing threat confronting Laos, namely, protracted guerrilla warfare patterned after the classic Chinese Communist example and subversion supported by the Communists from outside of Laos.

² On Nov. 18 a Department press officer read the following statement to news correspondents:

"Deputy Under Secretary of State, Mr. Livingston Merchant, will depart from Washington Friday morning [November 20] by a special mission aircraft for Panama. The Department's representative will discuss with the Government of Panama the issues involved in recent misunderstandings between the two Governments in accordance with the Secretary's proposal to the Ambassador of Panama on November 16th. He expects to leave about 8 a.m. He will be accompanied by Mr. C. Allan Stewart, Director of the Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs. They expect to arrive about 3 p.m."

³ A limited number of copies are available upon request from the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

⁴ For background, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 456. For the report of the subcommittee appointed by the U.N. Security Council to investigate the situation in Laos, see U.N. doc. S/4236 dated Nov. 5, 1959.

U.S. and France Sign Treaty Regarding Business Activities, Investments, and Personal and Property Rights

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 820 dated November 25

U.S. Ambassador Amory Houghton and the French Foreign Minister, Maurice Couve de Murville, signed at Paris on November 25 a Convention of Establishment between the United States and France. The signing is the culmination of cordial negotiations that were actively renewed in March of this year and basically completed with the initialing of *ad referendum* texts August 14.

The convention is of the same general type as the treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation heretofore concluded between the United States and other countries, as concerns provisions having to do with the carrying on of business activities, with investments, and with personal and property rights of the nationals of one country within the territories of the other. It is the first treaty dealing comprehensively with this subject matter that has been concluded between the United States and France. It may be regarded, however, as a modern development of the prototype Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1778, the first treaty concluded by the United States, which prepared the way for the association of the two countries in the struggle for American independence.

The new convention contains 18 articles, together with a protocol and joint declaration, and deals in some detail with numerous subjects related to establishment of persons and enterprises. In brief, each of the two countries: (1) agrees to accord within its territories, to citizens and corporations of the other, treatment no less favorable than it accords to its own citizens and corporations with respect to engaging in commercial, industrial, and financial activities; (2) formally endorses standards regarding the protection of persons, their property, and interests that reflect enlightened legal and constitutional principles;

and (3) recognizes the importance of furthering the international movement of investment capital. The provisions relating to the protection of the property of aliens, taken together with the clause subjecting disputes arising under the convention to adjudication by the International Court of Justice, should provide substantially, as between the contracting parties, the sort of treaty coverage presently being advocated publicly by business and legal groups organized in this country and abroad as a means of strengthening international law as applicable to international investment.

The U.S. program for the negotiating of treaties dealing with commerce and establishment is an integral part of this country's policy for the furtherance of trade and investment, with a view to contributing to world conditions favorable to economic development through private enterprise. Internationally these treaties provide a detailed legal basis for the protection of American private interests abroad. Domestically they reinforce in terms of international obligation the position of the Federal Government as guardian of the rights of foreigners and foreign enterprises in this country, a policy that has developed in conformity with the Constitution and Federal law. Treaties of this type, among other things, confer upon qualified aliens "treaty merchant" and "treaty investor" status under the immigration laws; i.e., the privilege of indefinite sojourn in the United States for engaging in trade between the two countries or for supervising a substantial investment.

A significant aspect of U.S. economic foreign policy now is concerned with relations with the European Common Market. This convention is the fourth international agreement regulating mutual relations in establishment matters concluded with members of the Common Market. Treaties are now in effect between the United States and three member states: Italy, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Negotiations for similar agreements are now in progress or are expected to be undertaken shortly with the other member states.

The convention will be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent and, after the constitutional ratification processes of both countries have been completed, will enter into force 1 month after the exchange of ratifications. Initially it applies to metropolitan France and its overseas departments, but provision is made for its extension to other parts of the French Community.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

Although denominated a convention of "establishment," following common European terminology, this agreement belongs in the series of commercial treaties concluded by the United States since 1946, most of which are designated "treaties of friendship, commerce and navigation." It is the 19th signed treaty in this series. Consequent upon the absence from it of certain collateral provisions usually found in U.S. commercial treaties (including articles dealing with the exchange of goods and with shipping), this convention gives signal emphasis to the principal current policy objective of the commercial treaty program; namely, the establishment of principles conducive to the international expansion of private investment for the promotion of economic development.

The conclusion of an establishment treaty with France at this time is deemed to have significance for a number of reasons. Upon the entry into force of the treaty, the status of the persons, property, and enterprises of nationals of one country within the territories of the other will be subject to regulation by a comprehensive treaty for the first time in more than a century. Although applicable initially only to France, including the overseas departments, a provision (article XV) contemplates future extension of the convention to the less developed overseas territories and member states of the French Community. The formal endorsement by France of the policy principles relating to investment long advocated by the United States—such as nondiscriminatory treatment of alien enterprises (article V), assurance of alien property rights, including just compensation in case of expropriation (article IV), reasonable

provision for transfers of earnings and capital (article X), together with adjudication of differences by the International Court of Justice (article XVI)—contributes substantial support internationally to these principles. Finally, the conclusion of such a treaty with another principal member of the European Economic Community (similar treaty provisions being already in effect between the United States and Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Netherlands) should have a beneficial influence as concerns the interests of the United States and other nonmember states during the early formative period of the Community's policies.

TEXT OF CONVENTION

CONVENTION OF ESTABLISHMENT BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The President of the United States of America and the President of the French Republic, President of the Community, desirous of strengthening the ties of peace and friendship traditionally existing between the two countries and of encouraging closer economic intercourse between their peoples, conscious of the contribution which may be made to these ends by arrangements that provide in each country reciprocal rights and privileges on behalf of nationals and companies of the other country, thus encouraging mutually advantageous investments and mutually beneficial commercial relations, have resolved to conclude a convention of establishment and, for that purpose have appointed as Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America,

The Honorable AMORY HOUGHTON, Ambassador of the United States of America at Paris,

and the President of the French Republic, President of the Community,

M. MAURICE COUVE de MURVILLE, Minister of Foreign Affairs,

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in due form, have agreed on the following Articles:

Article I

Each High Contracting Party shall accord equitable treatment to nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party, both as to their persons and as to their property, enterprises and other interests, and shall assure them within its territories full legal and judicial protection.

Article II

1. Nationals of either High Contracting Party shall, subject to the laws relating to the entry and sojourn of aliens, be permitted to enter the territories of the other High Contracting Party, to travel therein freely, and to reside therein at places of their choice. They shall in

particular be permitted to enter the territories of the other High Contracting Party and to remain therein, for the purpose of:

(a) carrying on trade between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties and engaging in related commercial activities;

(b) developing and directing the operations of an enterprise in which they have invested, or in which they are actively in the process of investing, a substantial amount of capital.

2. Nationals of each High Contracting Party shall enjoy, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, freedom of conscience, of worship, of information and of the press.

3. The provisions of the present Article shall be subject to the right of either High Contracting Party to take measures that are necessary for the maintenance of public order and for the protection of public health, morals, and safety.

Article III

1. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded national treatment with respect to access to the courts of justice as well as to administrative tribunals and agencies, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, in all degrees of jurisdiction, both in pursuit and in defense of their rights. Companies of either High Contracting Party not engaged in activities within the territories of the other High Contracting Party shall enjoy such access therein without any requirement of registration. Nationals of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded the benefits of legal aid within the territories of the other High Contracting Party under the same conditions as its own nationals.

2. Contracts entered into between nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party and nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party, that provide for the settlement by arbitration of controversies, shall not be deemed unenforceable within the territories of such other High Contracting Party merely on the grounds that the place designated for the arbitration proceedings is outside such territories or that the nationality of one or more of the arbitrators is not that of such other High Contracting Party. No award duly rendered pursuant to any such contract, and final and enforceable under the laws of the place where rendered, shall be deemed invalid or denied effective means of enforcement within the territories of either High Contracting Party merely on the grounds that the place where such award was rendered is outside such territories or that the nationality of one or more of the arbitrators is not that of such High Contracting Party.

Article IV

1. The lawfully acquired rights and interests of nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall not be subjected to impairment, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, by any measure of a discriminatory character.

2. The dwellings, offices, warehouses, factories and other premises of nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party located within the territories of the

other High Contracting Party shall be free from molestation and other unjustifiable measures. Official searches conducted on such premises, when necessary, shall be carried out in conformity with the law and with every consideration for the convenience of the occupants and the conduct of business.

3. Property of nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall not be expropriated within the territories of the other High Contracting Party except for a public purpose and with payment of a just compensation. Such compensation shall represent the equivalent of the property taken; it shall be accorded in an effectively realizable form and without needless delay. Adequate provision for the determination and payment of the said compensation must have been made no later than the time of the taking.

4. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall in no case be accorded, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, less than national treatment with respect to the matters set forth in paragraphs 2 and 3 of the present Article.

Article V

1. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded national treatment with respect to engaging in all types of commercial, industrial, financial and other activities for gain within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, whether directly or through the intermediary of an agent or of any other natural or juridical person. Accordingly, such nationals and companies shall be permitted within such territories:

(a) to establish and to maintain branches, agencies, offices, factories and other establishments appropriate to the conduct of their business;

(b) to organize companies under the general company laws of such other High Contracting Party, and to acquire majority interests in companies of such other High Contracting Party;

(c) to control and manage the enterprises which they have established or acquired.

Moreover, the enterprises which they control, whether in the form of an individual proprietorship, of a company or otherwise, shall, in all that relates to the conduct of the activities thereof, be accorded treatment no less favorable than that accorded like enterprises controlled by nationals and companies of such other High Contracting Party.

2. Each High Contracting Party reserves the right to determine the extent to which aliens may, within its territories, create, control, manage or acquire interests in, enterprises engaged in communications, air or water transport, banking involving depository or fiduciary functions, exploitation of the soil or other natural resources, and the production of electricity.

3. Each High Contracting Party undertakes not to intensify, within its territories, existing limitations as regards enterprises belonging to or controlled by nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party which are already engaged in the activities cited in the preceding paragraph. Moreover, each High Contracting Party shall permit, within its territories, trans-

portation, communications and banking companies of the other High Contracting Party to maintain branches and agencies, in conformity with the laws in force, which are necessary to the operations of an essentially international character in which they are engaged.

Article VI

1. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be permitted to engage, at their choice, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, accountants and other technical experts, lawyers, and personnel who by reason of their special capacities are essential to the functioning of the enterprise. But these persons must fulfill the conditions necessary to the exercise of their calling under the applicable legislation.

2. In any event, such nationals and companies shall be permitted to engage accountants and other technical experts, who are not nationals of the other High Contracting Party, without regard to their having qualified to practice a profession within the territories of such other High Contracting Party, but exclusively for conducting studies and examinations for internal purposes on behalf of such nationals and companies.

Article VII

1. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, national treatment with respect to leasing, utilizing and occupying real property of all kinds appropriate to the exercise of the rights accorded them by the other Articles of the present Convention. They shall also be accorded therein, as regards the acquisition and possession of real property, all other rights to which aliens and alien companies are entitled under the legislation of such other High Contracting Party, each High Contracting Party reserving the right to invoke reciprocity in this respect.

2. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, national treatment with respect to leasing and acquiring, by purchase or otherwise, as well as with respect to possessing, personal property of every kind, whether tangible or intangible, with the exception of ships. However, either High Contracting Party may impose restrictions on alien ownership of materials dangerous from the viewpoint of public safety and alien ownership of interests in enterprises carrying on particular types of activity, but only to the extent compatible with the enjoyment of the rights and privileges defined in Article V or provided by other provisions of the present Convention.

3. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded within the territories of the other High Contracting Party national treatment with respect to the right to dispose of property of all kinds.

Article VIII

1. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, national treatment with respect to obtaining and maintaining patents of invention and with respect to rights appertaining to trade-

marks, trade names and certification marks, or which in any manner relate to industrial property.

2. The High Contracting Parties undertake to cooperate with a view to furthering the interchange and use of scientific and technical knowledge, particularly in the interest of increasing productivity and improving standards of living within their respective territories.

Article IX

1. The following categories:

(a) nationals of either High Contracting Party residing within the territories of the other High Contracting Party,

(b) nationals of either High Contracting Party not residing within the territories of the other High Contracting Party but engaged in trade or other gainful pursuit within such territories, whether or not through a permanent establishment or a fixed place of business,

(c) companies of either High Contracting Party engaged in trade or other gainful pursuit within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, whether or not through a permanent establishment or a fixed place of business,

(d) associations of either High Contracting Party that are engaged in scientific, educational, religious or philanthropic activities within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, whether through a fixed place of business or otherwise,

shall not be subject to any form of taxation or any obligation relating thereto, within the territories of such other High Contracting Party, which is more burdensome than that to which nationals, companies and associations of such other High Contracting Party in the same situation are or may be subject.

2. Nationals, companies and associations of either High Contracting Party, not falling within one of the categories specified in paragraph 1 above, shall not be subject, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, to any form of taxation or any obligation relating thereto which is more burdensome than that to which nationals, companies and associations of any third country in the same situation are or may be subject.

3. Enterprises of either High Contracting Party, the capital of which is owned or controlled in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, by one or more nationals of the other High Contracting Party, shall not be subject in the first High Contracting Party to any form of taxation or any obligation relating thereto which is more burdensome than that to which other like enterprises of the first High Contracting Party are or may be subject.

4. The nationals, companies and associations of either High Contracting Party referred to in paragraph 1 (b), (c), and (d) of the present Article shall not be subject, within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, to any form of taxation upon capital, income, profits or any other basis, except by reason of the property which they possess within those territories, the income and profits derived from sources therein, the business in which they are there engaged, the transactions which they accomplish there, or any other bases

of taxation directly related to their activities within those territories.

5. The term "form of taxation," as used in the present Article, includes all taxes of whatever nature or denomination.

6. Each High Contracting Party reserves the right to: (a) extend to the nationals, companies and associations of third countries, specific tax advantages on the basis of reciprocity; (b) accord special tax advantages by virtue of agreements with third countries for the avoidance of double taxation; (c) apply special provisions in allowing, to non-residents, exemptions of a personal nature in connection with income and inheritance taxes; (d) extend special advantages to its own nationals and residents in connection with joint returns by husband and wife.

7. The foregoing provisions shall not prevent the levying, in appropriate cases, of fees relating to the accomplishment of police and other formalities, if these fees are also levied on other foreigners. The rates for such fees shall not exceed those charged the nationals of any other country.

Article X

1. Nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party shall be accorded by the other High Contracting Party the same treatment as nationals and companies of such other High Contracting Party in like situations, with respect to payments, remittances and transfers of funds or financial instruments between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties as well as between the territories of such other High Contracting Party and any third country. This treatment shall be not less favorable than that accorded to nationals and companies of any third country in like situations.

2. Neither High Contracting Party shall impose exchange restrictions as defined in paragraph 5 of the present Article except to the extent necessary to prevent its monetary reserves from falling to a very low level or to effect a moderate increase in very low monetary reserves. The provisions of the present Article do not alter the obligations either High Contracting Party may have to the International Monetary Fund or preclude imposition of particular restrictions whenever the Fund specifically authorizes or requests a High Contracting Party to impose such restrictions.

3. The two High Contracting Parties, recognizing that the freedom of movement of investment capital and of the returns thereon would be conducive to the realization of the objectives of the present Convention, are agreed that such movements shall not be unnecessarily hampered. In this spirit, each High Contracting Party will make every effort to accord, in the greatest possible measure, to nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party the opportunity to make investments and to repatriate the proceeds of the liquidation thereof. This principle shall apply also to the compensation referred to in Article IV, paragraph 3, of the present Convention. Each High Contracting Party shall make reasonable provision for the withdrawal of earnings from investments, whether in the form of salaries, dividends, interest, commissions, royalties, payments for technical services, or payments for other current transactions relative to in-

vestments. If more than one rate of exchange is in force, the rate applicable to such withdrawals shall be a rate which is specifically approved by the International Monetary Fund for such transactions or, in the absence of a rate so approved, a rate which, inclusive of any taxes or surcharges on exchange transfers, is just and reasonable.

4. Exchange restrictions shall not be imposed by either High Contracting Party in a manner unnecessarily detrimental or arbitrarily discriminatory to the claims, investments, transport, trade, and other interests of the nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party, nor to the competitive position thereof.

5. The term "exchange restrictions" as used in the present Article includes all restrictions, charges and taxes, regulations, or other requirements imposed by either High Contracting Party which burden or interfere with payments, remittances, or transfers of funds or of financial instruments between the territories of the two High Contracting Parties.

Article XI

Each High Contracting Party will take the measures it deems appropriate with a view to preventing commercial practices or arrangements, whether effected by one or more private or public commercial enterprises, which restrain competition, limit access to markets or foster monopolistic control, whenever such practices or arrangements have or might have harmful effects on trade between the two countries.

Article XII

The provisions of the present Convention shall not preclude the application of measures:

(a) regulating the importation and exportation of gold and silver;

(b) regarding fissionable materials, the radio-active by-products of the utilization or manufacture of such materials, or raw materials which are the source of fissionable materials;

(c) regulating the manufacture of and traffic in arms, munitions and implements of war, as well as traffic in other materials carried on directly or indirectly for the purpose of supplying military establishments;

(d) necessary to fulfill the obligations of a High Contracting Party for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security, or necessary to protect its essential security interests.

Article XIII

The High Contracting Parties may deny to any company, in the ownership or direction of which nationals of a third country or countries have directly or indirectly a controlling interest, the advantages of the present Convention, except with respect to recognition of juridical status and access to the courts.

Article XIV

1. The term "national treatment" means treatment accorded to nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party within the territories of the other High Contracting Party upon terms no less favorable than the treatment therein accorded, in like situation, to the nationals and companies, as the case may be, of such other High Contracting Party.

2. National treatment accorded under the provisions of the present Convention to French companies shall, in any State, territory or possession of the United States of America, be the treatment accorded therein to companies constituted in other States, territories and possessions of the United States of America.

3. As used in the present Convention, the term "nationals" ("ressortissants") means natural persons having the nationality of a High Contracting Party and not domiciled in a non-metropolitan territory thereof to which the present Convention does not extend.

4. As used in the present Convention, the term "companies" ("sociétés") means:

(a) as concerns the United States of America, corporations, partnerships, limited liability companies, and other entities having legal personality, whether or not with limited liability, but for pecuniary profit;

(b) as concerns France, "sociétés civiles", "sociétés en nom collectif", "associations en participation", "sociétés en commandite simple", "sociétés en commandite par actions", "sociétés anonymes", "sociétés à responsabilité limitée" and, in general, entities having legal personality for pecuniary profit.

5. Companies constituted under the applicable laws and regulations within the territories of either High Contracting Party shall be deemed companies thereof and shall have their juridical status recognized within the territories of the other High Contracting Party.

6. Non-profit associations lawfully constituted within the territories of either High Contracting Party shall have their juridical status recognized by the other High Contracting Party and shall, *inter alia*, be accorded within the territories thereof the rights provided in Article III, paragraph 1, of the present Convention.

Article XV

1. The present Convention shall apply:

(a) As concerns the United States of America, to all territories under the sovereignty or authority thereof, other than the Panama Canal Zone and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands;

(b) As concerns the French Republic, to the metropolitan departments, the Algerian departments, the departments of The Oasis and Saoura, the departments of Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guiana and Réunion.

2. The present Convention may be made applicable, by virtue of exchanges of notes between the Governments of the High Contracting Parties, to the Overseas Territories of the French Republic or to one or several such Territories, under the conditions fixed, in each case, in the said exchanges of notes.

3. The present Convention may be made applicable, in the same manner, to the member States of the Community or to one or several such States.

Article XVI

1. Each High Contracting Party shall accord sympathetic consideration to such representations as the other High Contracting Party may make with respect to any question affecting the application of the present Conven-

tion, and shall afford opportunity for an exchange of views relative thereto.

2. Any dispute between the High Contracting Parties as to the interpretation or application of the present Convention, not satisfactorily adjusted by diplomacy, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice, unless the High Contracting Parties agree to settlement by some other pacific means.

Article XVII

The entry into force of the present Convention shall terminate the Trade-mark Convention signed at Washington April 16, 1869.¹

Article XVIII

1. The present Convention shall be ratified. It will enter into force one month after the exchange of the instruments of ratification, which will take place at Washington.

2. The present Convention shall have an initial term of ten years. It shall remain in force thereafter until either High Contracting Party terminates it by giving to the other High Contracting Party a written notice one year in advance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and have hereunto affixed their seals.

DONE in duplicate, in the English and French languages, both equally authentic, at Paris the twenty-fifth day of November, one thousand nine hundred fifty-nine.

PROTOCOL

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly authorized by their respective Governments, are further agreed on the following provisions, which shall form an integral part of the Convention of Establishment between France and the United States of America dated November 25, 1959:

1. (a) The protection provided in Article I engages the competent authorities of each High Contracting Party to inform immediately the consuls of the other High Contracting Party of the arrest or detention of any of its nationals, if the latter so requests. The consul may then be authorized to visit such national, in conformity with the regulations of the institution of detention, and to confer with him. The competent authority will assure the transmission to the consul of all correspondence directed to him by such national.

(b) Such national shall have the right to all guaranties provided in the laws of the High Contracting Party within the territories of which he is detained, and which assure accused persons of humane treatment, the right to be informed immediately of the accusations against them, to be defended by an attorney of their choice, and to be judged as rapidly as possible.

2. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of the present Convention, the laws and regulations in force within the territories of either High Contracting Party which govern the access of aliens to the professions and occupations, as well as the exercise of such callings and other activities

¹ 16 Stat. 771.

by them, remain applicable as concerns nationals and companies of the other High Contracting Party.

(b) However, the procedures provided for by the above-mentioned laws and regulations, as well as those provided for by the laws and regulations governing the entry and sojourn of aliens, must not have the effect of impairing the substance of the rights set forth in Article II, paragraph 1 (a) and (b).

(c) The provisions of Article II, paragraph 1(b), shall be construed as extending to nationals of either High Contracting Party proceeding to the territories of the other High Contracting Party for the purpose of occupying a position of responsibility in an enterprise on behalf of nationals and companies of the first High Contracting Party that have invested a substantial amount of capital in such enterprise or that are in the process of making such an investment.

(d) The advantages accorded a national of either High Contracting Party under the provisions of Article II, paragraph 1 (a) and (b), with respect to entry and sojourn in the territories of the other High Contracting Party, shall extend to his spouse and minor unmarried children who accompany or next follow to join him.

3. The provision of Article III, paragraph 1, relating to access to the courts of justice, shall not affect the regulations in force within the territories of either High Contracting Party concerning the *cautio judicatum solvi*.

4. The provisions of the last sentence of Article III, paragraph 2, shall not affect the reservation concerning the place where the award is rendered, made by France in adhering to the Convention of New York of June 10, 1958 for the recognition and execution of foreign arbitral awards.

5. In Article IV, paragraph 3, the term "expropriated . . . for a public purpose" extends *inter alia* to nationalizations.

6. The provisions of Article IV, paragraph 3, providing for the payment of compensation, shall extend to interests held directly or indirectly by nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party in property expropriated within the territories of the other High Contracting Party.

7. The provisions of Article V, paragraph 1, shall not impair the laws and regulations in force within the territories of either High Contracting Party which reserve the practice of certain professions to nationals.

8. The provisions of Article V, paragraph 1, do not preclude the right of either High Contracting Party to apply special requirements to alien insurance companies to the end that they furnish guaranties, in the interest of insured persons and of third parties, equivalent to those required of companies of the country.

9. The provisions of Article VI, paragraph 2, are adopted with regard to accountancy until such time as it may have become possible to conclude an agreement concerning the exercise of this profession.

10. The right to invoke reciprocity as provided in Article VII, paragraph 1, shall permit the French Government, taking into account the treatment accorded French nationals and companies in a State, territory or possession of the United States of America, to apply analogous treatment to nationals and companies of the United States of

America, respectively domiciled in such State, territory or possession or constituted under its laws.

11. In the event that a French national or company, having acquired real property by testate or intestate succession, should be precluded by reason of alienage from enjoying rights of ownership in such property in a State, territory or possession of the United States of America, such national or company will be allowed a period of at least five years in which to dispose of it.

12. The provisions of Article VII, paragraphs 2 and 3, shall not prevent the enforcement of regulations governing transactions on the part of non-residents and aliens in foreign stocks and bonds.

13. The provisions of Article X, paragraph 1, shall not preclude differing treatment from being applied to different currencies, as may be required by the state of the balance of payments of either High Contracting Party.

14. Either High Contracting Party, with a view to protecting its currency or facilitating the servicing of the proceeds of investments and the repatriation of capital, may subject to authorization the making of investments by foreign nationals and companies.

15. The phrase, "in the greatest possible measure", employed in Article X, paragraph 3, shall be understood to refer to the conditions cited in Article X, paragraph 2.

16. Residence criteria may be applied for purposes of determining whether or not nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party are in "like situations" as that term is employed in paragraph 1 of Article XIV and in the other provisions of the present Convention.

17. Article XV does not apply to territories which are subject to the authority of either High Contracting Party solely as a military base or by reason of temporary military occupation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol and have hereunto affixed their seals.

DONE in duplicate, in the English and French languages, both equally authentic, at Paris the twenty-fifth day of November, one thousand nine hundred fifty-nine.

JOINT DECLARATION

The two Governments deem it appropriate to clarify, at the moment of proceeding to the signing of the Convention of Establishment between France and the United States of America, the import of the reservations relating, on the one hand, to the enforcement of the laws governing the entry and sojourn of aliens and, on the other hand, to the enforcement of the laws regulating the access of aliens to the professions and occupations.

It is expressly stipulated in the Protocol to the Convention that those reservations shall not impair the substance of the rights granted to the nationals of either High Contracting Party who have invested a substantial amount of capital or are in the process of making such an investment within the territories of the other High Contracting Party, or who proceed thereto for the purpose of engaging in trade between the two High Contracting Parties.

However, the two Governments also have the intention of facilitating, to the greatest possible extent and on a

basis of real and effective reciprocity, the establishment of nationals who are not within the above-cited categories and, in particular, of qualified personnel who are indispensable to the conduct of the enterprises created by nationals and companies of either High Contracting Party within the territories of the other High Contracting Party.

Consequently, and in conformity with the spirit which animated the negotiation of the present Convention, the two Governments consider that they should reciprocally exercise the greatest possible liberality consistent with their national laws both with respect to the entry and sojourn of aliens and with respect to their establishment, effective reciprocity being understood by them as pertaining globally to the whole of the two systems of regulation.

The present Declaration shall be annexed to the Convention of Establishment between France and the United States of America of November 25, 1959.

World Bank Increases Reserves \$20.4 Million

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development reported on November 11 that its reserves had risen by \$20.4 million in the first quarter of the current fiscal year to a total of \$440.3 million.

The additions to reserves in the 3-month period ending September 30, 1959, are made up of net earnings of \$13.9 million which were placed in the Supplemental Reserve against losses on loans and guarantees, and loan commissions of \$6.5 million which were credited to the Special Reserve. On September 30 the Supplemental Reserve totaled \$295.9 million and the Special Reserve was \$144.4 million.

Gross income, exclusive of loan commissions, was \$34.5 million. Expenses totaled \$20.6 million and included \$18.2 million for interest on the Bank's funded debt, for bond issuance, and for other financial expenses.

During the period, the Bank made 7 loans totaling \$141.4 million—in Austria, India (2

loans), Italy, Norway, and Pakistan (2 loans). This brought the total number of loans to 241 in 50 countries and raised the gross total of commitments to \$4,663 million.

Disbursements on loans were \$101 million, making total disbursements \$3,478.5 million on September 30.

The Bank sold or agreed to sell the equivalent of \$22.8 million principal amounts of loans. At September 30 the total amount of such sales was \$591.3 million, of which all except \$69 million was without the Bank's guarantee.

Repayments of principal received by the Bank amounted to \$17.8 million. Total principal repayments amounted to \$543.4 million on September 30, consisting of \$282 million repaid to the Bank and \$261.4 million repaid to the purchasers of borrowers' obligations sold by the Bank.

On September 30 the outstanding funded debt of the Bank was \$1,963 million, reflecting a net increase of \$57.8 million in the past 3 months. During the period the Bank privately placed two issues of obligations totaling \$130 million. Outstanding debt was increased a further \$14.9 million as a result of the delivery of \$3.9 million of bonds which had been subject to delayed delivery arrangements and through the drawing down of an additional \$11 million equivalent from the deutsche mark note of 1958. Funded debt maturing amounted to \$83 million, and sinking and purchase fund transactions amounted to \$4.1 million.

On September 15, 1959, the authorized capital of the Bank was increased from \$10 billion to \$21 billion and members were authorized to double their capital subscriptions. By September 30, 1959, 42 member governments had doubled their subscriptions and 1 member had subscribed to \$4 million in addition to its 100 percent increase. As a result, during the first quarter of the current fiscal year the subscribed capital of the Bank increased from \$9,556.5 million to \$17,893.7 million.

Calendar of International Conferences and Meetings¹

Adjourned During November 1959

International North Pacific Fisheries Commission: 6th Session (and Committees)	Seattle	Oct. 26-Nov. 7
Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia (Colombo Plan): 11th Meeting	Jogjakarta	Oct. 26-Nov. 13
GATT Contracting Parties: 15th Session	Tokyo	Oct. 26-Nov. 21
FAO Conference: 10th Session	Rome	Oct. 31-Nov. 20
ILO Joint Maritime Commission on Seafarers' Welfare: Tripartite Subcommittee	Naples	Nov. 2-7
ICEM Executive Committee: 13th Session	Geneva	Nov. 3-9
ILO Experts on Statistics of Industrial Injuries	Geneva	Nov. 3-10
WMO Regional Association for Asia: 2d Session	Rangoon	Nov. 3-17
ILO Governing Body: 143d Session (and Committees)	Geneva	Nov. 9-21
UNESCO Executive Board: 55th Session	Paris	Nov. 9-27
ICEM Council: 11th Session	Geneva	Nov. 12-20
U.N. ECE Conference of European Statisticians: Working Group on Statistics of Private Consumption Expenditure	Geneva	Nov. 16-20
Conference of NATO Parliamentarians	Washington	Nov. 16-20
IAEA Conference on Radioactive Waste Disposal	Monaco	Nov. 16-21
Meeting on Law of the Sea	London	Nov. 16-20
South Pacific Commission: Regional Seminar on Education	Brisbane	Nov. 16-27
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Inland Transport and Communications: 8th Session	Bangkok	Nov. 18-24
Inter-American Children's Institute: 40th Meeting of Directing Council	Bogotá	Nov. 20-21
International Union of Official Travel Organizations: 14th General Assembly	Manila	Nov. 20-26
FAO Council: 33d Session	Rome	Nov. 20 (1 day)
11th Pan American Child Congress	Bogotá	Nov. 22-29
Inter-American Cultural Council: 3d Meeting	San Juan	Nov. 22-Dec. 2
IMCO Maritime Safety Committee: 2d Session	London	Nov. 23-26
ILO Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers: 5th Session	Cologne	Nov. 23-Dec. 4
International Sugar Council: Executive and Statistical Committees	Tangier	Nov. 23 (1 day)
International Sugar Council: 4th Session	Tangier	Nov. 23-26
FAO Meeting on Hemorrhagic Septicemia in Livestock	Manila	Nov. 30-Dec. 5
ILO African Advisory Committee: 1st Session	Luanda, Angola	Nov. 30-Dec. 11
International Rubber Study Group: 61st Meeting of Management Committee	London	Nov. 30 (1 day)

In Session as of November 30, 1959

Political Discussions on Suspension of Nuclear Tests	Geneva	Oct. 31, 1958-
PAHO Subcommittee To Study the Constitution and Rules of Procedure	Washington	Apr. 13-
ITU Administrative Radio Conference	Geneva	Aug. 17-
U.N. General Assembly: 14th Session	New York	Sept. 15-
ITU Plenipotentiary Conference	Geneva	Oct. 14-
Conference on Antarctica	Washington	Oct. 15-
U.N. ECE Committee on Agricultural Problems: 11th Session	Geneva	Nov. 30-
U.N. Seminar on Evaluation and Utilization of Population Census Results	Santiago	Nov. 30-

¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, Nov. 19, 1959. Asterisks indicate tentative places or dates. Following is a list of abbreviations: ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; ECE, Economic Commission for Europe; ECOSOC, Economic and Social Council; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; IAEA, International Atomic Energy Agency; IBE, International Bureau of Education; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ICEM, Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration; ILO, International Labor Organization; IMCO, Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization; PAHO, Pan American Health Organization; U.N., United Nations; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; WHO, World Health Organization; WMO, World Meteorological Organization.

Scheduled December 1, 1959, Through February 29, 1960

ICAO Facilitation Division: 5th Session	Rome	Dec. 1-
U.N. Economic and Social Council: 28th Session (resumed)	New York	Dec. 1-
U.N. ECAFE Seminar on Management of Public Industrial Enterprises.	New Delhi	Dec. 1-
1st FAO International Meeting on Date Production and Processing .	Tripoli	Dec. 5-
FAO Plant Protection Committee for Southeast Asia and Pacific Region: 3d Meeting.	New Delhi	Dec. 7-
U.N. ECE Housing Committee: 19th Session (and Working Parties).	Geneva	Dec. 7-
U.N. Special Fund: 3d Session of Governing Council	New York	Dec. 8-
Caribbean Commission: 29th Meeting	Cayenne, French Guiana	Dec. 9-
ILO Technical Meeting Concerning Certain Aspects of Industrial Relations Inside Undertakings.	Geneva	Dec. 10-
FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Production and Protection.	Peradeniya, Ceylon	Dec. 14-
FAO International Rice Commission: Working Party on Rice Soil, Water, and Fertilizer Practices.	Peradeniya, Ceylon	Dec. 14-
U.N. ECAFE Railway Subcommittee: 6th Session; and Working Party of Railway Mechanical Engineers.	Lahore	Dec. 14-
U.N. ECE Coal Trade Subcommittee	Geneva	Dec. 14-
U.N. ECE Inland Transport Committee: 19th Session	Geneva	Dec. 14-
NATO Council: 24th Ministerial Meeting	Paris	Dec. 15-
U.N. ECE Coal Committee	Geneva	Dec. 15-
Meeting of Heads of Government	Paris	Dec. 19-
South Pacific Commission: Study Group on Filariasis and Elephantiasis.	Nuoméa, New Caledonia	December
U.N. ECAFE Industry and Natural Resources Committee: Seminar on Aerial Survey Methods and Equipment.	Bangkok	Jan. 4-
U.N. ECAFE Intraregional Trade Promotion Talks	Bangkok	Jan. 5-
U.N. Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation: 7th Session.	New York	Jan. 11-
U.N. ECOSOC Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: 12th Session.	New York	Jan. 11-
IAEA Board of Governors	Vienna	Jan. 12-
U.N. ECE Steel Committee and Working Parties	Geneva	Jan. 12-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Trade: 3d Session	Bangkok	Jan. 18-
U.N. Trusteeship Council: 25th Session	New York	Jan. 20-
U.N. ECAFE <i>Ad Hoc</i> Working Party on Gas Problems	Geneva	Jan. 20-
U.N. ECAFE Committee on Industry and Natural Resources: 12th Session.	Bangkok	Jan. 23-
U.N. International Study Group on Lead and Zinc: 2d Meeting .	Geneva	Jan. 25-
3d ICAO African-Indian Ocean Regional Air Navigation Meeting .	Rome	Jan. 26-
U.N. Economic Commission for Africa: 2d Session	Tangier	Jan. 27-
U.N. ECE Electric Power Committee	Geneva	Jan. 27-
FAO Asia-Pacific Forestry Commission: 5th Session	India	January
WHO Executive Board: 25th Session	Geneva	January
IBE Executive Board	Geneva	January*
11th Inter-American Conference	Quito	Feb. 1-
Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara.	Tananarive, Madagascar	Feb. 15-
U.N. Economic Commission for the Far East: 16th Session	Karachi	Feb. 17-
FAO Group of Experts on Rice Grading and Standardization: 5th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 19-
FAO Consultative Subcommittee on the Economic Aspects of Rice: 4th Session.	Saigon	Feb. 19-
Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission: Annual Meeting . .	San José	Feb. 23-
IMCO <i>Ad Hoc</i> Committee on Rules of Procedure	London	Feb. 29-
FAO Government Experts on Use of Designations, Definitions, and Standards for Milk and Milk Products.	Rome	February
UNESCO Executive Board: 56th Session	Paris	February
U.N. Commission on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources: 2d Session.	New York	February

Reviewing the Work of the Economic and Social Council

*Statement by Mrs. Oswald B. Lord
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

I always look forward to the discussion in the Third Committee on the report of the Economic and Social Council.² I look forward to it for two reasons. First, it is one of the few opportunities afforded us to step back and review in the overall the vast complex of the work which each of our delegations has tried to accomplish in the social field through the United Nations. And indeed it is a formidable complex! Some of the results of our work are encouraging; others, not so encouraging. But on balance they are always hopeful and, because of the enormous amount of work yet to be done, always challenging.

My second reason for looking forward to this discussion is, I think, the more important of the two, namely, the opportunity given us to plan for the future in consort with one another. Putting this differently, it is the opportunity to share views and experiences, to learn about problems which each of us are facing in our own countries, and thereby be able to formulate plans not in a vacuum but rather by taking full advantage of the experience and ideas of others. Only in this way can our thinking be kept realistic and up to date. And only in this way can we help to bring about a purpose cherished by us all—that of improving mankind's lot on earth. With this in mind, I would like to share with you today some of the thinking of my delegation on the work of the Council over the past year and to ask you to consider some of its thoughts about the future.

World Social Situation

This past summer in Geneva the U.S. representative to the 28th session of the Council

[Christopher H. Phillips] made several points in his statement on the world social situation which I believe bear repetition. The first concerned two sometimes elusive qualities called flexibility and adaptability. In our opinion, these two qualities are essential if we are to solve social problems in an ever-changing world.

In retrospect the record of the United Nations in adjusting to changing conditions has been good. For example, the most urgent problem which the United Nations faced immediately following World War II was that of rebuilding the lives and homes of its victims. Thus the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established. When this job was accomplished, the United Nations turned its attention to the growing problems being faced by the underdeveloped countries, many of which began joining the United Nations as independent members. The WHO [World Health Organization], UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization], and UNICEF [United Nations Children's Fund] were then created, supplementing the already existing ILO [International Labor Organization], and the Social Commission and Narcotics Commission were given permanent status. And, finally, foresight was again demonstrated when it was decided to make the Advisory Social Welfare Services a regular part of the technical assistance program. If we are to succeed in our task, it is imperative that we continue showing this type of flexibility and adaptability.

The second point made by our representative in the Council concerned the interdependence of economic and social development. Far too often in the past, social development has been considered as entirely distinct from economic development. This is an erroneous assumption,

¹ Made in Committee III (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) on Oct. 21 (U.S. delegation press release 3256).

² U.N. doc. A/4143.

because, in fact, economic development which does not lead to social gain is virtually meaningless. Conversely, social development will increase the need for and the possibility of economic progress. We feel strongly that the time has come for all of us to reaffirm this interdependence. Moreover, it should be a factual reaffirmation on which we base our planning and programing.

Third, and above all in importance, the raising of the status and dignity of the individual is the ultimate objective of social and economic progress. Sometimes the temptation exists to measure progress solely by the existence of bigger and better factories and the achievement of higher production statistics. Actually these are important only insofar as they contribute to the basic goals of higher levels of living, increased and more secure incomes, better education, and improved health.

Social Progress in the United States

Madam Chairman, I do not wish at this time to go into a long discourse about social progress in the United States. Suffice it to say that, like all other delegations seated around our conference table, we are very proud of some of our achievements. Concurrently, we remain deeply concerned by problems still facing us and continue in our determination to overcome them.

Two events, however, will take place in my country during 1960 and 1961 which I think will be of particular interest to delegates here present. The first is the sixth White House Conference on Children and Youth, to be held in Washington during March 1960. The second is the first White House Conference on the Aging, which will take place in January of 1961. I shall discuss them in some detail, Madam Chairman, because they typify an important way in which social development takes place in my country—that of concerted action of government and individuals acting in their voluntary capacity.

The Conference on Children and Youth has existed since 1906 and consists of both lay and professional people whose concern is the health, education, and welfare of the younger generation. It is organized and directed by a national committee of 92 outstanding citizens who have been appointed by the President and who come from all parts of the country. Past conferences have led to such significant results as the founding

of the United States Children's Bureau and the subsequent enactment of many State laws dealing with child labor. Approximately 7,000 delegates will attend this conference, including members of citizens committees appointed by all State and territorial governments as well as representatives of 500 national voluntary organizations working in the fields of health, education, welfare, labor, and religious and community life. They will explore such diverse topics as community development, intergroup relations, illiteracy, and the treatment and rehabilitation of ill and handicapped children. In view of the broad interest in the problems of youth and children, the national committee has approved an allocation of 500 invitations for the participation of foreign visitors and observers.

For the planning and conduct of the first White House Conference on the Aging, the President appointed a national advisory committee consisting of 150 members. It is expected that approximately 2,800 delegates—both professionals and nonprofessionals concerned with the problems of the aging—will attend the conference. In accordance with its mandate from the U.S. Congress, the conference itself will be preceded by many forums and meetings on the local, State, and territorial level. These are expected to stimulate interest and considerable action and program development prior to the conference. Once the conference is convened, the delegates will be charged with making recommendations for courses of positive action on such problems as employment for the aged, their enjoyment of income sufficient for health and for participation in family and community life, the provision of housing suited to the needs of older persons, and the stepping up of research designed to relieve old age of its burden of sickness, mental breakdown, and social ostracism. If we can judge by the success of the five White House conferences on children and youth, we have every reason to hope that these two conferences, bringing together government and private citizens, will also make marked contributions to social progress in my country.

Concerted Action by the U.N.

I turn now to a consideration of the areas of social development which we believe demand immediate and concerted action on the part of the United Nations. First is the acute problem of

population growth. The Population Commission has already alerted the world community to the seriousness of this problem. In doing so it pointed out that each government has the responsibility for studying the relationship between population growth and social and economic progress and has urged that the results of such studies be taken into account when formulating policy decisions and action programs. In heartily endorsing the conclusions reached by the Population Commission, my delegation wishes to express the sincere hope that the Commission will be joined in pursuing studies of this grave problem by the social and regional economic commissions.

While on the subject of population I should like to mention another problem which needs constant attention. It is that of the increasing flow of peoples from rural to urban centers in both the developing and the more industrialized countries. The Bureau of Social Affairs has already shown its awareness of problems intrinsic in rapid urbanization, but we would hope that all appropriate U.N. organs would also remain mindful of this situation. Failure to meet it could impede progress and could result in disrupting the way of life of large numbers of people.

I noticed in reading the report of the Social Commission³ that the Commission did not at its 12th session discuss community development as fully as it might have. In our opinion this was unfortunate, particularly in view of the recognized need to encourage aided self-help programs which exist in the developing countries. We hope therefore that greater emphasis will be given to this field of work in the Commission's work program for 1959-61, including viewing community development in relation to urban development.

My delegation also regrets that there is a shortage of funds available for technical assistance in the social field. This shortage has resulted in the United Nations' being prevented from meeting many urgent requests for assistance, particularly from countries in Africa. We therefore join in requesting that the Secretary-General endeavor to find means to remedy this truly unfortunate situation.

I have one more observation to make on the chapter concerning social questions in the ECOSOC report before us. My delegation has viewed with special interest the growing coopera-

tion between the Bureau of Social Affairs and UNICEF in the field of social service. Many countries have shown a great deal of interest in the strengthening of social services for children. We therefore support provisions being made in the budget of the Bureau of Social Affairs for the appointment of a consultant in this important field.

United Nations Children's Fund

As you know, Madam Chairman, my Government has always supported the work of UNICEF. It is therefore most gratifying to note with each passing year the constant expansion in the work of UNICEF into useful areas which promote the welfare of mothers and children. Moreover we are also extremely pleased to see the yearly increase in the number of donor countries.

During the calendar year 1959 the Executive Board approved allocations totaling approximately \$28 million. This is the highest amount allocated by the Board since the fifth General Assembly changed the mandate of the Fund to emphasize the long-range needs of children in economically underdeveloped countries. Moreover, it is very gratifying to note that recipient governments have committed themselves to an equivalent of nearly \$70 million in matching funds in order to insure the successful carrying out of these programs.

At the September meeting the Executive Board decided to continue on an interim basis UNICEF's support of the malaria program at the present level of approximately \$10 million per year. We support this decision because we feel that in this way the accomplishments of the past 5 years in malaria eradication will not be lost. At the same time, however, we do believe that a balance should be maintained in the programs aided by UNICEF.

Likewise, my delegation also supports the action of the Executive Board to reimburse FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization], on an interim basis, for project costs in the nutritional program in order that UNICEF's part in this work will not lag. We wish to emphasize in this connection, however, that our approval of this practice is on the understanding that it is indeed an interim action. It is in our opinion highly desirable that the two agencies reach a solution on the financing of joint activities prior to the termination of the interim agreement in 1962. As you know, we supported the establishment of the FAO-UNICEF

³ U.N. doc. E/3265.

Joint Policy Committee. Its two meetings, we feel, have produced most worthwhile results, and we remain confident that it will continue to contribute greatly toward the better integration and coordination of joint UNICEF and FAO activity in the field of nutrition and food conservation.⁴

I cannot leave the subject of UNICEF without saying a word about its Executive Director, Mr. Maurice Pate. My Government has always had the highest regard for Mr. Pate and for this reason was especially pleased to learn that he had been designated one of the three lay recipients of a 1959 Lasker Award⁵ for his work as Executive Director. He and his excellent staff can, in our opinion, certainly be justifiably proud.

International Health and Medical Research Year

Madam Chairman, my delegation voted in favor of the resolution at the 13th General Assembly which invited the WHO to consider the recommendation to organize an International Health and Medical Research Year. Likewise at the subsequent General Assembly of the World Health Organization we again supported the proposal. We continue in favor of this idea because we believe it can be useful in focusing attention on major health problems and in stimulating effective efforts to solve them. The careful and thorough study of the proposal now being undertaken by the WHO should provide a solid basis for a decision by the 13th WHO General Assembly as to when and how the year should be observed.

Human Rights

The Commission on Human Rights this year completed a heavy agenda and made careful plans for the future. I think all will agree that the completion of the draft Declaration on the Rights of the Child⁶ was a most valuable piece of work. A good deal of the credit for this accomplishment belongs to Chairman [Ratnakirti S. S.] Gunewardene of Ceylon, who guided the debate in the

Commission with tact, forcefulness, and a consistent sense of humor.

Another step forward, we feel, was made in the field of freedom of information. I refer specifically to the resolution adopted by a large majority and cosponsored by Ceylon, India, Iran, Italy, Mexico, the Philippines, and ourselves. This resolution, you will recall, has several parts. First, the Commission decided to consider the subject of freedom of information regularly at each of its meetings and requested an annual report for this purpose on developments affecting freedom of information. This report will provide an overall review of developments in the information field, including the work of UNESCO. It will also discuss problems encountered in providing technical assistance to underdeveloped countries—in our opinion, a very important aspect of freedom of information.

Second, the Commission asked the Secretary-General to prepare a report on developments in the field of information since 1954, thus bringing up to date the material presented by the rapporteur on freedom of information at that time. This report is to be ready for Council consideration in 1961. It will deal particularly with news sources to which peoples have access, the extent to which they receive news of the United Nations, and developments regarding facilities for the free flow of information into and out of underdeveloped countries.

Another development in the freedom of information field which we regard as a significant step forward was the Council's decision to circulate a draft declaration on freedom of information to governments for comment, including comments on the desirability of such a declaration.⁷ We had the honor of cosponsoring a covering resolution with the delegations of Mexico, Chile, and Costa Rica which thereafter was adopted by a large majority including many delegations who support the adoption of the Convention on Freedom of Information. The cosponsors took particular pains to make it clear that the draft declaration would not interfere in any way with consideration of the draft convention. Indeed, this is why the two final preambular paragraphs of the covering resolution both noted that the 14th General As-

⁴For a report of the first meeting, held at Rome Sept. 29–Oct. 2, 1958, see BULLETIN of Mar. 9, 1959, p. 350.

⁵The Lasker Award, established by the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation and distributed through the American Public Health Association, is awarded to individuals who perform distinguished service in the field of public health.

⁶The draft Declaration on the Rights of the Child (for text, see U.N. doc. A/4249) was adopted unanimously in plenary session on Nov. 20.

⁷For a statement on freedom of information by Christopher H. Phillips before the 27th session of the Economic and Social Council and text of the draft declaration, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1959, p. 26.

sembly was to consider the convention and expressed the desire "to take no action which would hinder or prejudice Assembly action in this regard." We look forward to hearing the comments of governments and to the subsequent discussion of the draft declaration which is to take place in the Council next year.

Advisory Services

I come now to the program of advisory services in the field of human rights. This program continues to demonstrate its usefulness. In the past year the United States participated in two seminars under the program. The first was held in Bogotá last May and considered the topic "Women in Public Life." The second took place in Buenos Aires in September on the subject "Administrative Law." While the findings and recommendations of these seminars will naturally have various implications both inside and outside government, we believe their great value to be that of calling attention to the importance of the subject matter under discussion and of establishing working relationships with persons of recognized experience and ability in the field. As such they represent a new dimension in the work of the United Nations, both in substance and in opportunity for governments to contribute to projects related directly to their own needs. We are very pleased to note that the program for 1960 will include a seminar for African women in Addis Ababa and further meetings in the Far East.

Advance planning for these seminars is of critical importance. In this regard the skill of the Secretariat staff in the preparation of material and arrangements for the meetings is certainly to be commended. Problems, however, still remain in followup activities. It has been our hope that regional seminars could become the basis for similar meetings at the national and local level and that fellowships under this program might be used to advance study and to evaluate seminar findings. We believe that such followup activities would most assuredly enhance the overall value of the advisory services program.

Status of Women

Prior to concluding, Madam Chairman, I should like to comment briefly on the work in the field of the status of women. My Government continues in its general support for the work of the

Status of Women Commission.⁸ I wish also to congratulate the Secretariat on the consistently high quality of its work evidenced by, for example, its recent study on the occupational outlook for women. Indeed, it is because of the high quality of such studies that my Government, as well as many private women's organizations in the United States, eagerly awaits the issuance of the publication on equal pay for equal work.

Conclusion

Madam Chairman, I have of necessity touched on a great many points. Any review of the Economic and Social Council report must take into account the enormous variety and volume of work undertaken by the Council in the social field. Some of the Council's activities might not appear spectacular, but they are of utmost importance in improving the lives of human beings.

In order to save the time of the committee I have purposely not commented upon the part of the Council's report dealing with the report of the High Commissioner for Refugees.⁹ I will of course wish to intervene when this item comes before our committee for discussion. For the moment, however, these are all the comments I wish to make.

U.N. Political Committee Debates Nuclear Weapons Transfer Question

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

The United States believes that the distinguished Foreign Minister of Ireland, Mr. [Frank] Aiken, has drawn attention to an important aspect of the general subject of disarmament which deserves serious study.

The Irish draft resolution provides that consideration of the problems which might result from an increase in the number of states possessing nuclear weapons should take place within the wider context of the disarmament question as a whole. It suggests that the 10-nation disarmament group

⁸ For a report on the 13th session of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, see *ibid.*, July 13, 1959, p. 62.

⁹ U.N. doc. A/4104/Rev. 1 and Add. 1.

¹ Made in Committee I (Political and Security) on Nov. 16 (U.S. delegation press release 3290).

include a study of this problem in connection with its overall responsibilities for general disarmament negotiations.²

The United States believes that to refer this subject to the 10-nation disarmament subcommittee is useful since it will insure careful scrutiny of this question in relationship to the broader question of disarmament. I stress this point because we do not regard this as suggesting, as the Soviet representative implied, that this subject can be considered and solved apart from the overall problem of disarmament.

The United States will vote in favor of the Irish resolution for these reasons, Mr. Chairman.³

U.S. Makes New Contribution for World Refugee Year

The Department of State announced on November 20 (press release 808) that on that day at Geneva Robert S. McCollum, acting U.S. Representative to the 11th meeting of the Council of the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration, had announced a new U.S. contribution of \$1,040,000 for the World Refugee Year. The 29 ICEM member governments were informed that the United States has now given a total of \$3,200,000.

Mr. McCollum said the new grants were to cover specific refugee programs over and above the U.S. regular refugee programs amounting to \$40,000,000 for 1960. He revealed broad plans for aiding Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. The sum of \$520,000 will go to aid Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, bringing expenditures for that program to \$800,000.

The sum of \$100,000 will be added to an original \$500,000 grant to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to further his program for closing refugee camps in Europe. Another \$300,000 will be added to a previous \$300,000 allocation for aiding out-of-camp older refugees. A further \$50,000 will be added to a similar amount previously given the UNHCR for aiding Greek ethnics from the Soviet and satellite countries who are

now in Greece. The sum of \$70,000 will be contributed to the UNHCR to aid in giving temporary care and maintenance to European refugees moving out of Communist China through Hong Kong.

Mr. McCollum informed the delegations with respect to the added contributions for Chinese refugees that \$262,000 would be granted to the Hong Kong government for the construction and equipping of a technical secondary school for refugee children. This new school will permit a pilot type of educational program to be conducted to provide well-rounded education, featuring training in basic subjects and broad vocational training geared to absorb the graduates into the Hong Kong economy.

Because of the large number of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong who suffer from disability resulting from accidents or disease, there is a desperate need for post-hospital treatment and physiotherapy. To meet this need the United States is contributing \$90,000 to the Hong Kong government to construct and equip an 80-to-100 bed rehabilitation center on a site contributed by the Hong Kong government.

Besides providing shelter and support while recuperation and physiotherapy treatment are being given, the center will also concentrate on job-retraining and job-placement facilities.

The balance of the \$520,000 will be used in connection with voluntary agency hospital, clinic, nursery, and community center projects in Hong Kong and Macau.

Report of U.S. Delegation to 15th Session of GATT

Press release 809 dated November 20

The 15th session of the Contracting Parties to the GATT (the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), held at Tokyo at the invitation of the Government of Japan, ended November 20. Meeting away from Geneva for the first time in recent years, representatives of the government's party to the 37-nation trade agreement achieved further progress in removing barriers to world trade.

Douglas Dillon, Under Secretary of State, represented the United States in the ministerial meeting during the opening week of the session. The U.S. delegation included Representatives

² For text of communique establishing the 10-nation group, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438.

³ The Irish draft resolution on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons (for text, see U.N. doc. A/4286) was adopted in plenary session on Nov. 20 by a vote of 68 to 0, with 12 abstentions.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Relaxes Controls on Dollar Imports

Press release 812 dated November 20

Following is a joint statement by the Departments of State and Commerce.

The United States welcomes the announcement made today [November 20] by the delegation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to the Contracting Parties of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade that on November 27, 1959, the Federation will lift balance-of-payment controls on imports of 65 products from the dollar area. This action will open the market to United States exports of nonindustrial electrical machinery and appliances, duplicating, addressing, and other office machines, cotton yarns, motor vehicles, and paper products, among other commodities. The Federation delegation also announced that licenses will be issued freely for cotton piece goods which are still under restriction.

The only commodities on which discriminatory balance-of-payment restrictions will be maintained are: blankets and rugs, clothing, textile nets and netting, tarpaulins, canvas, cotton piece goods, cutlery, metal furniture, radios, Gramophones, and television sets. The United States is pleased to note that these remaining restrictions are being examined with a view toward further action early next year.

Hale Boggs and Victor A. Knox as congressional advisers; W. T. M. Beale, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, as chairman; Henry Kearns, Assistant Secretary of Commerce, as vice chairman; and J. Allen Overton, Jr., Vice Chairman of the Tariff Commission, as principal adviser.

Balance-of-Payments Import Restrictions

A drive to eliminate discrimination against American and other dollar area exports was the highlight of the session. The urgency of moves in this direction was touched off by the strong declaration of Under Secretary Dillon at the opening ministerial meeting.¹ He emphasized that the restoration of external convertibility to the main trading currencies of the world has removed any balance-of-payments justification for discriminatory restrictions by countries whose export earnings are largely in convertible currencies.

¹ For texts of Mr. Dillon's statement and a communique issued at the conclusion of the ministerial meeting, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703.

The drive to eliminate discrimination was greatly aided by the International Monetary Fund's decision of October 23 calling for removal of discriminatory restrictions with all feasible speed.² This decision, which was made available to the Contracting Parties at the session's opening, supported the strong statements against discrimination and restrictions made by U.S. Under Secretary of State Dillon and other ministerial-level speakers.

Reflecting ministerial and other discussions, the Contracting Parties adopted a report which concluded that discrimination in trade on balance-of-payments grounds should quickly be ended. It indicated that the justification for such discrimination had been almost completely eliminated by convertibility of currencies.

The United States and many other countries also stressed the need to reduce the use of all import quotas by countries emerging from balance-of-payments difficulties.

Several countries took important steps to relax their trade controls and reduce discrimination during the session. Among them were the United Kingdom, France, Japan, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Other countries—including Australia, New Zealand, Malaya, Rhodesia, and Ghana—were able to point to recent measures of a similar character.

Previously scheduled balance-of-payments consultations were held with six contracting parties: Australia, Japan, the Federation of Malaya, Norway, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Sweden.

Expansion of International Trade

Three committees on the expansion of international trade, which have been meeting during the intersessional period, met again during the session.

Committee I, on tariff reductions, submitted final recommendations setting forth the rules and procedures to be followed in the tariff conference to be held in Geneva in 1960-61. This conference will be divided into two phases. The principal emphasis in the first phase (September through December 1960) is to be on tariff negotiations and renegotiations incident to the formation of the European Economic Community. The second phase, beginning in January 1961, is to be devoted

² For text, see *ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1959, p. 681.

to an exchange of new concessions among contracting parties and to negotiations with countries acceding to the GATT.

Committee II conducted its second round of country-by-country consultations on agricultural policies. The consulting countries were Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, and Rhodesia and Nyasaland. During the coming year there will be further rounds of consultations, at the end of which the committee will report on the effects of agricultural protection upon international trade. The presentation of U.S. agricultural policy is scheduled for February 1960.

Committee III is seeking ways of expanding the export earnings of the less developed countries as a means of accelerating their development and making them less dependent upon foreign aid. In a preliminary report the committee identified some of the obstacles to increased trade encountered by the less developed countries in foreign markets. These obstacles include high revenue duties, preferential arrangements, import quotas, and restrictive state trading, in addition to high tariffs. The Contracting Parties approved the committee's recommendation that individual governments examine such measures of theirs as may impede the trade of less developed countries. In the coming year the committee will also turn its attention to what the less developed countries themselves can do to improve their trade prospects and to direct their industrial growth into the fields in which they may be most efficient.

Avoidance of Market Disruption

During the discussions at the ministerial level, Under Secretary Dillon drew attention to the fact that sharp increases in imports, over a brief period of time and in a narrow range of commodities, can have serious economic, political, and social repercussions in the importing countries. He pointed out that the problem is to find the means to ameliorate the adverse effects of an abrupt invasion of established markets while continuing to provide steadily enlarged opportunities for trade. The subsequent discussions made it evident that the apprehension that such situations might arise had led some countries to maintain or impose import restrictions against particular imports from some countries.

The question was discussed in plenary session, and it was agreed that, in view of the complex

nature of the problem, the question should be deferred until the 16th session. Meanwhile the executive secretary will prepare a factual report for the Contracting Parties. At the 16th session the Contracting Parties can consider whether to establish a panel of experts to examine the problem or whether some other method of approach is likely to be more appropriate.

Regional Market Arrangements

The Contracting Parties received reports on three movements toward regional economic integration.

The Swedish ministerial representative reported on the negotiations for a European Free Trade Association (EFTA) which Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom—the so-called Outer Seven—are negotiating. He said that the EFTA countries would continue to be bound by their GATT obligations in carrying out arrangements for progressive abolition of tariffs and quota restrictions on trade among the member countries. The first step in this process is to take place on July 1, 1960. He assured the Contracting Parties that EFTA does not intend to use quantitative restrictions in order to create a preferential trading system.

Delegates of Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay and observers for Argentina and Bolivia spoke about the plans of these countries to establish a free-trade area. They referred to the draft treaty prepared at Montevideo last September, which is to take final form in February 1960. The delegates pointed out that the proposed free-trade area was intended to increase trade and help raise living standards and that improvement in economic conditions in Latin America would lead to increased trade with other countries.

A spokesman for the Commission of the European Economic Community (EEC) gave the Contracting Parties an account of the progress of the EEC during 1959. He noted that the provisions of the Rome Treaty regarding reduction of customs duties and relaxation of quota restrictions in intra-EEC trade had been carried out on schedule and that many tariff reductions had also been extended to the products of outside countries. He stated that the Commission hopes to submit proposals on agricultural policy to the EEC Council of Ministers before the end of 1959. He

said that the EEC draft external tariff was receiving urgent attention so that it would be ready in ample time to allow for preparation for the 1960-61 tariff conference. The representative spoke of the EEC's interest in helping countries in the process of economic development.

Additional Participation in the GATT

Indicative of the growing world-wide interest in the GATT, Tunisia applied for and was granted provisional contracting-party status. Switzerland, Cambodia, and Israel are now participating in the work of the Contracting Parties on a provisional basis, pending full accession; and Yugoslavia is associated with the GATT. The Contracting Parties opened for signature an instrument providing for a relationship between Poland and the Contracting Parties closer than that now afforded by its present status as an observer. The Minister of Commerce and Industry of Nigeria stated that his country, which is to become an independent nation during 1960, hopes to send its own representation to GATT sessions in the future. The Contracting Parties prolonged for 1 year the period during which newly independent Guinea can be sponsored by France for accession. The observer for Argentina stated that his Government was actively considering accession to the GATT.

Other Items

The statements made at the session by those contracting parties which still resort to article XXXV against Japan, thereby declining to undertake GATT obligations toward that country, give renewed hope that through the continuation of bilateral discussions further progress will be made toward a satisfactory solution of this longstanding problem.

In accordance with a resolution of March 1955 the United States reported on its programs for disposing of surplus commodities. Several exporter countries expressed satisfaction with the safeguards that the United States has applied over the past year to minimize displacement of commercial sales. Certain importing countries indicated their gratitude for the considerable help afforded their economies by the United States disposal operations.

Specific commodity problems were pursued bilaterally and informally by the United States delegation at the 15th session with a number of other delegations, including those of Japan, France, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway, Australia, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The commodities discussed included automobiles, distilled spirits, acrylic fibers, canned fruits and vegetables, fresh apples and pears, and other agricultural and manufactured products. The conversations are expected to result in the relaxation of some import restrictions on these U.S. products in the very near future.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

Inter-American Cultural Council

The Department of State announced on November 16 (press release 799) that Alan K. Manchester, Dean of Trinity College and Assistant to the Vice President, Educational Division, Duke University, will head the U.S. delegation to the third meeting of the Inter-American Cultural Council. This meeting will convene at San Juan, P.R., November 22, 1959, pursuant to an invitation extended by the U.S. Government with the cooperation of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Dr. Manchester's appointment as U.S. Representative on the Council was announced by the White House November 14.

Arturo Morales Carrion, Under Secretary of State, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and Howard F. Cline, Director of the Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, have been designated as alternate U.S. representatives. Other members of the delegation will be announced at a later date.

The Cultural Council, one of the three technical organs of the Council of the Organization of American States (OAS), is provided for in the charter of the Organization. Its purpose is to promote friendly relations and mutual understanding among the American peoples through the promotion of educational, scientific, and cultural exchanges. Its membership is composed of representatives of each member state of the OAS.

This session of the Council will consider a four-part agenda covering a wide variety of topics.

Reports of activities will be presented by the OAS Committee for Cultural Action (permanent committee of the Cultural Council), the Pan American Union, and other agencies of OAS having cultural programs. Action will be taken with respect to 12 studies submitted by the Committee for Cultural Action on education, promotion of exchange in the field of literature, and other cultural subjects assigned to it by the second meeting (Lima, 1956). The meeting will also review the proposed cultural affairs program of the Pan American Union, which is the secretariat of the Cultural Council, for the period until the next meeting and will discuss "Main Points of Cultural Cooperation," including means of promoting reciprocal understanding of culture in the Americas and the function of universities in inter-American cultural relations.

11th Pan American Child Congress

The Department of State announced on November 19 (press release 806) the designation of Katherine B. Oettinger, Chief, Children's Bureau, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as chairman of the U.S. delegation to the 11th Pan American Child Congress, which will convene at Bogotá, Colombia, November 22, 1959. F. Frederick Deliquadri, Dean, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, will serve as vice chairman of the delegation.

The Congress, a specialized conference of the Organization of American States, meets every 4 years. The theme of this meeting is "Neglected Children in the Americas."

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¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

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TREATY INFORMATION

U.S. and Soviet Union Sign New Exchange Agreement

On November 21 the United States and the Soviet Union signed at Moscow an agreement on exchanges in the scientific, technical, educational, and cultural fields for 1960-61. Following is the text of a joint U.S.-Soviet communique issued at the conclusion of negotiations and a Department statement.

TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE

Press release 814 dated November 21

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS FOR COOPERATION IN EXCHANGES IN THE SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FIELDS IN 1960-1961.

On the twenty-first of November in Moscow, there were concluded negotiations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on exchanges in the scientific, technical, educational, and cultural fields between the two countries for 1960-61, conducted in accordance with the joint U.S.-Soviet communiqué¹ on the results of the exchange of opinions between the President of the United States of America,

Dwight D. Eisenhower, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., N. S. Khrushchev.

The negotiations were conducted in a spirit of good will with both sides noting with satisfaction that the fulfillment of the previous two-year agreement on exchanges in the cultural, technical, and educational fields between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., signed on January 27, 1958,² had been of mutual benefit as well as a good practical step toward bringing about increased understanding.

Both sides consider also that the further growth of contacts and communication between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. will be conducive to an improvement in the climate of relations between the countries and to a normalization of fruitful cooperation of the peoples of both countries in various fields of science, technology, education, health, social activities, culture, art, and sports.

As a result of the negotiations, there was drawn up an "Agreement between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on Cooperation in Exchanges in the Fields of Science, Technology, Education, and Culture in 1960-1961." On the authorization of the Government of the U.S.A., the Agreement was signed by the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.A. in the U.S.S.R., Llewellyn E. Thompson; on the authorization of the Government of the U.S.S.R., the Agreement was signed by the Chairman of the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries under the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., G. A. Zhukov.

The Agreement is a concrete two-year program of exchanges in the fields of industry, transport, construction, trade, agriculture, education, including students, and health; of exchanges in the field of the performing arts, of cooperation in the motion picture field, of exchanges of radio and television programs, of publications, and of exhibits. The parties have agreed also to render assistance in the carrying out of trips of representatives of social organizations and groups, for exchange of athletes, for the development of tourism, and for the establishment of direct air communication.

The present Agreement is viewed by both sides as a new investment toward improving mutual understanding between the peoples of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The parties express the hope

¹ For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1958, p. 243.

that its fulfillment will promote the improvement of relations between the two countries.

DEPARTMENT STATEMENT

Press release S13 dated November 21

With reference to the agreement on exchanges entered into with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Moscow today [November 21], it was noted that, on the United States side, the exchanges will, for the most part, be carried out by private persons and organizations. In the United States, private persons cannot, of course, be directed to participate in such activities. The various persons, firms, and corporations concerned with the proposed exchanges were consulted, and they have expressed their willingness and desire to participate. The agreement is entered into subject to the applicable United States laws and regulations, including the availability of funds.

U.S. and Sweden Reactivate Educational Exchange Program

Press release S07 dated November 20

The United States and Sweden agreed on November 20 to reactivate the educational exchange program between the two countries for another 4 years. The agreement was reached at Stockholm through an exchange of notes between the Swedish Foreign Minister, Östen Undén, and the American Ambassador, James C. H. Bonbright.

The original agreement between the United States and Sweden was signed in 1952 and extended through 1956. The program is carried out under the authority of Public Law 584, 79th Congress, the Fulbright Act.

A total of 1,550,000 Swedish kronor (\$300,000) has been made available to finance the exchange program for the next 4 years. These funds will be used to provide travel grants to Swedish professors, research scholars, teachers, and graduate students for the purposes of lecturing, doing research, teaching, or studying at American institutions of learning. Awards to Americans under this program provide travel and maintenance allowances for similar purposes at Swedish universities, schools, and research establishments.

The educational exchange program is administered by the U.S. Educational Commission in

Sweden, whose Board of Directors consists of four Swedish and four American representatives, with the American Ambassador serving as honorary chairman.

More than 200 Swedish and American scholars and students have received grants under the educational exchange program which have enabled them to carry on educational activities in Sweden or in the United States with the aim of broadening understanding between the two countries.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Finance

Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank, with annexes. Done at Washington April 8, 1959.¹

Signature and acceptance: Haiti, October 27, 1959.

Postal Services

Universal postal convention with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding air-mail with final protocol. Done at Ottawa October 3, 1957. Entered into force April 1, 1959. TIAS 4202.

Ratifications deposited: Greece, October 2, 1959; China, October 6, 1959; Pakistan, October 8, 1959.

Adherence deposited: Ghana, May 7, 1959.

Safety at Sea

Agreement regarding financial support of the North Atlantic ice patrol. Opened for signature at Washington January 4, 1956. Entered into force July 5, 1956. TIAS 3597.

Acceptance deposited: Japan, November 18, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1958 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.¹

Notification of approval: Denmark, September 30, 1959; Federal Republic of Germany, October 2, 1959.²

BILATERAL

Iceland

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of March 3, 1959 (TIAS 4185). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington November 3, 1959. Entered into force November 3, 1959.

India

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709), with exchange of notes. Signed at Washington November 13, 1959. Entered into force November 13, 1959.

¹ Not in force.

² With reservations.

Agreement further amending the agricultural commodities agreement of September 26, 1958, as amended (TIAS 4107 and 4338). Effected by exchange of notes at Washington November 13, 1959. Entered into force November 13, 1959.

Luxembourg

Agreement amending annex B of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950 (TIAS 2014). Effected by exchange of notes at Luxembourg October 27 and 31, 1959. Entered into force October 31, 1959.

Turkey

Agreement relating to the introduction of modern weapons into NATO defense forces. Effected by exchange of notes at Ankara September 18 and October 28, 1959. Entered into force October 28, 1959.

Viet-Nam

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709), with exchange of notes. Signed at Saigon October 16, 1959. Entered into force October 16, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Resignations

David K. E. Bruce as Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Ambassador Bruce, see White House press release dated November 7.)

Robert Murphy as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. Murphy, see White House press release dated October 28.)

Designations

Charles E. Higdon as Deputy Director, Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs, effective November 1.

Avery F. Peterson as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Economic Affairs, effective November 1.

C. Tyler Wood as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, India, and Minister for Economic Affairs, New Delhi, effective November 5. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 794 dated November 13.)

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: November 16-22

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796	11/16	Herter: NATO Parliamentarians Conference.
797	11/16	Berding: Freedom House.
798	11/16	Herter: "The Survival of Freedom."
799	11/16	Delegation to Inter-American Cultural Council (rewrite).
800	11/16	U.S. and Panama officials discuss relations.
†801	11/17	Dillon: "Building Growth in Freedom: Greatest Challenge of the Sixties."
*802	11/17	Cultural exchange (Ecuador).
*803	11/17	Cultural exchange (Guatemala).
804	11/17	National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs (rewrite).
*805	11/18	Cultural exchange (Rhodesia and Nyasaland).
806	11/19	Delegation to Pan American Child Congress (rewrite).
807	11/20	Educational exchange program with Sweden reactivated.
808	11/20	Contribution for World Refugee Year (rewrite).
809	11/20	Report of delegation to 15th GATT session.
*810	11/20	Herter, Rubottom: death of Heitor Villa-Lobos.
*811	11/20	Cultural exchange (Brazil).
812	11/20	Relaxation of dollar-import restrictions by Rhodesia and Nyasaland.
813	11/21	Exchange agreement with Soviet Union.
814	11/21	U.S.-Soviet communique on exchange agreement.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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Vol. XLI, No. 1068

December 14, 1959

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THE
OFFICIAL
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OF
THE UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

Building Growth in Freedom: Greatest Challenge of the Sixties

*by Under Secretary Dillon*¹

In international affairs the greatest challenge of the sixties will be posed by two developments which have been taking shape over the decade and a half since the end of World War II.

The first is the social-economic revolution which is sweeping vast areas of the free world in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

The second is the substantial military, industrial, and technological expansion of the Soviet Union.

Twenty-one of the newly developing countries have known political independence only since World War II. Millions of their people have never known anything but hunger, disease, and grinding poverty. They are now reaching out for economic growth. The main burden of work and sacrifice falls, of course, on the newly developing countries themselves. But they cannot make satisfactory progress unless their more fortunate brothers in the industrialized countries of the free world keep markets open to their products and work with them through programs of technical and capital assistance.

In their search for material progress the power of the Soviet example is not lost upon the peoples of the newly developing lands. If they are not given reasonable hope of progress under freedom—as they would much prefer—then they will surely be tempted to try shortcuts which purport to offer solutions for all their problems. International communism, which has openly identified the newly developing nations as its major target

in seeking world domination, is ready to suggest just such a shortcut and able to make it seem attractive with offers of trade and aid. If these countries should succumb, then the freedom we all hold so dear would certainly be lost. For we could not stand alone in a world turned hostile.

Fortunately we are not alone in our efforts to help the peoples of the new nations realize their dream of a better life.

At the close of World War II we responded with the Marshall plan to Western Europe's heroic efforts to rise from the ashes of war. The American farmer, who had contributed mightily to the winning of the war, helped to feed the farmers and workers of Western Europe while they cleared away the debris of battle, replanted their fields, and rebuilt their homes and factories. With Marshall plan help Western Europe has not only repaired its shattered economy but has moved forward to new heights in a recovery that has been nothing short of phenomenal.

The peoples of Western Europe and Japan are now in a position to substantially aid the free peoples of the nonindustrial world. It is encouraging to note that governments in the industrialized countries of Western Europe and in Japan have recognized this fact. These countries are beginning to play a larger part in the growth of the newly developing lands, both in direct assistance and by opening markets to their products. We feel that the role of our free-world partners in Western Europe and Japan in this great effort should be a growing one, and we are confident that they have every intention of increasing their efforts.

¹Address made at the 41st annual convention of the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation at Des Moines, Iowa, on Nov. 17 (press release 801).

Nevertheless we cannot slacken our own efforts, for the necessity of stimulating economic growth under freedom in the newly developing world dwarfs by its magnitude the task we faced 14 years ago in Western Europe. I regard it not only as the greatest challenge of the sixties but as the foremost problem of the whole latter half of the 20th century.

U.S. Programs for Aiding Underdeveloped Areas

In meeting this challenge our major response is the Mutual Security Program. Through its technical assistance operations we are helping to create the human skills so conspicuously lacking in the newly developing countries. Through grant assistance we are providing some of the funds urgently needed to maintain stability in the face of the military and economic pressure of the Sino-Soviet bloc. Through loans we are providing part of the capital needed for the basic facilities essential to growth.

Our reciprocal trade agreements program, which you Farm Bureau members support so vigorously, helps to insure markets for the products which the peoples of the newly developing areas must sell in order to live. And we are constantly seeking ways to break down barriers to trade through our participation in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Through tax and other incentives we are exploring every practicable way to stimulate the flow of private American investment, with all of its accompanying technological and managerial skills, to the less developed countries.

Our objective is to help other people to help themselves. We want to assist them in developing political and economic systems of their own which will achieve enough self-generating vitality to create the human and physical resources needed to sustain further progress under their own power. We encourage their governments to employ American assistance as a tool, not as a crutch.

The newly developing countries are often hungry. Their foreign exchange earnings are principally dependent on the sale of one or two primary products which have been traditionally subject to excessive price fluctuations. Many are unable to import all the food they need. It is here that the American farmer is once again making an

invaluable contribution by supplying food to hungry people abroad.

All of you will recall the difficult problem we faced with our agricultural carryover in 1954. Thanks in good part to the leadership of your own Farm Bureau Federation, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act was enacted. Public Law 480, as it is now popularly known, was designed to transform our burden into a blessing: to make our mounting surpluses of food and fiber available on special terms or as gifts to friendly countries which need them but which cannot buy them on regular commercial terms.

The results of the P.L. 480 program are impressive. The total value of surplus products sent abroad under it as of last June 30th amounts to about \$5.6 billion. If we add to this the value of agricultural commodities programmed for shipment as part of our foreign aid program, the total rises to a little more than \$7.3 billion. By comparison the total supplied under lend-lease was \$6.7 billion and under the Marshall plan \$7.7 billion.

During the past 3 years our total annual exports of farm products have averaged \$4 billion, the highest 3-year average in our history. P.L. 480, with special emphasis on sales for foreign currency, has accounted for about 30 percent of the total. P.L. 480's operations have also been reflected in firmer market prices of many of our agricultural commodities and have given strength to the total U.S. agricultural export situation. For example, in the case of two commodity groups of particular interest to Iowa farmers—soybeans and their products, and feed grains—exports in 1959 will reach new alltime highs: the equivalent of 215 million bushels of soybeans and 480 million bushels of corn.

Over the past 5 years 6 million tons of American surplus have been supplied free to needy people abroad. At the moment more than 60 million persons in over a hundred countries and dependent areas are receiving food as a gift from the American people.

But that is not all. From the foreign currency proceeds of P.L. 480 sales we have earmarked for return to recipient countries in the newly developing areas the equivalent of about \$2 billion as loans or grants to build roads; construct hydro-electric plants, water-supply systems, and trans-

portation facilities; develop irrigation and drainage systems; and erect schools and clinics.

You may wonder what we do with that part of the foreign currency proceeds which we reserve for our own needs. The uses for it are numerous, including payment of local expenses of our diplomatic, consular, technical assistance, and military missions abroad. One use of special interest to you is the promotion of foreign markets for American farm products. The Soybean Council of America and the American Soybean Association, both with their national offices here in Iowa, are particularly active. With P.L. 480 proceeds they are promoting wider outlets for soybeans and soybean products in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America. Their work is largely responsible for the growing dollar exports of these products.

It should also be of interest that the P.L. 480 program has been effective in disposing of surpluses of particular importance to your own State. These include food grains, fats and oils, dairy products, and poultry. The total value of such items so far programed amounts to \$827 million, of which a substantial amount comes from Iowa.

A striking illustration of how P.L. 480 operates is seen in an agreement signed last week in Washington for the sale in rupees of almost \$240 million worth of American agricultural products to India. This is the fourth such sale to India under P.L. 480, bringing the total since 1956 to nearly \$915 million.

The United States will give back to India 40 percent of the payment as an outright grant for economic development. Another 40 percent will be lent to India for development purposes. Fifteen percent will be used to defray local expenses of our missions there, and 5 percent will be set aside for local loans to private enterprise.

Thus the bounty of American farms is contributing to the growth of a great new nation whose leaders are dedicated to creating a better life for their citizens under free and democratic institutions. The agreement is another affirmation of our continuing sympathetic interest in the peaceful progress and well-being of India's people.

Now, since the amount of food required to provide an adequate diet for the free world's hungry people greatly exceeds our surplus stocks, you may

very well ask why our foreign programs cannot absorb more of our surpluses.

In time, and with the cooperation of friends and allies who are also suppliers of agricultural commodities, I feel certain that we will be able to make more effective and greater use of our surpluses.

Food for Peace

This is, in fact, the purpose of the President's food-for-peace program, which involves an expansion of commercial trade in farm products and the strengthening of our special export programs. Several conferences have been held in Washington under this program to examine ways of making better use of wheat to raise nutrition levels and expand economic development abroad.² The results thus far are promising.

Food can be a powerful ambassador of good will and, hence, an effective instrument for peace. It may well be that the first results of the food-for-peace effort will be greater returns in improved understanding, rather than sharp increases in the quantity of food moving under special export programs. This in itself would be worth while. For we must honestly face the fact that there are real limitations on the extent to which surpluses can be used abroad.

First, the largest part of the P.L. 480 program is not designed to give our surplus to individuals but rather to sell it to governments. The commodities then go into local markets and are bought by the consumer on strictly commercial terms. We must exercise care to insure that P.L. 480 sales for foreign currency do not merely replace what would otherwise have been normal commercial sales for dollars of their equivalent, either from the United States or from other friendly nations. That is why we consult other exporting countries on P.L. 480 sales. That is also why, in the case of wheat, we have worked out safeguards with other exporters under the food-for-peace program to protect both our and their normal markets.

Second, in the case of gifts under P.L. 480 the

² For text of a joint communique released at the close of the Conference of Major Wheat Exporting Nations on May 6, see BULLETIN of June 1, 1959, p. 793; for an address by Don Paarlberg on food for peace, see *ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1959, p. 672.

protection of commercial markets is also something of a problem. There is unfortunately a persistent tendency in large distribution programs for gift food to find its way into regular market channels. Unless adequate supervision is exercised the opposition of legitimate traders and producers is likely to endanger the program.

A third problem arises from the fact that the countries which need relief programs most are usually least able to finance and operate them. Even though food is made available by us free of charge under P.L. 480, its distribution entails considerable expense. Inland transportation and storage must be arranged. Distribution centers must be established and maintained. In the case of school lunch programs gifts of surplus food need to be processed and sometimes supplemented by other food which must be purchased in the open market.

Finally, gifts of surplus commodities raise questions of concern both to us and to recipient governments: How long should such grants be continued? How large should they be permitted to become? Obviously it is not desirable for recipient nations to become so dependent upon gifts from the United States that they lose interest in developing their own agriculture or suffer severe repercussions if U.S. supplies have to be curtailed.

It distresses me to have to point out the limitations we face in distributing food abroad when we are all painfully aware that our storage bins are groaning with more than we can possibly use. I should like nothing better than to come up with a magic formula to solve this dilemma. Perhaps one of you can. Until it is forthcoming, I must regretfully say that, useful as they are, foreign programs are not a magic formula for absorbing all of our surpluses. Foreign programs can and do channel a substantial portion of them into useful purposes. But in the last analysis we must look elsewhere for the answer to the surplus problem.

Outlook for Marketing of American Farm Products

On the brighter side I can report that the outlook for expanding normal commercial markets abroad for American farm products is definitely improving.

Perhaps the most encouraging note is that the postwar recovery and subsequent development of

the major trading countries of Western Europe have reached a point where they can use black ink in striking a balance on their international payments accounts. This was heralded last December when they made their currencies convertible in international trade. Other countries, closely related to them economically, also made adjustments in their exchange controls.

The return to currency convertibility opens up a whole new era in world trade by permitting the abolition of trade discriminations resulting from balance-of-payments difficulties. There is no longer any balance-of-payments justification for discriminating against American products. The United States is pressing strongly for the prompt elimination of such discrimination. We are taking every possible advantage of opportunities to expand world markets for our agricultural products. A new and major opportunity will come during the next round of worldwide negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which are scheduled to begin next fall.

In conclusion let me say that Soviet Premier Khrushchev's visit to Iowa on his first trip to the United States had great significance.³ He saw for himself that American farmers live in fine homes, that their children receive the best education, that their farms are lighted by electricity and equipped with electric power, and that their work is done largely by machinery. He saw how abundant is the yield of the soil and how relatively little manpower is required to unlock its riches. He saw how one-eighth of the people in the United States produce enough food for all—as well as an abundance to send abroad—whereas it takes nearly half of the people in the Soviet Union to produce a diet substantially lower.

In short, Mr. Khrushchev saw translated into reality a dream of productivity and prosperity which must have had a profound effect upon the world's leading Communist. For what Mr. Khrushchev wants—what he boasts of someday accomplishing—is what you have already achieved here in Iowa.

When Mr. Khrushchev was in the United States he often gave the appearance of a man who had come to inspect a dying civilization. He proclaimed that "communism is the wave of the future." After seeing your prospering farmlands,

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1959, p. 476, and Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

after visiting our thriving plants and factories and commercial centers, and, most important of all, after sensing the temper and determination of the American people, Mr. Khrushchev could hardly have taken these illusions home with him intact.

All of Mr. Khrushchev's talk about "catching and surpassing" the United States is based on the false assumption that America will stand dumbly still or fail to realize our potential for accelerated growth. If we were indeed to stand still, then Mr. Khrushchev's boast would almost certainly someday be fulfilled. But will we? Or will we redouble our efforts, stimulate our own growth and that of the rest of the free world, and thus demonstrate to the newly developing nations that freedom, not tyranny, is the wave of the future?

The answer rests with you.

Panama Reassured on Titular Sovereignty in Canal Zone

Statement by Deputy Under Secretary Merchant¹

I am leaving Panama after a short visit during which I have been received with the utmost friendliness and courtesy.

Ambassador [Julian F.] Harrington and I have had a series of extremely useful discussions with President de la Guardia, Foreign Minister Miguel Moreno, and their associates. These talks reflected the common desire to see restored to the relations between the two countries the warm and close association which has traditionally existed. The opportunity was provided for a comprehensive review of outstanding problems, and on both sides there was an expression of intent and desire to find acceptable solutions.

I was reassured by the firm expression on the part of the Panamanian Government of its intention to afford to American lives and property in Panama the protection customarily provided by one friendly state to the nationals of another.

There was discussion of certain measures which the United States Government contemplated inaugurating with the restoration of normal condi-

tions. These measures, which had been decided upon more than a month ago, were responsive to certain complaints made in the past by the Panamanian Government and contemplate additional benefits which will redound to Panama's economic well-being.

During the course of our discussions, in response to a question by the President of Panama, I assured him that the policy of the United States Government with respect to the status of the Canal Zone remains as it had been stated more than 50 years ago to the effect that the United States recognizes that titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone remains in the Government of Panama.

United States Experts Named for Geneva Technical Talks

Press release 818 dated November 24

The Department of State announced on November 24 that the following will participate as experts from the United States in technical discussions among the United States, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R., which will convene at Geneva to consider technical data relating to the detection and identification of seismic events and technical criteria for onsite inspection beginning November 25:

James Brown Fisk, *chairman*, Executive Vice President, Bell Telephone Laboratories

Hans A. Bethe, Professor, Cornell University

Harold Brown, Associate Director, Livermore Laboratory

Richard Foose, Stanford Research Institute

Richard L. Garwin, International Business Machines Corp.

Spurgeon Keeny, Jr., Technical Assistant, Office of the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology

Albert Latter, Physics Division, Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif.

J. Carson Mark, Director, Theoretical Division, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory

Jack E. Oliver, Lamont Geological Observatory

Wolfgang K. H. Panofsky, Director, High Energy Physics Laboratory, Stanford University

Frank Press, Director, Seismological Laboratory, California Institute of Technology

Carl F. Romney, Assistant Technical Director, Office of Atomic Energy, Department of Defense

John Tukey, Princeton University

Anthony L. Turkevich, Enrico Fermi Institute for Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago

¹ Made upon his departure from Panamá on Nov. 24 (press release 817). For background, see BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 827.

Secretary Herter's News Conference of November 24

Press release 819 dated November 24

Secretary Herter: I have no special announcement to make.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there has been quite a lot of speculation in London in the last couple of days that it may not be possible to have an East-West summit conference—that is, until 1961. Do you know of any change in the plans for a meeting in the next year?

A. No, I haven't heard of any such plans. We have been in consultation with our colleagues through diplomatic channels on the subject. No date has been set, and possibly no date will be set until the meeting on the 19th of December in Paris; but I have heard nothing whatever about a postponement to the later date that you have in mind.

Q. Mr. Secretary, with respect to this same subject, you were quoted last week, I believe, as saying you hoped or believed to have agreement with Russia by December 19th on the date for a conference. Has something happened to change that?

A. No, I am afraid I must have been misinterpreted on that. The December 19th date I had in mind would be the one in Paris when the Western Four meet.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that same connection, do you see any evidence that Mao Tse-tung has exerted pressure on Mr. Khrushchev to put off the conference?

A. No, we have no evidence on that one way or another.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in your New York speech¹ you expressed hope that a common language could be worked out with the Soviets, and you also said you thought perhaps ground rules for cosurvival

might be possible. Could you elaborate on that? What specifically do you have in mind as ground rules?

A. Ground rules presumably deal with such matters as surprise attack, as disarmament—rules of that kind with respect to the weapons of war.

Q. Mr. Secretary, does the appointment of General [Williston B.] Palmer as the director of military aid make any difference in the arrangement you have on that now?

A. No, none at all.

Q. Who will have the final word?

A. You mean with respect to military aid?

Q. Yes. I mean, who determines the amount? Do you have a voice in that?

A. Very much so. Mr. Dillon is the coordinator, and he has the final responsibility in that.

Q. Who makes policy on that?

A. He has the policy responsibility but works very closely in cooperation with the Defense Department.

Q. How have you worked in the past so as to have this general put in?

A. This is entirely within the purview of the Defense Department. As I understand it, General Palmer is to be assigned to the office of Mr. [John N.] Irwin [II], Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, and Mr. Irwin has always been our principal associate in the Defense Department in these matters.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in the amendment of the Mutual Security Act of last year, didn't the amendment give you the authority to set policy on mutual security, to state whether there should be military aid and how much in any particular country?

¹ BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 819.

A. That is correct. We have the final policy decision.

Q. Can you tell us, in your view, what is the main purpose of the President's forthcoming trip?²

A. The President is holding a press conference next week, and I think it would be more appropriate for him to speak for himself on that.

U.S. Views on NATO Proposals

Q. Mr. [Paul-Henri] Spaak, the Secretary General of NATO, has in the last week said on a number of occasions he favored expanding the concept of NATO and increasing its responsibility. Specifically it should take a more active role in coordinating economic policy, setting up committees on specific areas—Africa and the Middle East, et cetera. What is the United States view of these proposals and ideas?

A. I think any proposal made by Mr. Spaak is one we would take seriously. We have the greatest respect for him in his position and as an individual. I wouldn't want to comment on the economic side of it beyond saying that I am not certain that NATO is the proper instrument for economic cooperation. However, there is no question but what greater consultation on political matters in NATO is a desirable thing. Whether or not special regional committees should be set up is something the NATO organization should study carefully. I wouldn't want to comment on that specifically at this time.

Q. Mr. Secretary, it has been said in connection with the current "Buy American" position,³ one of the reasons this is being done is in the hopes of heading off more severe action by Congress in the coming session. Is this the case, and do you feel Congress is being headed off?

A. On the latter part of the question, I will not comment. On the first part of the question, I don't think it was done with the intention of heading off Congress in any way. It was done as

² For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1959, p. 742, and Dec. 7, 1959, p. 823.

³ For statements concerning the procurement policies of the Development Loan Fund and the International Cooperation Administration, see *ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 708.

a prudent step and not too vital a step from the point of view of trying to be of assistance in rectifying this adverse balance.

Easing Tensions in the Middle East

Q. Mr. Secretary, what is the United States doing to help ease tensions in the Middle East and to help solve some of the problems there of an international concern?

A. That is a very broad question. As far as the Middle East is concerned, we will do all we can to normalize our relationship. There has been a strained relationship with different countries of the Middle East. I think our relationship with Egypt is better than it was. The same holds true in Iraq.

With respect to the tensions specifically as between Israel and the Arab states, we have always made any move we thought would be constructive to assist in that matter. At the moment there is a discussion going on in New York in connection with the Palestine refugees, and we hope that at those discussions some light will be thrown on finding an eventual solution of that very difficult problem.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Senator [Albert] Gore and Senator [Gale W.] McGee are now in the Near East, and they say they have asked you to have the Department look into what they call the corruption in American financial projects in Jordan regarding the Arab refugee camps. Can you tell us if the Department is doing anything on that?

A. The administering organization is a United Nations organization. The very matter the Senators have raised is one discussed in the debate at the United Nations. This has to do with the question of ration cards, of which many are in circulation for people who are either at work or are no longer alive. At the same time, others have not been issued for newborn children. In other words, there seems to be a sort of balance on the total but somewhat improperly applied. I am advised that the United Nations is taking this matter under serious consideration and has been promised cooperation by the countries involved, principally Jordan, in rectifying it.

Q. Mr. Secretary, Congressman [Charles O.] Porter of Oregon and Senator [Clair] Engle are

Mr. Dillon and European Officials Discuss Economic Subjects

Press release 821 dated November 25

Under Secretary Dillon will visit Europe during the period December 7-14. He plans to depart from New York on December 7, arriving in London on that day, proceeding to Brussels on December 10, to Paris on December 11, and returning to the United States on December 14.

During his trip Mr. Dillon plans informal discussions with officials of the U.K., France, Belgium, and perhaps other countries, on a number of economic subjects, including the new European Free Trade Association, assistance to the less developed areas, and discriminatory restrictions against dollar exports. In Brussels he will meet with officials of the European Economic Community. While in Paris Mr. Dillon will meet with economic counselors from various American embassies in western Europe.

Under Secretary Dillon will be accompanied by John M. Leddy and Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., Special Assistants to the Under Secretary, and by Dorothy S. de Borchgrave, personal assistant to the Under Secretary.

in the Far East, and both of them have commented very favorably on the so-called Conlon report⁴ on the disturbance of our allies out there over some of our own representatives. I wonder if you want to comment on this matter.

A. I was asked once before if I would comment on that particular report. This was made to a Senate committee. It isn't an official report of the committee itself, and, unless the committee sends it to us and asks for our comment, it will not be commented on.

Q. When the Cuban labor group withdrew from the American regional organization of labor, day before yesterday [November 22], it did so because it charged the regional organization was an agency of United States imperialism. Would you care to comment on that?

A. I would just say it was an absurd charge. That particular organization is part of an organ-

ization [International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] which encompasses many countries in Europe, in North Africa, in South America, and elsewhere, and to say that it is dominated by the United States has no basis whatever in truth.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there has been a great deal of discussion by the officials of the Japanese Government respecting the new U.S.-Japanese security treaty in terms of rationale and detail. There has been very little of that here. I wonder if, now that the treaty is near signature, you would be willing to give us your views as to what the United States is getting out of the new arrangement and how you regard the degree of alliance it would produce?

A. On that I feel that I should not go into detail because it is still under discussion. I will say this, however. This is a treaty being negotiated between equals for the mutual benefit of two equal, independent nations. From that point of view we regard it with the greatest seriousness and importance. We hope very much we will be able to reach agreement on the terms of it in the near future.

The Common Market and the Outer Seven

Q. Mr. Secretary, the expectation is that there will be negotiations soon between the Common Market and the so-called Outer Seven.⁵ I wonder if you think it would be desirable for the United States to participate.

A. On that I would rather not comment again because of the fact that we are not familiar as yet with the details of the Outer Seven agreement which has been signed, and in addition we don't want to barge in where we are not invited. I think that in December Mr. Dillon will be taking a trip to Europe in which he will be talking to members of both groups in order to familiarize himself in greater detail with the implications of both agreements and the possibility of their working together.

[Mr. Dillon will leave Washington December

⁴ United States Foreign Policy, Asia: Studies Prepared at the Request of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations by Conlon Associates Ltd., No. 5, Nov. 1, 1959 (86th Cong., 1st sess., committee print).

⁵ The term "Outer Seven" refers to Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, which have agreed to establish the European Free Trade Association.

7, spend December 8 and 9 in London, December 10 in Brussels, December 11, 12, and 13 in Paris, and return to Washington December 14.]

Q. Mr. Secretary—back to our security in the Far East—last week Syngman Rhee said he would be willing to be the first of our allies in the Far East to receive the big IRBM and ICBM missiles. Can you tell us, sir, whether any such negotiations are going along, and, if so, would they be along the lines of the Turkish agreement?

A. There are no such negotiations going on that I know of.

Q. Mr. Secretary, could you give the considerations which led to the President's adding Spain to the list of countries on his trip?

A. Well, I don't know that there is necessarily a change of circumstances. The President, of course, on his trip was going very close to Spain. He was invited to go to Spain, and he accepted the invitation.

Geneva Technical Talks

Q. Mr. Secretary, Mr. McCone⁶ said last Sunday he hoped that a complete ban on atomic explosions could be achieved but he didn't think it could be possible to police a complete ban. This seemed to bear on the technical talks beginning in Geneva again tomorrow.⁷ Could you tell us what your judgment is of a possibility of policing a complete ban?

A. Well, I would hesitate very much reaching a conclusion on that until the experts have met, as they are planning to meet tomorrow, and examine all the data that is now available and all studies that have been made. The purpose of that meeting is to examine that data and to determine whether or not existing technological instrumentation is adequate to detect all types of underground tests or only some underground tests, and what kind, and what improvements are likely to be made in the instrumentation itself. It's going to be a very highly technical discussion. It will have a very important bearing on what kind of an agreement might be made.

⁶ John A. McCone, Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

⁷ For an announcement naming the U.S. technical experts, see p. 859.

Q. Mr. Secretary, do you expect either Britain or Russia to come up with separate scientific findings on the difficulties of detecting underground tests?

A. We don't know. The British and ourselves are in complete agreement on this. The Russians up to now have refused to examine the new data that we had made available to us as a result of the Hardtack series that was conducted last fall.⁸ This willingness of their scientists to meet with ours is in the context of their examining all the data that we present there. What findings they will reach I obviously cannot predict in advance. If they reach different findings, they will of course submit minority and majority reports, or separate reports.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on that same subject, you have said in the past, I believe, you would not favor continuing the voluntary suspension of testing on the part of the United States much beyond the end of the year. What would the position be if in Geneva they reached an agreement on atmospheric suspension and reserved the question of underground testing? Would we go ahead and test underground?

A. Well, that is a determination that still has to be made. But we have taken no obligation to continue the moratorium on underground testing.

Q. Mr. Secretary, upon leaving Panama today, Mr. Merchant said that he had discussed some measures with the Panamanian Government to meet some of their complaints.⁹ He said some of these measures had been thought of before the recent troubles and some conceived since. Can you tell us specifically what those measures are?

A. No, I won't go into the details of those measures, but I will say they had been considered before the recent troubles. The complaints arose largely through interpretation of treaty provisions. And we are in a position, I believe, to discuss them, assuming normal conditions are restored in Panama, in a way to resolve them in a satisfactory manner.

Q. Mr. Secretary, there is a report from London

⁸ For a summary of the conclusions reported by the Panel on Seismic Improvement, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1959, p. 16.

⁹ See p. 859.

today that we might propose a second go-round on the surprise-attack disarmament negotiations. Is there something like that being contemplated?

A. I saw that report, and it was news to me. I don't know where it came from.

Q. Can you also tell us what the status is of the Coolidge committee report?¹⁰

A. They are still working on it.

Q. Is that expected before the end of the year, before you go to Paris?

A. I think there may be a progress report before that time, but I doubt if it will be completed before the end of the year.

Q. Sir, was there any thought of President Eisenhower's stopping off in the Middle East—the Arab part of the Middle East—or in Israel during his trip?

A. No. The difficulty, of course, with the President's trip is that it was bounded by two dates—the one when he had to be in India, the other when he had to be in Paris—and the only stops that he could make within that framework were those almost on the direct line from one place to the other.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what are your plans for the Inter-American Advisory Committee?¹¹ When will it meet, and what do you plan to lay forth?

A. We hope to have a meeting of that committee very soon. The individuals, as you know, are very busy ones, and scattered, but they are a very distinguished group. We hope to review with them both the policies that you might call short-range policies and the policies which are long-range policies, and we hope to get their advice in respect to both categories.

The Berlin Situation

Q. Mr. Secretary, former Secretary Acheson gave a speech before the NATO parliamentarians last week in which he said it was a mistake for the Allies to talk to the Russians about Berlin at all, because almost any arrangement that might come

up now would be worse than the one we now have. What do you think of this view?

A. Well, I don't necessarily share the view. I read the speech very carefully. And it seemed to me that what Mr. Acheson had done was to build up a number of straw men and then knock them down. The assumption he made was that the Russians would be insisting still on the same position that they held a year ago last November, when this crisis was first precipitated. Actually they have come a very long way from that. In addition, I don't think that he had any grounds for assuming that we were necessarily going to make concessions which would be detrimental. I think that was entirely speculation on his part.

Q. Sir, what do you think of his statement that this administration has no foreign policy but the policy of locomotion? (Laughter.)

A. It's a good phrase. (Laughter.) But, as far as its meaning is concerned, I have very serious doubts that it has any meaning at all. The administration, it seems to me, has a very distinct foreign policy. If one means that one will have one foreign policy in detail in the Far East, another in Latin America, and another in Europe, I would not say that it was true. But our principal objective has been very clearly enunciated, and the methods we are using to achieve those objectives obviously vary in different countries and in different sections of the world.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what do you mean when you say the Russians have come a very long way from their position on Berlin last year?

A. Well, last year, in November, when Mr. Khrushchev made his first speech precipitating the Berlin crisis, he stated that we had no legal rights in Berlin, that they were planning to throw us out, and that this was something that they had planned to do as a unilateral action. Since that time they have admitted our legal rights—admitted them several times, and completely. They have furthermore moved away from the threat of taking unilateral action.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you any comment on the publication in Soviet newspapers of the complete text of speeches by yourself and Mr. Acheson?

A. No, I don't know how to interpret it. Whether this is the beginning of a new policy,

¹⁰ For a White House announcement regarding the committee headed by Charles A. Coolidge, see BULLETIN of Aug. 17, 1959, p. 237.

¹¹ For background, see *ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1959, p. 823.

with editorial comment in each case on the particular speeches that they publish, I don't know. But it certainly was a surprising development that they would publish those speeches in full.

Q. Mr. Secretary, were you disturbed at the editorial comment so favorable about your own speech?

A. Well, the editorial comment, if you read all of it, you wouldn't find quite so favorable. The favorable extracts were printed here, but the full flavor of it was that I was still very much imbued with the cold-war spirit.

Q. Mr. Secretary, is it then your position that you think a new arrangement can be reached on Berlin which is better than what we now have?

A. It can be. I'm not sure that it will be. I wouldn't predict that it necessarily would be. I think we would like to make a better arrangement if we could. I think that probably those who are satisfied with the present *status quo* worry lest an effort to make a new arrangement would lead to what has been called, I think, the *status quo minus*.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you seen any basic change in the substantive position that Mr. Khrushchev took a year ago and as of today, or are the changes that you see merely procedural? Has he changed, in other words, in his basic demand that we get out of Berlin, or has he merely changed in the way we will do it and the timing and the threat and all the rest? Has there been any change on that, that he is going to get us out?

A. His objective is still that he is going to get us out.

Q. Mr. Secretary, would you comment, sir, on the report of the Comptroller General on our aid program to India that was issued several months ago and came to light again just recently?

A. That report, as I understand it, was made with respect to the operations in India from 1955 to 1958. The operations that were most criticized, namely, the ineffective use of certain commodity deals, actually had been remedied at the time of the GAO [General Accounting Office] visit to India in 1957. I think that the GAO, you will find in that report, does say that many of the

things of which they had complained in there were on their way to rectification.

Question of Banning Nuclear Tests

Q. Mr. Secretary, you envisaged a few minutes ago agreement out of the technical talks or an agreement to disagree on the minority report and a majority report. How do you envisage proceeding then on the political negotiations toward a test ban—toward a complete ban or a partial ban or some other?

A. No, I think it would be very difficult to come to a complete ban which would include underground testing if our scientists, in their objective judgment, felt that the instrumentation that might be available was not good enough to be an effective deterrent from the point of view of inspection.

Q. Mr. Secretary, if additional nations develop nuclear weapons capability, do you think that will make it more difficult to control nuclear weapons? Would you please make special reference to Sweden and its plans perhaps to go ahead with development of nuclear weapons?

A. No. I'm not going to comment on any particular nation wanting to go ahead on the development of nuclear weapons. But, in answer to the first part of your question, I would certainly say that the greater the proliferation of nuclear weapons the greater the control problem will become.

Q. Sir, have you given any consideration to the possible effect on U.S. relations with Latin America if the Cuban federation goes ahead in forming this inter-American organization excluding the United States?

A. No, I don't think we have speculated on that as yet.

Q. Mr. Secretary, have you received a protest from the French Government about the granting of visas to, I think, three people, members of the FLN [Fédération de Libération Nationale] to come to the United Nations?

A. Yes. We did receive a protest on that. And we explained to the French what both our traditional and legal positions were in this matter. Traditionally, we have always granted visas to persons with whom we disagree politically if that were the only quarrel that we had with them. Under the immigration and naturalization laws

we can withhold visas to anarchists, Communists, and criminals—I think there are a few others, but very definite categories—the admission of whom would be detrimental to our security and interests.

From a legal point of view and from our traditional point of view, we felt that we could not withhold these visas. But we have explained very carefully to the French that the granting of the visas is in no way related to our own attitude on the efforts of General de Gaulle to find a peaceful solution in Algeria, an attitude which both the President and I in separate statements¹² made very clear as far as the French are concerned.

Q. Mr. Secretary, can any sort of a disarmament agreement be feasible without the participation of Red China?

A. That is very much of a question, and I wouldn't presume to answer it at the present time.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said a few moments ago that the Inter-American Advisory Commission or Council will meet soon. Would that be before you go to Europe?

A. I hope so.

Q. Mr. Secretary, General Draper¹³ said last week that neither military nor economic foreign aid figured in the balance very greatly—in the balance-of-payments problem—and therefore he advocated no cuts in both programs. Would you agree with the Chairman of the President's committee?

A. Well, I think he was talking primarily of military aid. I wouldn't think consciously he was talking of other aid. In military aid the great preponderance of military aid is in hardware, and that hardware is virtually all purchased in the United States. So that, if the purchase is being made here in the United States, the balance-of-payments problem does not enter into it.

Q. He said on the economic side that it probably wouldn't affect the balance of payments more than 10 percent of the deficit.

A. I'd be surprised if he spoke about that. He may have given the percentage to the total, but undoubtedly it does affect the balance of payments to a certain extent.

¹² *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1959, p. 500.

¹³ William H. Draper, Jr., chairman of the President's Committee To Study the United States Military Assistance Program.

President Names Edward Page U.S. Minister to Bulgaria

The Department of State announced on November 23 (press release 815) that President Eisenhower, in another major step in the resumption of diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, had on that day named Edward Page, Jr., to be the U.S. Minister to Bulgaria. The U.S. Legation at Sofia is expected to open early in 1960.

The agreement to resume diplomatic relations between the United States and Bulgaria was reached on March 24, 1959. It has been agreed that Peter G. Voutov, Permanent Representative of Bulgaria at the United Nations, will be the Bulgarian Minister to the United States.

The American Legation was closed by the United States in February 1950 following charges made against Minister Donald R. Heath in the course of the so-called Traicho Kostov trials.¹ During the conversations which preceded the agreement to resume relations, the Bulgarian representative stated that the Bulgarian Supreme Court, in annulling the sentences in the Kostov trials on November 6, 1956, had withdrawn the charges against Mr. Heath as groundless.

Albanian Independence Day

Department Statement

Press release 824 dated November 27

November 28, the 47th anniversary of Albanian independence, will be widely observed by Americans of Albanian descent and by Albanians throughout the world. This important event in the long and courageous struggle of the Albanian people for national existence has particular significance to all free peoples at a time when the Albanian nation is subjected to Soviet domination. The Government and people of the United States, in their continuing search for peace with justice among nations, look with sympathy and understanding upon the aspirations of the Albanian people for national independence and the full enjoyment of human rights and freedoms.

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of Jan. 30, 1950, p. 159; Mar. 6, 1950, pp. 351-356; Mar. 13, 1950, p. 397; and Mar. 20, 1959, p. 442.

Some Implications of Soviet Economic Development

*Statement by Allen W. Dulles
Director of Central Intelligence*¹

Few subjects arouse more heated controversy than that which your committee is studying; namely, the comparison of the economies of the United States and the Soviet Union.

There are proponents of the view that the Soviet Union is relatively backward. There are others who picture it as a galloping giant which exceeds us not only in its present speed but in staying power.

In the Central Intelligence Agency we devote a major effort to the analysis of this problem. We gather together the best technicians available, in and out of Government, to advise us on the various aspects of the Soviet economy—from agriculture on the one hand to the most sophisticated technical and military items on the other. We have a great mass of evidence to weigh. We try to do it without prejudice.

We have also carefully reviewed the papers which your committee has already received and published. You are to be congratulated on the general excellence of these studies.

Divergence of Views Among Experts

There are many reasons for the divergence of views among experts. A great deal depends upon the particular sector of the Soviet economy that is under study.

The Soviet Union is extremely proficient in certain areas, especially in the scientific and technological fields related to its military effort. In other areas, which up to the present time the

Soviets have considered secondary, their performance ranges from fair to mediocre.

In some important areas, particularly agriculture, their efforts have been hampered by the tendency to impose on the tillers of the soil some of the precepts of Marx through the system of collective farms and rigid state control. Such ideological considerations, in recent years at least, have not hampered their progress in the field of science and technology.

Returning American experts after visiting the U.S.S.R. reflect these contrasts. Those experts who have concentrated their study on Soviet achievements in the fields of steel production, heat-resistant metals, electronics, aeronautics and space technology, atomic energy, machine tools, and the like, come back with the general findings that the U.S.S.R. is highly competent.

On the other hand, those who have studied what the Soviets are doing in agriculture, roadbuilding, housing, retail trade, and in the consumer goods field, including textiles, find them lagging far behind us. Some recent returning visitors to the Soviet Union remarked with surprise that they can send a Lunik to the moon but don't bother to make the plumbing work.

This is a crude comparison but does help to illustrate where Soviet priorities lie.

The lag I have mentioned does not reflect Soviet inability to do these particular things. It does evidence a definite decision to defer them to the higher priority objectives of industrial and military power and an unwillingness, at this time, to devote the funds and manpower necessary to the modernization of production equipment in the consumer goods field.

¹ Made before the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress on Nov. 13.

U.S.S.R. a Country of Concentration

At first blush one might conclude that the U.S.S.R. was a country of contrasts, but this is only superficially true. It is a country of concentration—concentration on those aspects of production and of economic development which the Soviet leaders feel will enhance their power position in the world. Theirs is a materialistic society. They assign a low priority to those endeavors which would lead to a fuller life for their people.

The attitude they take toward automobiles is a good illustration of this policy. Mr. Khrushchev was undoubtedly impressed by the view he gained of our overall economic strength. He was by no means persuaded that he should emulate us in the automotive field. In an address at Vladivostok about a month ago he said that it was,

. . . not at all our aim to compete with the Americans in the producing of a large number of cars. . . . We shall produce many cars but not at the moment. We want to set up a different system for the use of cars than the one in capitalistic countries. . . . Cars will be used in our country more rationally than it is done by the Americans. Common taxicab parks will be widely developed in our country, where people will take cars for essential purposes.

He did not add—but it does cross one's mind—that his system also gives the regime a better chance to maintain its control over the people.

In effect Khrushchev is also implying that he does not propose to divert to car production resources which could contribute to build up heavy industry and military strength.

Another illustration of the Soviet ability to concentrate and allocate resources for the greater power of the state is in the use made of highly skilled manpower, including scientists and technologists.

Once they have determined upon a high-priority project—and they have fewer echelons of decisions to surmount than we before the final go-ahead is given—they are able to divert to this project the needed complement of the ablest technicians in the U.S.S.R. which the particular task demands. They can also quickly allocate the necessary laboratory or factory space and manpower required. Today, although their overall resources are far less than ours, they can allocate what is necessary if the priority is high enough.

They cannot do everything at once, and they do not work on as many competing designs as we.

But in many of the technical and military fields the leadtime from the drawing board to the finished product is less with them than with us. This seems to be true despite the fact that, generally speaking, the technical competence of our labor, man for man, exceeds theirs.

Furthermore our military production program is in competition, as respects brains in the planning and brawn in the production, with the requirements for the manufacture of consumer goods. In the Soviet Union this type of competition now can be suppressed.

The Soviets are also quick to review industrial and military programs when they find them inconsistent with their overall goals or too costly in terms of money or manpower. In 1956 they advertised widely a program in the field of nuclear power, for industrial and peaceful purposes, of 2,500 megawatts to be achieved in 1960. Gradually they have screened this down to a point less than 30 percent of their initial goal. Apparently they found it too costly for what they were achieving, whether in terms of electric power or in terms of its propaganda value.

While they keep as secret as they can the details of their military programs and progress, Mr. Khrushchev did tell us that heavy bombers should be consigned to museums and that he is generally turning from bombers to missiles. The evidence tends to bear out a change in policy here as well as in naval construction, where the building of cruisers has apparently been halted.

While we know a great deal more about their overall military programs than the Soviet tells us, their screen of secrecy makes it difficult to estimate with precision the exact percentage of the Soviet gross national product (GNP) which it absorbs. We estimate, however, that, with a GNP of about 45 percent of ours—computed on the same basis as we compute our own—their military effort, in terms of value, is roughly comparable to our own—a little less in terms of hardware produced but substantially more in terms of manpower under arms. Military hardware comes out of the most efficient sector of their economy.

With respect to the productivity of Soviet labor generally, the comparative picture is very different. Today they have on the farms over 45 mil-

lion men and women, or nearly one-half of their total labor contingent. With us the number of workers in agriculture is only about 10 percent of our total labor force, and with this force we produce about one-third more than does Soviet agriculture. In the industrial sector they have 20 percent more labor than we to produce the equivalent of about 40 percent of our total production.

Position of Prerevolutionary Russia

It is the task of this subcommittee, I understand, to reach some conclusions regarding the present strength of the Soviet economy, its past rates of progress, and its prospects for future growth. With these introductory remarks on the general background of the Soviet economy and its overall objectives, I will turn to the particular subjects of your inquiry.

The year 1913 is taken as the base for many Soviet studies and claims. The Soviets try to picture prerevolutionary Russia as the economic counterpart of black Africa today. The official myth about the relative backwardness of imperial Russia has been deliberately created so that Communist economic achievements will appear to be even greater than in fact they have been. The Soviet party line would have you believe that Russian industrial output was less than 7 percent of that of the United States in 1913.

Recently the dean of Soviet economists, Academician [Stanislav] Strumilin, published a pamphlet which deflated official Communist claims. He calculated Soviet 1913 output at between 11 and 12 percent of that of the U.S. Having passed his 80th birthday, Strumilin undoubtedly felt it was time to write objectively.

The weight of evidence, as I see it, would place prerevolutionary Russia as the sixth or seventh largest industrial power of its time, though relatively backward by then existing Western European standards of per capita output.

Further, Russia had in hand many of the keys for rapid economic development which were, of course, taken over by the Communists after 1917. For example, its agricultural output in 1913 was not only able to provide an adequate diet for its people but also to generate an export surplus. There was no pressure of population against food resources.

The country was richly endowed with coal, iron ore, petroleum deposits, and other essential in-

dustrial materials. For example, Russia accounted for about half the world's production of petroleum in the early 1900's. After the subsequent major discoveries in the United States, Russia's relative position declined, but in 1913 she was still a major world oil producer. Even in 1913 Russia had a modest but growing machine-building industry, a well-developed rail-transport net, a supply of technical talent, and a tradition of excellence in pure science and mathematics.

Rate of Soviet Industrial Growth

So much for what existed prior to the Communist takeover in 1917. The first major problems that faced the revolutionists were political and military—to get Russia out of the war with Germany, to bring the internal civil war to a successful conclusion, and later to resolve the battle for control within the Communist Party itself which followed the death of Lenin. This took the better part of a decade. By 1928 three important developments had taken place:

First, Stalin had emerged as the absolute victor in the internal power struggle;

Second, the economy had then been restored to its 1913 level of output; and

Third, out of the murky materialistic dogma of Marxism and Leninism, the surviving Communist leadership had molded a program of economic action which remains in force today.

The central theme of this program is forced-draft industrialization. Having determined on this objective the Communist leadership proceeded to implement their decision through the mechanism of detailed plans, rigid allocation of resources, and the use of force where necessary.

In the short space of 30 years, from 1928, despite the ravages of 4 war years and several years of reconstruction between 1941 and 1950, the Soviet Union has become second among the world's industrial powers. There is no dispute on this point.

Furthermore, in reviewing the various studies of Western scholars, I have been struck by the substantial agreement on the rate of industrial growth achieved by the Soviet Union over the period since 1950. The range of estimates is from 9 to 10.5 percent a year.

The findings of a study given you by the National Bureau of Economic Research appear on

the surface to be an exception. This exception, in my opinion, is more apparent than real. The NBER study covers civilian production only, whose annual growth is placed at 7.7 percent for the period 1950-55. The most important difference between the National Bureau's figure of 7.7 percent and our estimate of about 10 percent is due to our inclusion of military production, which looms large in the overall production figures. The addition of military equipment to the National Bureau's index would tend to raise it into the range I have indicated.

Virtually all Western measurements point to this conclusion: that Soviet industrial production has been growing at a rate at least twice as rapid as that of the United States since 1950.

In reaching this and other comparative figures of industrial production we have adjusted Soviet data to make them comparable to our own and have included in industrial production the output of all manufacturing and mining industries, as well as public utilities.

Turning from industrial production to a more comprehensive, but in many ways less significant, measure of economic growth, namely, gross national product, we find similar parallels between the CIA and independent private studies of the Soviet economy.

We estimate the growth of Soviet GNP during the present decade, 1950-58, to have been at an annual average rate of about 7 percent measured in constant prices. Estimates by others for similar time periods range from a low of 6 percent to a high of 9 percent. The degree of agreement is perhaps even closer than this range would indicate since these estimates have varying initial and terminal dates within the decade. The conclusion, then, is that Soviet GNP has also been growing twice as rapidly as that of the U.S. over the past 8 years.

Comparison of Soviet and American Growth

Some observers have noted that in the past the United States experienced long-term rates of growth comparable to the Soviet achievement from 1913 to the present. Such rough statistical equality would be true, for example, if the four decades of U.S. growth ending with our entry into World War I were selected for comparison. Those who would play down Soviet achievements

leap from this statistical springboard to the conclusion that there is nothing unique about Soviet industrial progress. Indeed, they say, we did it ourselves at a "comparable stage of development in the United States."

Such conclusions omit mention of the uniquely favorable conditions that stimulated our growth prior to World War I. Such factors include the massive immigration of European workers, the influx of investment funds to make possible our rapid rate of industrialization, and the low level of defense expenditures. The point is not only that these factors no longer exist in the United States but also that they never existed for long in the Soviet Union.

Let me illustrate this interpretation of history with another case. The National Bureau study estimates Soviet annual industrial growth from 1913 to 1955 at 3.9 percent. We have not felt that the years from 1913 to 1928 were helpful in forecasting the future. These years for the U.S.S.R. were marked by wars, internal and external, by political upheaval, mass imprisonment, and chaos. By 1928 they were about back to the 1913 level. For example, Soviet steel production in the U.S.S.R. in 1913 was a little over 4 million tons; by 1928 it was still just a little over 4 million tons.

If the first 15 years are eliminated, as we believe they should be, and growth is measured from 1928 through 1958, the conclusion is inescapable that Soviet economy has surged forward very rapidly indeed. The rate was faster than for American industry over these years, despite the effects of World War II, which stimulated industrial growth in the United States but was a disaster for the U.S.S.R.

But let us not forget that the West did the pioneering. Soviet industrial development was built upon, and profited from, the technology already developed by the West from the days of the industrial revolution.

The statement, frequently made, that much of postwar Soviet growth came from looting plants in Manchuria and East Germany does not stand up if closely examined. The early rehabilitation of war-damaged Soviet manufacturing plants was aided by these forced imports; the total benefit, however, was small compared with wartime losses.

Espionage and the reliance on outside technical experts, particularly German, is also alleged to

have been of crucial importance to Soviet industrial success since World War II. In a few key industries of military significance, most particularly in atomic energy and in the field of ballistic missiles, this had some importance in the very early stages of Soviet postwar development, but, looked at in the perspective of Soviet industrial military growth as a whole and their present competence in both the ballistic and nuclear field, these factors played a relatively minor role. They have gained much more in the overall industrial field from the acquisition and copying of advanced Western models of specialized equipment.

Future Soviet Prospects

Turning from the past to the future, we have not attempted to distill a "best estimate" of future Soviet prospects for economic growth out of the vagaries of 30 or 40 years of Soviet history. Instead we have asked ourselves three questions:

First, what have the Soviets shown a capacity to do under present prevailing conditions?

Second, what do the Soviet leaders intend to do? and

Third, what are the Soviet's prospects for the achievement of their goals, assuming there are no intervening catastrophes, such as war, famine, and the like?

As to the first point, Soviet performance on past plans, particularly postwar, has been relatively good. The fourth 5-year plan (1946-50) was fulfilled well ahead of schedule. The goals of the fifth 5-year plan were more than met.

The sixth 5-year plan was abandoned early in its life. It soon was apparent that it was too ambitious. In contrast the 7-year plan (1959-65) was more carefully drawn and is a reasonable blueprint of attainable growth. Experience teaches us that Soviet industrial plans should be taken seriously.

With respect to their intentions, the Soviet leaders have left no room for doubt. The obsession with overtaking the U.S. economy in the shortest possible historical time was the dominant theme of the 21st Party Congress, held last February. It continues to be so. Mr. Khrushchev's words to the Congress were:

The Soviet Union intends to outstrip the United States economically. . . . To surpass the level of production

in the United States means to exceed the highest indexes of capitalism.

Visitors to the Soviet Union report the slogan, "Even America must be surpassed," painted on the cowbarns throughout the country.

Goals of 7-Year Plan

The U.S.S.R. is now in the opening stages of the 7-year plan, which blueprints industrial developments through 1965. This plan establishes the formidable task of increasing industrial output by 80 percent over 7 years. The achievement of this goal will narrow the present gap between Soviet and United States industrial output. This would be particularly true in the basic raw materials and producers goods fields.

In our judgment these goals can be met, with certain exceptions.

Past Soviet economic growth has rested largely on the plowing back of every possible ruble into heavy industry, into the means of production. It is the use of steel to make steel capacity greater, rather than to use it up by manufacturing automobiles, for example.

The magnitude of the investment program in the 7-year plan—the plan that runs through 1965—is impressive by any standards of comparison. Capital investment in Soviet industry for the year 1959, the initial year of the plan, when measured in dollars, will be approximately equal to industrial investment in the United States this year. The Soviets plan proportionately larger investment outlays for the succeeding years through 1965. These absolute amounts of investment are being fed into an industrial system whose output in 1958 was only about 40 percent of that of the United States. Under such forced-draft feeding the Soviet industrial plant should grow at a rapid rate.

On the other hand we see no prospect that the agricultural goals of the 7-year plan will be approached. The dramatic increase of 7 percent per annum achieved over the 1953-58 period was the result of a 6-year effort to raise agriculture out of the trough in which Stalin had left it. A variety of factors, including increased inputs of resources, more efficient use of resources, and at least two unusually good weather years, contributed to this record growth.

We estimate, however, that these resource and efficiency gains will not be repeated in the present

plan period. Given average weather, net agricultural output will probably not increase under the 7-year plan more than 18 to 20 percent by 1965. Such a modest growth is well below the implied planned growth of 55 to 60 percent.

Of course the regime may be stimulated to undertake drastic new programs or new resource commitments not presently planned. Because the agricultural sector of the Soviet economy in the past has been its least efficient component we do not reject the possibility of more improvement than we presently forecast.

Some Foreseeable Hurdles

Apart from the problem of agricultural growth, the Soviet under the present 7-year plan will be forced to cope with certain foreseeable difficulties in addition to the unpredictable—such as acts of God and the uncertainties which might attend possible policy changes incident to any new management in the Kremlin. While these foreseeable problems are significant, we believe their impact is more likely to place a ceiling on the Kremlin's ambitions for overfulfillment rather than to threaten the success of the plan itself.

Among these foreseeable hurdles are the following:

First, due to the lower birth rate during the war years, there is an obvious gap between the 1958-65 increase in the number of persons in the working age group (15 to 69) and the labor force increment necessary to meet the planned goals. The regime has recognized this problem and is taking steps to fill the gap. The men under arms, the surplus of people on the farms (if more efficient techniques are introduced into agriculture), and students found unqualified for advanced education are possible sources of additional manpower for industry.

Second, the metallurgical raw material and the energy industries, which were slighted in the rapid expansion of the 1950-56 period, must now be brought into balance with the rest of the economy. These former stepchildren will be receiving about half of all industrial investment under the 7-year plan. This pattern of concentration of investment means that other industries which contributed much to growth in the recent past will no longer make the same relative contribution.

A third limiting factor on the 7-year plan goals will be the need for a vastly increased housing program and the claim on construction resources for this purpose. It must compete with higher priority material-strength requirements in the industrial construction sector. It will call for improvement over past performance in completing construction of industrial projects with the time and funds allotted.

Fourthly, the regime faces a complexity of problems in its attempt to increase its automation and mechanization programs.

Finally, as we have already suggested, the Soviet leadership will have difficult decisions to reach in dealing with the popular demand for more consumer goods. We believe that they now estimate that they can get away with a slight gradual improvement, which will be highly publicized and probably exaggerated. This happened in the case of the decree of a few days ago promising some additional consumer goods. If, however, the popular demand should greatly increase and the Soviet leaders made very substantial concessions in this field, it would affect the 7-year plan goals.

Need for Increasing U.S. Growth Rate

Primarily because agricultural growth will be slower than in the recent past, we project a moderate slowdown in the rate of total Soviet output, or gross national product, over the next 7 years, compared to the past 7 years. However, even so, the U.S.S.R. will achieve significant gains by 1965 in its self-appointed task of catching up with the United States, particularly in industrial production, and should substantially meet the industrial goals of the 7-year plan.

Thus we estimate that Soviet GNP will grow at the rate of 6 percent a year through 1965, and, even assuming that the United States gross national product for the years 1956 through 1965 can be increased to an annual growth rate of from 3.5 to 4 percent—our best postwar growth rate—then Soviet GNP will be slightly more than 50 percent of ours by 1965 and about 55 percent by 1970. I would emphasize that we must increase our recent rate of growth, which has been less than 3 percent over the last 6 or 7 years, to hold the Soviets to such limited gains.

In the industrial sector the race will be closer. We believe it likely that the Soviets will continue

to grow industrially by 8 or 9 percent a year. If they do so, they could attain by 1970 about 60 percent of our industrial production, provided our industrial growth rate averages $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent per annum. Any decrease in this rate would of course narrow the gap. For example, if our rate were to average the 2 percent which Khrushchev believes is the best we have in us, by 1970 the Soviets' industrial production would be more than 80 percent of ours if they maintain the rate of growth forecast.

No Reason To Accept Soviet Exaggerations

At the same time as we take note of Soviet progress, there is no reason to accept Soviet exaggerations of their prospects in the economic race.

In the propaganda surrounding the launching of the 7-year plan Khrushchev made a number of statements about Soviet economic power which were nothing more than wishful thinking. Specifically he stated that, "After the completion of the 7-year plan, we will probably need about 5 more years to catch up with and outstrip the United States in industrial output. . . . Thus," he added, "by that time [1970], or perhaps even sooner, the Soviet Union will advance to first place in the world, both in absolute volume of production and in per capita production."

From other evidence before us we do not believe that Mr. Khrushchev left the United States with any such illusion. First of all, to reach such improbable conclusions, the Kremlin leaders overstate their present comparative position. They claim U.S.S.R. industrial output to be 50 percent of that of the U.S. It is in fact nearer 40 percent. Also, as I have mentioned, this is predicated on Khrushchev's forecast that our growth will be only 2 percent a year, which is wholly unrealistic.

Another of Khrushchev's promises to his people is that they will have the world's highest standard of living by 1970. This is a gross exaggeration. It is as though the shrimp had learned to whistle, to use one of his colorful comments.

Although year by year since 1953 the Soviets have been continually raising the level of production of consumers goods, their consuming public still fares very badly in comparison with ours. This is true not only in the quality and quantity of their consumers goods but particularly in the hours of labor needed to purchase comparable products. Last year, for example, Soviet citizens

had available barely one-third the total goods and services available to Americans. Indeed, the per capita living standard in the Soviet Union today is about one-fourth that being enjoyed by our own people.

The Soviet Government last month announced the program for increasing the production of certain durable consumers goods, which I alluded to above. The decree did not mention automobiles but included refrigerators, sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, and the like.

Actually the new program covers only about 5 percent of Soviet industrial production and even in this narrow area raises goals but modestly above previous plans. The decree is one of a series introduced to provide a trickle of further benefits to the consumer at relatively small cost to the state. This does not mean that Soviet industrial investment or military programs need be reduced.

There is another economic area where the world has been treated to propaganda statements by Khrushchev. Last February he claimed, and has since repeated many times, that the Socialist camp "now accounts for over one-third of the world's industrial output" and "will produce over half of the total world industrial output by 1965."

Actually total industrial production of the "Socialist camp"—the U.S.S.R., the European satellites, and Red China—is only about 25 percent of total world output. By 1965 it will be a few percentage points higher, but free-world production will still account for over 70 percent of the total.

Conclusions

To summarize and conclude :

1. The Communists are not about to inherit the world economically. But, while we debunk the distortions of their propaganda, we should frankly face up to the very sobering implications of the Soviet economic program and the striking progress they have made over the last decade.

2. The fulfillment of the present Soviet 7-year plan is a major goal of Soviet policy. Khrushchev and the Kremlin leaders are committed to it and will allocate every available resource to fulfill it. The present indications are that Khrushchev desires a period of "coexistence" in which to reach the objectives of this plan.

3. Future economic gains will also provide the goods and the services needed to further expand Soviet military power, if they choose so to use it, and to carry forward the penetration of the uncommitted and the underdeveloped nations of the free world. These gains will also permit the Soviet to further assist in the rapid economic growth of the Kremlin's eastern ally, Communist China, if Soviet policy considerations dictate such a course.

4. If the Soviet industrial growth rate persists at 8 or 9 percent per annum over the next decade, as is forecast, the gap between our two economies by 1970 will be dangerously narrowed unless our own industrial growth rate is substantially increased from the present pace.

5. The major thrust of Soviet economic development and its high technological skills and resources are directed toward specialized industrial, military, and national power goals. A major thrust of our economy is directed into the production of the consumer-type goods and services which add little to the sinews of our national strength. Hence, neither the size of our respective gross national products nor of our respective industrial productions is a true yardstick of our relative national power positions.

The uses to which economic resources are directed largely determine the measure of national power.

NATO Council Announces 1960-61 Fellowship Program

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization announced on November 3 that the Council has now adopted the NATO fellowship program for 1960-61.

The fellowships, which are for periods of 2 to 4 months, are awarded to scholars of established reputation who are nationals of NATO countries.

The purpose of these fellowships is to promote the study of the common interests, traditions, and outlook of the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance. The Council hopes that successful candidates, after the conclusion of their research, which must be undertaken in NATO countries, will write essays on the general theme of the history, present problems, and development of the Atlantic Community.

Each fellow will be awarded the sum of 2,300 new French francs (230,000 frs.) per month or the equivalent in local currency. Travel expenses will be borne by NATO.

Application forms, including a list of the national authorities to which they must be addressed, can be obtained from NATO, Palais de Chaillot, Paris, 16e.

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

86th Congress, 1st Session

Biological and Environmental Effects of Nuclear War. Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. June 22-26, 1959. 966 pp.

Comparisons of the United States and Soviet Economies. Papers submitted by panelists appearing before the Subcommittee on Economic Statistics of the Joint Economic Committee. Part III, November 10, 1959. 69 pp. [Committee print.]

United States Foreign Policy: The Operational Aspects of United States Foreign Policy. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. No. 6. November 11, 1959. 73 pp. [Committee print.]

United States-Latin American Relations: Post World War Political Developments in Latin America. A study prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on American Republic Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the University of New Mexico School of Inter-American Affairs. No. 1. November 19, 1959. 72 pp. [Committee print.]

United States Foreign Policy: Basic Aims of United States Foreign Policy. A study prepared at the request of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by the Council on Foreign Relations. No. 7. November 25, 1959. 24 pp. [Committee print.]

U.N. General Assembly Agrees To Discuss Hungarian Question

Following are three statements made by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, during debate on the inscription of the item "The question of Hungary" on the agenda of the 14th General Assembly.

FIRST STATEMENT IN GENERAL COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 23

U.S. delegation press release 3306

The United States supports the request¹ of the United Nations Representative on Hungary [Sir Leslie Munro] that an item of an important and urgent character entitled "The question of Hungary" be inscribed in the agenda of the 14th General Assembly. The United States as a member of the General Committee has itself also requested the inscription of the item.²

This request, Mr. President, was necessitated by the resolution on Hungary adopted by the 13th General Assembly³ and the continued defiance by the present Hungarian regime and the Soviet Union of the General Assembly resolutions on Hungary.

Resolution 1312 (XIII) declared that "the United Nations will continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the fact that the Government of the USSR and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding the above-mentioned resolutions of the General Assembly." By the same resolution the General Assembly decided "to appoint Sir Leslie Munro to represent the

United Nations for the purpose of reporting to Member States or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary."

On July 9, 1959, the United Nations Representative on Hungary in a public statement⁴ revealed that his patient and quiet efforts to gain admission to Hungary in order to obtain firsthand information concerning the implementation of the Assembly's resolutions had been rebuffed by Soviet and Hungarian authorities. Sir Leslie Munro announced his intention of submitting a full report on his activities to the 14th General Assembly.

In the explanatory memorandum attached to his request for inscription, the United Nations Representative on Hungary has stated that foreign armed forces remain in Hungary and that the framework of repression remains unchanged. In spite of public assurances of the representative of the present Hungarian regime that reprisals against Hungarian patriots who fought in the 1956 uprising have ceased, the explanatory memorandum records the harsh fact that trials and executions of Hungarian freedom fighters have taken place since the last General Assembly. Apparently the end of the reign of terror is not yet in sight, for there are disturbing rumors that more executions are pending.

The United States supports the initiative of the United Nations Representative on Hungary. We deplore the circumstances that gave rise to the necessity for this important and urgent request. All members should hear what Sir Leslie Munro has to report and consider appropriate further

¹ U.N. doc. A/4285.

² U.N. doc. A/4292.

³ For background and text of resolution, see BULLETIN of Jan. 12, 1959, p. 55.

⁴ U.N. press release GA/1807.

steps to achieve the objectives of the United Nations.⁵

SECOND STATEMENT IN GENERAL COMMITTEE, NOVEMBER 23

U.S. delegation press release 3307

Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn this meeting there are certain fallacies which have been expressed here which I should like briefly to rectify. I took some notes during Mr. [V.V.] Kuznetsov's [Soviet representative] speech, and I noted some of these phrases: "dirty work," "sordid assignment," "mouthpiece for slander," "puppet," "slandereous assertions and concoctions" in my letter.

Now, I am not fortunate enough to be familiar with the Russian language, and maybe these are ordinary, routine phrases in Russian. But I have some familiarity with English and with French, and I can say that in those two languages these are extremely violent words. If Mr. Kuznetsov is really interested in lessening the cold war, he could very easily prove that fact by using parliamentary language in a parliamentary assembly. I say that to him in as bland a tone as I can use.

Then he also referred in his speech to the conversations between Chairman Khrushchev and President Eisenhower which were held at Camp David⁶ and which in a press release the other day the Soviet delegation characterized as the "spirit of Camp David."

Now, Mr. Chairman, we prize—we in the United States prize—what was achieved at Camp David, and none are more opposed than we to doing anything which would destroy it. One way to live up to that spirit is to conform with United Nations resolutions.

I feel that perhaps I have some right to talk about Camp David for the simple reason that I was there. In fact I was present at all the meetings which took place. These meetings were adequately summed up in the communique, which is well known, and I can assert that there is nothing in that communique or in what happened at Camp David to justify the declaration that the very

modest action on Hungary which we are discussing today is against the spirit of Camp David.

What is against the spirit of Camp David, Mr. Chairman, is the subversion of small countries.

What is against the spirit of Camp David are acts which turn a brave little country into a moaning colonialist slum.

What is against the spirit of Camp David is any behavior which makes a veritable mockery of peaceful coexistence.

Mr. Chairman, nothing happened at Camp David which requires us to condone evil.

Nothing happened at Camp David which requires us to pass by in silence on the other side of the street when a brutality is being committed.

Nothing happened at Camp David to prevent us from acting like human beings made in the image of God when cruelty is being practiced.

The spirit of Camp David was not intended to be a soporific to peoples in the democracies, to put them to sleep in the belief that this dangerous world, which we all hope may some day be safe, has actually been made safe.

No one looks more eagerly than I do for the day when the United States and the Soviet Union can work regularly together for the peace of the world. This is an end devoutly to be wished, and I shall always work for it.

But we work against such a day when we distort the spirit of Camp David into something which was never meant at all and which no one present thought that it meant.

I realize that there may be colleagues of mine here in this room who think that in speaking as I am now doing I am striking a false note. But I do not agree.

We can only build a peaceful world on truth, and the spirit of Camp David never told us to close our eyes to the truth.

We can only build a peaceful world on deeds—deeds of justice—and the spirit of Camp David never told us not to do such deeds.

Instead of criticizing this proposal, why don't you do something to show that you really believe in the true spirit of Camp David? Why don't you take down the barbed wire and the observation towers which now divide the poor Hungarians from Austria and the free world and which have turned Hungary into a vast human cage? Why don't you chain up the savage dogs which roam along the border to catch the miserable human beings who are seeking freedom?

⁵ The General Committee on Nov. 23 recommended the inscription of the Hungarian item on the agenda of the 14th regular session of the General Assembly by a vote of 15 to 3, with 2 abstentions.

⁶ BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

It is by deeds such as these that we can best live up to the spirit of Camp David.

Let me say in conclusion that the Camp David communique states that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation." If, therefore, we are really to live up to the spirit of Camp David, Sir Leslie Munro ought to be admitted into Hungary, the United Nations resolutions adopted by overwhelming votes should be carried out in Hungary, and the Soviet Union, instead of working against the United Nations, should work *with* the United Nations. That would be really carrying out the spirit of Camp David.

STATEMENT IN PLENARY, NOVEMBER 25

U.S. delegation press release 3313

Mr. President, the United States supports the recommendation by the General Committee that an item entitled "The question of Hungary" be included on our agenda.

Last year in Resolution 1312 (XIII) the General Assembly declared that the United Nations will continue to be seized of the situation in Hungary in view of the fact that the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the present authorities in Hungary are disregarding earlier resolutions of the General Assembly. By the same resolution the General Assembly appointed Sir Leslie Munro to represent it for the purpose of reporting on developments relating to the implementation of the Assembly resolutions on Hungary.

Sir Leslie Munro has now requested the General Assembly to consider the Hungarian situation. He reports that there has been no improvement of conditions in Hungary and calls attention to the refusal of the Hungarian authorities to cooperate with the United Nations in any way in this matter. In these circumstances the United

States also requested inscription of this item. I may say, in our opinion the request of the representative of the U.N. on Hungary would have been enough.

Nothing we know today leads us to believe that the states concerned have ceased their defiance of resolutions which were adopted by overwhelming majorities at previous sessions. As recently noted by the United Nations Representative on Hungary, foreign armed forces remain in Hungary and the framework of repression remains unchanged. In the shadow of continued trials and executions of Hungarians whose only crime was their bare-handed fight for independence against Soviet tanks in 1956, and in the shadow of the continuing reports of impending executions, it is clear that the end of the reign of terror is not yet in sight. It seems clear to the United States delegation, therefore, that we must inscribe this item and that we must consider the report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary.

As I explained in my statement in the General Committee on November 23, we regret the circumstances that gave rise to the necessity for inscribing this item. Recent events encouraged us to hope that there might be real relaxation of international tensions and improved international cooperation, which are of course the goals for which this very international Organization was established. We still hold to that hope, Mr. President, but we must set down that to attempt to sweep crimes like these under the rug will not cause these hopes to be fulfilled and will not promote peace. We accordingly urge members to join in supporting the inscription of this vital question.⁷

⁷ The General Assembly in plenary session on Nov. 25 accepted the recommendation of the General Committee by a vote of 51 to 10, with 15 abstentions.

Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries

*Statement by George Meany
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

One of the most critical problems of our time is the need for *all* nations to attain sound and sustained economic growth. This is true for countries with even the highest developed economies. It is, however, of the most crucial importance to those nations that are unable to provide their citizens with an adequate standard of living.

In today's shrinking world it is imperative that ways be found to improve the conditions of life and labor especially for the great mass of people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This is no utopian plea. We face here a practical problem. Its solution is urgent.

It has been said that "as man's understanding deepens, his environment grows ever more responsive to his wants; the world's resources become as rich as his imagination." Here is a challenge which we can and must meet. Here is our task. Such a task is deeply rooted in the humanitarian traditions of my country and its people.

And you will be interested to know that American labor has been in the front ranks of our citizenry calling for such a program of international assistance. At its last convention, the AFL-CIO, of which I have the honor to be president, unanimously adopted a resolution on foreign economic policy. Here is how we of American labor approach this issue. Let me quote from the resolution we adopted on September 20, 1959:

The possibility of economic development and industrialization has brought to hundreds of millions of people in the less developed parts of the world the hope that they can emerge from the age-old morass of poverty, disease and hunger. Many millions of these people live in newly

independent countries where political awakening has been accompanied by a determination to improve their way of life.

Escape from poverty with the assurance of freedom is possible in these lands only if economic cooperation is forthcoming from the more industrialized nations. . . .

Economic progress fostered by our cooperation should assure the maximum tangible benefits to the people in the aided areas. The fruits of economic development must be widely shared, and the foundations laid for an economic structure in the less developed countries which will strengthen the forces of freedom and democracy.

The AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress to authorize an expanded, long-term and fully effective program of economic and technical assistance to the industrially less developed nations.

The problems of economic growth assume many aspects. In many countries there is a fundamental need for improved conditions of education, health, and housing. In some areas of the world there is a race between expanding populations and the rates of economic development. But, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization, we can, with adequate investment, expand the world's arable land seven times.

It is generally agreed that the economic situation in the major industrial nations and the economic policies which they follow have a significant effect upon the economies of the less developed countries. As the Secretary-General has said in his introduction to the Annual Report of the Work of the Organization,² a sustained rate of expansion in the great industrial nations is a necessary condition for worldwide growth.

The Secretary-General has pointed out, however, and with this we also agree, that long-term

¹ Made in Committee II (Economic and Financial) on Nov. 5 (U.S. delegation press release 3282).

² U.N. doc. A/4132.

expansion in industrial countries alone does not furnish a solution to all the major problems of the developing countries. Though many countries cannot make great progress without the assistance of the more developed countries, appropriate domestic policies in the economically underdeveloped countries themselves are indispensable to healthy economic development.

The United States is fully aware of the need for continuous healthy growth of its own economy. We seek the growth of our economy and national prosperity not only for the well-being of our own people. We are firmly convinced that a prosperous America is best equipped to help and foster economic progress and human freedom. Our record, particularly since World War II, confirms this and reveals our readiness to aid generously all peoples in need. Moreover, we Americans realize that we cannot stay prosperous long in a world in which there are large depressed areas with low standards of life and crushing burdens of hunger, illness, and illiteracy.

I will not burden you at this time with facts and figures regarding the present state of our economy. We have come out of the recent recession stronger than before. In our country there is now going on a full and thorough discussion of what measures are to be taken to improve our economy so that it may serve still more effectively our own people and all nations seeking prosperity and progress in peace and freedom. Of course there are differences amongst us. But I can assure you that we will—as we have in the past—through the democratic process, devise effective measures and work out sound economic policies to lend even greater stability and new strength to our economy.

ECOSOC Report

Let me now turn to the report of the Economic and Social Council.³

The current report of the Council concerns itself with many of the problems of economic development. The report also elaborates upon the work of the Council, other organs of the United Nations, and of the specialized agencies associated with it.

A review of the important economic activities of the United Nations would be incomplete if I did

not mention the valuable contributions which these many economic agencies are making to the ultimate goal of a higher standard of living for all humanity. We welcome to the United Nations family such recent associates as the Special Fund, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, and the Economic Commission for Africa. Already the new groups are making their presence felt in constructive ways.

The creation of the Economic Commission for Africa symbolizes the dynamic growth which is taking place on that continent. The Commission will, without doubt, assume a key role in stimulating cooperative action among the African nations and can be particularly helpful in guiding the newly independent ones. It is in a position to profit from the useful experience of the other regional economic commissions, which are taking the lead on a regional basis in the critical struggle against want, ignorance, and disease. It is very appropriate that the Economic Commission for Africa was the first to include within the scope of its charter the responsibility for considering the social aspects of economic development.

The Economic and Social Council at its 27th and 28th sessions has taken several important actions in the field of industrial development and energy. At its spring meeting in Mexico City, ECOSOC approved a forward-looking program on industrialization which was widely supported by member states. Members of the Council generally approved the criteria which the Advisory Committee on the Work Program on Industrialization had proposed in its report to the Secretary-General (document E/3213), prepared in accordance with Council Resolution 674A (XXV).

Most members expressed the conviction that the program should be developed so as to contribute to the promotion of rapid industrialization of underdeveloped countries and that the nature of the work should be such that governments could use the results to meet their practical needs.

Under the first criterion most members agreed that practical projects such as those relating to industrial zones or estates and those stimulating small-scale industries should have high priority in the United Nations work program on industrial development. With respect to the second criterion the Council considered it appropriate for the

³ U.N. doc. A/4143.

Secretariat to act as a clearinghouse for the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information and to encourage the holding of conferences, seminars, and symposia to disseminate knowledge and exchange experience in the field of industrialization.

Recent reorganization and strengthening of the industry branch should further enhance the work of the Secretary-General in this expanding field of United Nations activity, which is second to none in importance.

In view of widespread interest of member governments in the work programs on industrial development, it may be timely for ECOSOC to consider the advisability of establishing an *ad hoc* committee on industrial development. Such a committee could make a study in depth of what is being done in this field by the United Nations, including the valuable work being done by the regional economic commissions and several of the specialized agencies. It should then report its findings to ECOSOC with recommendations as to what further types of projects should be undertaken by the United Nations in this field and whether any new organizational machinery, such as a functional commission, should be considered. My Government would be prepared to give careful and sympathetic consideration to a proposal along these lines if members of this committee wish to recommend such a course to the Council.

I should like to say a few words about one method of stimulating capital formation for industrial purposes to which increased attention might usefully be paid as a supplement to major multilateral capital financing programs. I refer to the possibility of the economically underdeveloped countries themselves establishing their own industrial development banks and corporations. This is not a new idea. It has been tried with considerable success in a growing number of countries which have received both technical cooperation and financial assistance from the International Bank and from some of the more advanced industrial nations. We believe many other economically underdeveloped countries could derive substantial benefits from establishing such institutions.

Such industrial banks and corporations have several significant common features, although

those in existence vary in organization and scope. Some are owned exclusively by governments, some by private groups, and some in combination. Some finance government enterprises, some private enterprises, while others act in both fields. Some lend money, some invest in equities, others do both.

All, however, provide capital, together with enterprise, to speed up the process of development when either or both of these requisites of economic growth are lacking. Most development banks create a reservoir of skilled labor and managerial experience as a byproduct. They serve principally, however, as focal points for attracting both local and foreign capital, private and public, in promoting and financing enterprises primarily in the private sector. Such industrial development banks and corporations are particularly valuable in promoting local industries which are not large enough to attract direct investments from within the country or abroad. My delegation will make a proposal concerning these valuable institutions when we discuss specific resolutions.

Energy Development

Mr. Chairman, of comparable importance to the actions of the Economic and Social Council with respect to industrial development was its adoption of resolutions on various aspects of energy development. Resolutions 710 and 711, each in two parts, were approved at the 27th session, and Resolutions 740B and 740C at the 28th session of ECOSOC.

It is not my intention at this time to examine these resolutions in detail. They are covered in the Council's report. I do consider it worth noting that a comprehensive work program for energy development has been approved by the Council and that important work is going forward in this field of United Nations activity.

The Secretary-General is working on the problem of developing a methodology for the appraisal of energy resources on a usefully comparable basis on the national, regional, or other appropriate basis.

The Secretary-General is undertaking to collect, analyze, and disseminate experience obtained in multilateral, regional, bilateral, and national

technical assistance in the field of energy resources as well as in that of industrialization.

The Secretary-General is called upon to take appropriate measures for convening a United Nations conference on solar energy, wind power, and geothermic energy, with particular reference to their application, not later than 1962.

The Secretary-General is to inform the Council, if possible at its 29th session, of the studies so far undertaken by the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies in connection with the development of petroleum resources in underdeveloped countries and to include in his report a list of the projects concerned with petroleum matters so far undertaken under the technical assistance and development programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Secretary-General is also to make available to interested participating governments particulars on how the U.N. can assist in the development of petroleum supplies in underdeveloped countries. Finally, the Council decided to consider at a later session whether additional assistance to governments in this field is called for. The ECOSOC resolution which provides for these constructive United Nations actions is now in the process of being implemented.

May I now mention one other development, undramatic but essential, which can assure us that the efforts of the United Nations are not dissipated in false starts, jurisdictional disputes, overlapping efforts, or impractical exercises.

Self-Evaluation

I refer to the growing trend toward self-evaluation—a healthy one in my opinion—exemplified by the 5-year program appraisal now in progress and by the action recently approved in the Economic and Social Council to evaluate in depth the economic research techniques used by the United Nations and its various subordinate and associated bodies.

The very fact that these attempts at self-evaluation are considered essential by many governments is, itself, a measure of the breadth and variety of United Nations programs in the economic field. After all, outside or foreign aid can only be temporary, self-liquidating projects, as it were. Its greatest success comes when it serves and stimulates countries to self-sustaining economic growth. I emphasize—foreign aid can, at most, only *supplement, never supplant or be a substitute for*, the individual and national effort in

the countries helped. Realizing this, we can all welcome the progress being made in relying increasingly on local leadership. The latter is best equipped to adapt all measures and projects to the culture, history, and interests of the nation helped.

Indeed, cooperative economic programs which would have been unthinkable even a generation ago are now making a noticeable impact.

Mr. Chairman, there is one significant initiative undertaken by the General Assembly concerning which the action thus far has been a disappointment to my Government. I refer to the request to member governments contained in G.A. Resolution 1316 (XIII).⁴ We share the views of the Under Secretary [Philippe de Seynes, Under-Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs], who said in his statement to this committee:⁵

I would venture to say that the reports which have come to us in implementation of that resolution do not seem to indicate that all Governments have appreciated the importance and scope of an undertaking of this nature.

Resolution No. 1316, initiated by the United States and cosponsored by 12 other nations, invited member states in a position to assist the economic development of underdeveloped countries to inform the Economic and Social Council at its 28th session and the General Assembly at its 14th session of measures taken or contemplated to advance the economic development of underdeveloped countries. The same resolution similarly invited the less developed countries to inform ECOSOC and the General Assembly of any measures which they may decide to take in order to advance their economic and social progress.

Such information from both the more developed and the less developed nations is important for fuller consideration of appropriate further measures which might be taken by the U.N. to further the objectives set forth in Resolution 1316. Some of the replies have been most informative and contribute to our understanding of various governmental policies to promote economic development. Unfortunately some replies are incomplete and many governments have not replied at all, as indicated by the report of the Secretary-General contained in document A/4220.

The information sought is the kind which might well lead to a valuable debate on this vital subject at some future session of ECOSOC or the General

⁴For text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 5, 1959, p. 33.

⁵U.N. doc. A/C.2/L.422.

Assembly. Without detailed information on this and other basic economic measures, it would be difficult, indeed, to envisage a rewarding result of the short, special meetings of officials at the ministerial level suggested by the Secretary-General in his recent introduction to the Annual Report of the Work of the Organization.

U.S. Programs To Aid Underdeveloped Countries

Mr. Chairman, I should like next to mention briefly certain aspects of United States programs to aid the economic development of underdeveloped countries. The task of stimulating economic growth under freedom is of an urgency and magnitude that dwarfs anything in peacetime history. As an economically advanced member of the free world, there is much that the United States is doing today to meet the challenge of international development.

To succeed we have enlisted the combined resources of our Government and of our private citizens and institutions. It will require perseverance and sustained effort over a period of many years.

We Americans, as you know, are a practical people. American trade unionists are especially practical and realistic. As an American and a trade unionist I have the strongest sympathy with the desire and determination of various peoples to build the most modern plants in the quickest possible time. Moreover, since these newer nations can benefit much from the experience and technical progress of the older and presently more economically developed countries, their economic growth will, quite naturally, not take them as long as it took the latter. Nonetheless, we should avoid those shortcuts to industrialization which might short-circuit the human aspirations, the human dignity, and rights and liberties of the people.

None of us should take a know-it-all attitude in our efforts to help the peoples of the underdeveloped areas advance technically. In fact, my Government has, in this spirit, given increasing heed to the pleas of American labor that representatives of the population in the countries which have recently won or are about to win their national independence should be drawn into and consulted in the planning and in the application of all assistance programs. There is no better way of securing the cooperation and understanding so vital to the effective use of foreign aid in any form.

We do not approach this task as a grim burden. Instead, we look upon it as an opportunity and a challenge—one which we are prepared to meet. Our direct national response, in which the Mutual Security Program plays a major part, is broad and varied. Through technical cooperation, in which our universities, foundations, and private industries as well as our Government are fully participating, we are helping to create the human skills so conspicuously lacking in some of the less developed countries.

In this connection let me tell you the findings of Mr. George Piel, publisher of the *Scientific American*. He wrote in the September 1959 issue of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*:

An example of what can be accomplished in this phase of the undertaking is furnished by Mexico. For the past 20 years The Rockefeller Foundation has been working with the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry of that country. At a cost of something less than \$2 million per year, American agronomists have been supplied to Mexico, and young Mexicans have been trained in the agricultural sciences. In this period, the food production of the country has mounted 80 per cent. The gains have been achieved by improved yields of Mexico's own staple crops, the development of new varieties of wheat and potatoes, and the establishment of something like our own county-agent system for farmer education. Not a single tractor or fertilizer plant is in the expense account; the money has been spent for the intangibles of information, education, and expert consultation. The 4 per cent per annum gain safely exceeds the 3 per cent increase in population and has brought an improvement in the people's diet that is already showing up in the vital statistics.

Through grant assistance we are providing some of the funds urgently required to bolster countries economically so that they may better cope with military and political threats from abroad.

Through a variety of institutions we are providing part of the capital needed for the basic facilities essential to growth. The Development Loan Fund is our newest financial instrument. And we are continuing to provide financing through the Export-Import Bank. The International Bank and the International Monetary Fund are, of course, now expanding their resources very substantially as a result of an American initiative.

We have now joined other members of the International Bank to implement our previous proposal that the Bank be given a new and more flexible tool for development through the creation

of an international Development Association.⁶

We have recently joined with the other American countries in creating the Inter-American Development Bank,⁷ which will soon begin to play an important role in the progress of Latin America.

Our P.L. 480 program provides resources in the form of foods and fibers to fill compelling needs which cannot, as yet, be met by developing countries through normal trade possibilities.

Encouragement of Private Investment

We realize that the present magnitude of the needs of the economically underdeveloped countries makes large-scale government help urgent. At the same time, through tax and other incentives, we are encouraging increased private investment and exploring every practical way to stimulate the flow of such investments, with all their many and varied technological skills and technical know-how, to the less developed countries. Let no one minimize or disparage the importance of this source and sort of assistance. As you know, at least one nation which has but recently reached the front ranks of modern industrialization is now seeking billions of dollars worth of credits and technical aid from American private industry for the purpose of developing a modern chemical and plastics industry and promoting automation in its economy.

Because we in the United States recognize the contribution private American business can make toward speeding the process of growth in underdeveloped areas, we are constantly seeking to give every proper encouragement to the American private investor to export his capital and his skills. They are both scarce resources in the free world today. By putting their funds and their management talents to work abroad, American investors and their counterparts in other countries not only develop effective enterprises; they also stimulate local economic undertakings and progress by the influence of our example.

In keeping with these aims the United States is continuing to expand its investment guarantee programs to facilitate the flow of private Ameri-

can capital and enterprise overseas. Government guarantees are available against inconvertibility and losses by reason of expropriation and war.

Bilateral agreements are now in effect with 42 countries by which the United States Government makes available insurance for private investment overseas against noncommercial risks.

Investment guarantee contracts issued thus far total more than \$430 million, and public interest, as measured by pending applications, remains high. Under separate programs administered by the International Cooperation Administration and the Development Loan Fund, only economically underdeveloped areas are eligible for such guarantees.

These are among the cooperative efforts to assist economic development which my Government cites in its reply to Resolution 1316 (XIII).

I should like to single out for brief comment one of the principal United States instrumentalities for development aid, the Development Loan Fund. This United States corporation was created in 1957 to support long-range growth of the economically less developed nations. The DLF undertakes financing only when funds are not available on reasonable terms from private investors, the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank, or other sources. The terms are flexible and are adjusted to meet the repayment capacity of the borrower.

The Development Loan Fund has now been functioning for over 18 months. The following aspects of its operations should be of particular interest:

First, by July 31, 1959, the DLF had committed \$835 million in loans to 40 countries;

Second, more than three-fourths of the amount lent to date provides for repayment in *local* currency, a great boon to underdeveloped countries with balance-of-payments problems;

Third, the average interest rate charged by the DLF for economic overhead loans is 3½ percent. This is well below what it costs the United States Government itself to obtain the money;

Fourth, about half of the loans already made are for construction of basic facilities in transportation, power, and communications, and the remaining half are largely for various forms of industry;

Last, but not least, nearly all of the loans

⁶ For background, see BULLETIN of Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1959, p. 646; June 8, 1959, p. 849; and June 22, 1959, p. 928.

approved are going to underdeveloped areas of the world.

Foreign Trade

All of the specific actions which I have mentioned, when taken together, provide a coherent and rounded attack on a most urgent problem of our time: the development of the economically underdeveloped areas of the world. Simultaneously, we are continuing our efforts to break down barriers to trade so that the peoples of the less developed lands may find markets for the goods which they must sell if they are to prosper.

In the field of foreign trade policy the United States continues vigorously to pursue its traditional aims of expanding international trade on a multilateral nondiscriminatory basis. It continues to support a liberal import policy. That this policy is being actively followed is evidenced by the fact that imports into my country are at an alltime high.

Among the industrially advanced countries there is to be noted an improvement in the balance-of-payments situation. This further permits the easing of trade restrictions by countries whose export earnings are largely in convertible currencies. We can now press forward more vigorously to free international trade from discrimination and restrictions.

It is heartening to note that substantial progress has already taken place. We appreciate the recent steps taken by several countries—Australia, France, Malaya, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, among others. It is not for our benefit alone that we welcome such action. The United States, for example, strongly supported the hopes of Japan at the recent meeting of the GATT⁸ for full and equal treatment under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. At the same meeting the United States also welcomed the expression of intent by the European Economic Community to emphasize the liberal orientation of its trade relations with the rest of the world.

In the GATT the United States proposal for a new round of multilateral tariff negotiations, aimed at further reductions of tariffs and other barriers to trade, was approved by the Contracting Parties in May 1959.⁹

⁸ For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1959, p. 703, and Dec. 7, 1959, p. 843.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 22, 1959, p. 917.

The United States joined with the other Contracting Parties at the 13th session of the GATT¹⁰ to set up three committees on the expansion of trade and is taking an active part in the work of the three committees.

Of direct interest to members of this committee is the task assigned to Committee III of GATT, which is considering measures for the expansion of export earnings of the less developed countries and the development and diversification of their economies. We await the outcome of GATT's inquiries into this extremely important subject with the knowledge that any measures which this expert body recommends will commend widespread attention and respect.

Primary Commodities

In the long run, progress in the trade field is at least as important to economic growth as is the provision of financial assistance. One aspect of the subject of trade which has occupied the time of so many international bodies concerns the complex issues of production and trade in primary commodities.

While the economies of the industrial countries have been expanding, many of the less developed countries have continued to face serious economic problems. The progress of a number of these countries has been held back by the exceptional difficulties which they face in their struggle to achieve self-sustaining economic growth. Also their problems have been intensified in recent years by the general decline in the prices of primary products, although some improvement of these prices is now to be noted.

As we all know, expanded trade is vitally important to the growth of these countries. Capital alone can do only part of the job. Imports must be relied upon to supply most of the capital equipment for new industries, some of the food needed for the nourishment of rapidly increasing populations, and some of the raw material supplies for manufacturing. As populations grow, living standards improve and diversification and industrialization progress. Import needs can be met by an inflow of capital from the industrialized countries. However, less developed countries must export if they are to achieve adequate economic growth.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1958, p. 930.

We must continue to search for practical solutions. The preliminary reports of GATT Committee II, relating to agricultural protectionism, and GATT Committee III, relating to specific barriers to exports from less developed areas, represent a beginning. We may also take encouragement from the steps which have been taken to deal cooperatively with the problems of individual commodities. The activities of the GATT, the United Nations Commission on International Commodity Trade, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the specialized commodity study groups represent a broad, well-balanced approach to the trade problems of the less developed countries.

The improvements that will come in the trade of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will not be the result of any single spectacular development but will flow from a variety of changes, large and small, brought about by the conscious efforts of governments and other forces. One of the points of strength in the current situation is the widespread recognition that this is so.

Cooperation for Economic Development

Fortunately we are not alone in these efforts. National programs combined with those in the international field constitute a cooperative venture in which the United States is being joined with increasing vigor by more and more of the other industrialized nations of the free world whom we have also helped to achieve their postwar economic recovery and to attain new heights of production and prosperity. In addition to their increasing participation in the effective work of the World Bank, whose capital is being doubled, and the International Monetary Fund, whose resources are being increased by 50 percent, several of the leading industrial nations last year made further governmental contributions to development through either grants or loans. Many of these programs were reported by governments in their replies to Resolution 1316 (XIII).

The flourishing economies of the other more industrially developed nations of the free world enable them to assume a growing share of the responsibility for assisting the developing countries. We believe that they will accept increased responsibility according to their capabilities. We also feel that the time has come for better coordi-

nation of free-world development efforts. An expanded and truly cooperative effort can lead to a new era in international development. Nothing is beyond the capacity of the combined economic power of the free world.

In keeping with these aims, as I mentioned a few minutes ago, the United States Government at the recent meeting of the International Bank proposed the establishment of an International Development Association. The statements made by distinguished representatives of member governments at that meeting of the Bank reveal that, apart from several technical problems which will undoubtedly be carefully considered by the Executive Directors of the Bank in drafting an IDA charter, there is broad agreement in principle on the proposal itself. In fact the U.S. proposal was endorsed unanimously by the Board of Governors.

In this connection, I should like to quote from the statements of some delegates to the Bank meeting. They expressed the views of many other delegates.

For example, the Indian delegate said:

In this context, I welcome the important proposal brought forward by my colleague, the Governor for the United States, for fashioning another instrument to help the cause of development, viz., the International Development Association. . . . The World Bank has done a great deal in the field assigned to it, but there are other types of needs which the Bank cannot cater for. The underdeveloped countries have long felt the need for an agency which could make available long-term assistance, repayable, at least in part, in local currencies. I, therefore, welcome the proposal, and, if I may add, I am particularly happy that the IDA will be an affiliate of the Bank and will have at its disposal all the experience and expertise of the Bank.

The delegate of the United Arab Republic said:

The Government of the U.A.R., after a careful study of the proposal concerning the creation of an International Development Association, finds itself in general agreement with it and welcomes its establishment. We fully agree with the proposal to create another financial institution which will make loans to finance carefully studied and economically sound projects and will accept repayment of these loans in local currencies and at a reasonable rate of interest. Such an institution will alleviate the foreign exchange burden of development on the underdeveloped countries and correct some of the effects of the unfavorable trends existing today.

The United States concept of this broad new venture in multilateral aid was explained by C. Douglas Dillon, our Under Secretary of State,

at the recent meeting of the International Bank. Mr. Dillon said:¹¹

The IDA is a new concept in international lending institutions. It is important, therefore, that the charter of the IDA leave a substantial measure of discretion to the institution itself to determine how its funds can best be spent and on what terms. We would expect that the high technical standards of the World Bank would apply to loans made by the IDA. However, it may be appropriate in some circumstances for the IDA to consider, for example, financing pilot projects in some fields of social overhead of a type which contribute to productivity and development but which are not financed by the World Bank. This is an area in which expenditures in the currency of the borrower are likely to be required, and this could be one of the uses of the local currencies I mentioned earlier. In developing the pattern of its operations, we would expect the IDA to maintain the closest working relationships with the representatives of the less developed countries so as to insure that its efforts will be directed to meeting the most important development needs in the best ways possible. Finally, we look upon the IDA as a proposal to increase the total flow of development capital to the less developed areas and not as a substitute for bilateral assistance from the industrialized countries.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, the scope of the IDA and the terms of its loans will, as many member countries have observed, be substantially like those envisaged by the more serious proponents of a U.N. development fund. The main difference is that the IDA will be much bigger—four times as big as the capital mentioned for a U.N. development fund—and that it will be affiliated with the International Bank. Since loans, whether commercial or “soft,” are essentially a banking function, my Government considers it logical that they should be made by an institution affiliated with the U.N.’s specialized agency in this field, the International Bank. For the same reason we accord the preeminent role in health to the WHO, in labor to the ILO, and in food and in agriculture to the FAO.

Discussions of IDA at the same meeting of the Bank made it clear that an overwhelming majority of finance ministers, from both the more and from the less developed countries, agreed with this concept of operation.

Mr. Chairman, the launching of two new international capital development funds of great magnitude, the Inter-American Development Bank and the International Development Association,

within the span of a single year is an event which could scarcely have been hoped for only a few years ago. With planned capital resources approximating \$2 billion, these institutions are new giants in the field of multilateral capital financing assistance to underdeveloped countries. The International Bank, which pioneered this type of financing, has set them a brilliant example.

The Human Problem

Mr. Chairman, the unremitting efforts of the American people, in cooperation with other free peoples everywhere, to assist the economically underdeveloped and poorer nations, are impressive in material terms. This is not, however, the full story. We face a human problem. Economic and social progress, no matter how important, cannot be divorced from the progress of freedom and justice especially in our increasingly interdependent world. It would be a hollow victory, if indeed it could be regarded as a victory at all, were economic gains to go hand in hand with political despotism and economic slavery.

In this spirit we of American labor have continually impressed upon our Government and private investors the importance of their encouraging the efforts of the working people in the countries now becoming industrialized to build trade unions of their own free choice—genuine, free trade unions, free from domination or control by employers or governments. We of American labor think that it is absolutely necessary for the freedom and economic health of these countries that they have strong, free trade-union movements with full opportunity for genuine collective bargaining and decent working conditions.

Remember, increased productivity, though very important, is not necessarily the same as prosperity. Only through self-reliance and freedom can the worker and farmer and, yes, the intellectual, too, secure that self-respect and human dignity and the social instruments with which to assure him a just share in the benefits of modern technology. The right of individuals everywhere to live in freedom, the right of people and of nations to determine their own political destinies and their own social goals, must keep pace with increased economic well-being.

Though peoples of free nations cry out for peace, they are determined to achieve it with justice and freedom. In the work to which I have

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1959, p. 531.

devoted my lifetime, those who are associated with me in the free labor movement hold views which are neither vague nor timid concerning the importance of free institutions.

Only free individuals and free nations, joined together, can attain fully the objectives toward which the United Nations strives. We cannot and should not overlook the fact that totalitarian states, in offering economic aid to underdeveloped nations, have no purpose in mind except the ultimate enslavement of others. Their proffers of aid are clearly concentrated on countries where the opportunities for the subversion of governments are greatest. Their financial support of important United Nations activities to promote the economic development of the less prosperous areas of the world is woefully inadequate. Their tenders of even such nominal assistance always have strings attached.

We would wish that the actions of such states were otherwise. But, undoubtedly, it is the fundamental nature of totalitarian states, in which individual human beings count for so little, to use promises of economic aid and trade as naked political weapons.

In contrast, when free nations undertake the task of assisting one another, they do not seek to remold other nations in their own image. Our only aim is to help the economically less developed nations grow as free and independent societies capable of assuming, in the words of our Declaration of Independence, "among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them."

This aim was well stated by a great American who died last month, the late George Catlett Marshall, in proposing the plan which was popularly called by his name. General Marshall said:¹²

It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

If we can patiently, imaginatively, and with

determination continue on the paths which so many dedicated men and women have blazed, then the people who have for generations lacked so much that is vital to their health, happiness, and freedom can one day be emancipated from the terrors of disease and hunger. They, too, can then live in dignity and freedom. We shall do our all until they will. Of that, you can rest assured.

U.S. Views on Agrarian Reform

Statement by Horace E. Henderson¹

The U.S. delegation welcomes the opportunity to discuss the important subject of agrarian reform in the context of FAO's objectives and program, for here in FAO we can consider agrarian reform in the broad technical framework of rural institutions and services and in relationship to agricultural productivity.

United States delegations have made clear in previous sessions of the United Nations and in FAO that we recognize that sound land reform or agrarian reform is in some countries essential to economic and social development. We reaffirm our support for the concepts of land reform as embodied in resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council, and the FAO Conference. We regard these resolutions as statements of general objectives under which each government develops for itself, both at the national and at the local level, those laws and institutions for implementing the objectives of land reform which are best adapted and are most practicable to meet the physical, economic, and social conditions of the country.

Before presenting our suggestions concerning the specific action which we believe this Conference might appropriately take on this topic, I should like to make a few comments about the U.S. concept of land reform, land tenure and settlement experience in the United States, and the work of FAO and other U.N. agencies.

¹ Made on Nov. 9 before the 10th session of the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization, which met at Rome Oct. 31-Nov. 20. Mr. Henderson, who was an alternate member of the U.S. delegation, is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 15, 1947, p. 1159.

In the view of the United States Government the term "agrarian reform" means primarily the improvement of agricultural institutions with the objective of improving rural levels of living. These institutions pertain to such methods as the holding and transmitting of rights in land through ownership and tenancy, allocating returns to land between owners and tenants, taxing land values and land income, extending credit for land purchase and farm operation, developing marketing procedures and broader opportunities for education and training, health and welfare, and disseminating information relative to resource utilization on the farm and in rural areas.

Land Tenure and Settlement Policies in the U.S.

For illustrative purposes only, may I comment on some U.S. experience in connection with land tenure and settlement policies. We realize that these policies have been developed under unusually favorable circumstances, for which we as a people are most grateful. We do not suggest that our experience is directly applicable to other countries. We do suggest, however, that elements of this experience may have some bearing upon some of the problems faced by other countries, and to this extent our comments may have some value for those governments which are trying to pursue the same objectives as ours.

Land tenure and settlement in the United States have been guided mainly by two broad policies: (1) Individuals should have the opportunity to combine land with their labor and other resources so as to permit maximum individual returns and through this means to provide the maximum social product; and (2) ownership of, and returns to, land should be widely distributed, principally among those who farm the land. A related but more general principle, that all citizens should have an opportunity to earn at least a minimum level of living, has also affected the agricultural policies of the United States.

The land policies of the United States have been implemented largely through the system of private ownership of property. Although land use can be influenced directly by the fiscal powers of the Government, primary reliance for the achievement of national objectives has been on the individual decisions of private holders. Similarly, adoption of the results of publicly supported re-

search in agricultural science has been fostered by education but remains a voluntary decision by individuals.

Land settlement in the United States took place in accordance with the precepts of widely dispersed ownership and individual enterprise and investment. Most agricultural land was transferred rapidly from public to private hand before the present century. Today the few transfers from State and Federal governments to individuals take place primarily on newly developed irrigation projects, on small detached tracts too inconvenient for Government to manage, and in the new State of Alaska. Public support of settlement and development of private lands, however, has taken the form of irrigation, drainage, flood protection, and credit.

The purchase of many farms has been possible through the lending facilities of private investors: Federal land banks, loan associations, the Farmer Home Administration, and the Veterans' Administration. Many of the loans undertaken through these agencies require farms so purchased to be of an economic size and borrowers to demonstrate capabilities for good farm management.

Most of the settlement of farmers in the United States is done on an individual rather than a community basis. However, experience in public development, as in the Tennessee Valley and the West, and private development, as in the Mississippi Delta and other parts of the South, may be helpful to some countries in their settlement schemes.

For those who are interested, Mr. Chairman, I have with me a very few copies of a recent summary entitled "United States Experience With Selected Aspects of Agrarian Reform." I shall be very glad to make these few copies available to delegations.

Role of FAO and Other U.N. Agencies

As the U.S. delegation stated in the general debate, my Government took a leading part in the U.N. Economic and Social Council and the FAO Conference in developing the basic resolutions on land reform which have provided the guidance for the work of FAO and other interested U.N. organizations since 1951. I believe it would be well to remind ourselves that in those resolutions we all agreed that land reform or agrarian re-

form as considered in FAO embraces a whole series of institutional measures, no one of which can be successfully treated apart from the others. These include such measures as may be appropriate in each individual country regarding such matters as security of tenure, opportunity to acquire ownership of land, organization of land holdings of efficient size, provision of agricultural credit, provision of agricultural education, and technical services to the farmer, to mention only a few.

Several useful reports on progress in land reform prepared largely by FAO, with the cooperation of the U.N. and other agencies, have been considered by the Conference and Council in previous sessions. The major effort now under way in the United Nations family is the proposed comprehensive report on "Trends in Land Reform," to be available for consideration by the U.N. Economic and Social Council and by FAO in 1962. The report is to provide comprehensive information and evaluation of trends, developments, and techniques in different countries. FAO has the principal responsibility within the U.N. family for assembling the data and preparing the report, but the United Nations itself, because of its concern with economic development, and the ECO, because of its concern with the living standards of both rural and urban workers, also will have important contributions to make.

We hope that a number of governments will invite FAO to cooperate with them in evaluating specific aspects of their agrarian reforms, as such practical studies would contribute greatly to the usefulness of this comprehensive report. We should appreciate some indication from the Director General as to the plans under way for the preparation of this report, including the extent of cooperation he is receiving from other agencies and from private research institutions.

We have already commented in Commission II on the program of work of FAO in this field, which we consider to be technically sound. My Government has been happy to participate in several of the seminars or centers sponsored by FAO, such as the Near East Center in Iraq, the Far East Center in Ceylon, and the Latin American Center in Brazil. We look forward to taking part in the seminar on land settlement in Montevideo later this month. I am sure that, out of the discussion in the Committee on Agriculture, all of us have a clearer idea of the objectives and approach of the Organization and of the practical ways in

which FAO, even with modest resources, can be of assistance to governments in developing sound institutions for improving the welfare of the man on the land within the framework of sound economic and social development of the country as a whole.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I should like to suggest that the action of this Conference might be along the following lines: (1) a recognition in our report of the importance of this whole problem for the welfare of rural populations and for economic and social development generally; (2) a reaffirmation of the broad, comprehensive approach to agrarian reform as embodied in Resolution A/1542 of the General Assembly, Resolution E/2124 of the ECOSOC, and FAO resolutions on the same subject; (3) a recommendation that member governments participate actively with the Director General and his staff in providing significant factual information and analyses of specific aspects of land reform or agrarian reform as defined in the above-mentioned resolutions for incorporation into the 1962 report for the U.N. Economic and Social Council; and (4) that the Director General's program of work in this field be approved in the light of such recommendations which may emerge from discussions in the Committee on Agriculture of Commission II.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

ECE Housing Committee

The Department of State on November 24 (press release 816) announced the designation of Ernest J. Bohm, director, Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, as U.S. delegate to the 19th session of the Housing Committee of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), which is scheduled to be held at Geneva December 7-11.

The Housing Committee was established as a subcommittee of ECE in July 1947 and became a full committee in 1955. Its purpose is to study housing problems of common interest to European countries and advise the Commission on the means, technical and economic, of assisting and expediting the housing programs of the member countries.

The Department also announced the designation of J. Robert Dodge, director of the Division of Documentation, Office of International Housing, Housing and Home Finance Agency, as alternate U.S. delegate. Mr. Dodge will serve as *rapporteur* on the subjects of rural housing, housing finance, and urban renewal and slum clearance policies.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Report of the Security Council Sub-committee Under Resolution of 7 September 1959. S/4236. November 5, 1959. 80 pp.

Letter Dated 12 November 1959 From the Permanent Representative of India Addressed to the President of the Security Council Concerning Kashmir. S/4238. November 12, 1959. 2 pp.

General Assembly

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme. Report on the Second Session of the Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Geneva, October 6-9, 1959. A/AC.96/53. October 14, 1959. 24 pp.

United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency. Progress report of the Administrator for Residual Affairs of the Agency, October 1, 1958-September 30, 1959. A/4263. November 9, 1959. 52 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.² Notification of approval deposited: United States, October 28, 1959.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

² Not in force.

BILATERAL

Australia

Agreement for the reciprocal acceptance of certificates of airworthiness for imported aircraft. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington November 20, 1959. Entered into force November 20, 1959.

France

Convention of establishment, protocol, and declaration. Signed at Paris November 25, 1959. Enters into force 1 month after exchange of instruments of ratification.

India

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of November 13, 1959. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington November 20 and 23, 1959. Entered into force November 23, 1959.

Pakistan

Agreement amending the agricultural commodities agreement of November 26, 1958, as amended (TIAS 4137 4257, and 4331). Effected by exchange of letters at Karachi November 2 and 5, 1959. Entered into force November 5, 1959.

Sweden

Agreement amending the agreement of November 20, 1957 (TIAS 2653), for financing certain educational exchange programs. Effected by exchange of notes at Stockholm November 20, 1959. Entered into force November 20, 1959.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Agreement on cooperation in exchanges in the fields of science, technology, education, and culture in 1960-61. Signed at Moscow November 21, 1959. Enters into force January 1, 1960.

United Arab Republic

Agricultural commodities agreement under title I of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, as amended (68 Stat. 455; 7 U.S.C. 1701-1709) with exchange of notes. Signed at Cairo November 14, 1959. Entered into force November 14, 1959.

Uruguay

Agreement further supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of February 20, 1959, as supplemented (TIAS 4179 and 4238). Signed at Montevideo November 16, 1959. Entered into force November 16, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Recess Appointments

The President on November 23 appointed Edward Page, Jr., to be Minister to Bulgaria. (For background see biographic details, see Department of State press release 815 dated November 23.)

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Building Growth in Freedom: Greatest Challenge of the Sixties (Dillon) 855
U.S. Views on Agrarian Reform (Henderson) 887

Albania. Albanian Independence Day 866

Atomic Energy
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United States Experts Named for Geneva Technical Talks 859

Bulgaria. President Names Edward Page U.S. Minister to Bulgaria 866, 890

Congress, The
Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy 874
Some Implications of Soviet Economic Development (Dulles) 867

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Check List of Department of State Press Releases: November 23-29

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.
Release issued prior to November 23 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 801 of November 17.

No.	Date	Subject
815	11/23	Page designated Minister to Bulgaria (rewrite).
816	11/24	Delegation to ECE Housing Committee (rewrite).
817	11/24	Merchant: talks with Panama officials.
818	11/24	Delegation to Geneva technical talks.
819	11/24	Herter: news conference.
820	11/25	Convention of establishment signed with France (printed in BULLETIN of December 7).
821	11/25	Dillon visit to Europe.
*822	11/25	Cultural exchange (Europe).
†823	11/27	Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs.
824	11/27	Albanian independence day.
†825	11/28	Report on private investment opportunities in Thailand.

*Not printed.
†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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Bulletin

Vol. XLI, No. 1069

December 21, 1959

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DEPOSITORY

THE
OFFICIAL
WEEKLY RECORD
OF
THE
UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

A Mission of Peace and Good Will

*Address by President Eisenhower*¹

Good evening, fellow Americans.

I leave in just a few minutes on a 3-week journey half way around the world.² During this mission of peace and good will I hope to promote a better understanding of America and to learn more of our friends abroad.

In every country I hope to make widely known America's deepest desire—a world in which all nations may prosper in freedom, justice, and peace, unmolested and unafraid.

I shall try to convey to everyone our earnestness in striving to reduce the tensions dividing mankind—an effort first requiring, as indeed Mr. Khrushchev agrees, the beginning of mutual disarmament. Of course I shall stress that the first requirement for mutual disarmament is mutual verification.

Then I hope to make this truth clear—that, on all this earth, not anywhere does our Nation seek territory, selfish gain, or unfair advantage for itself. I hope all can understand that beyond her shores, as at home, America aspires only to promote human happiness, justly achieved.

We in America know that for many decades our Nation has practiced and proclaimed these convictions and purposes. But this is not enough. For years doubts about us have been skillfully nurtured in foreign lands by those who oppose America's ideals.

Our country has been unjustly described as one pursuing only materialistic goals; as building a culture whose hallmarks are gadgets and shallow pleasures; as prizing wealth above ideals, machines above spirit, leisure above learning, and war above peace.

Actually, as our declaration proclaims, the core of our Nation is belief in a Creator who has endowed all men with inalienable rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In that belief is our country's true hallmark—a faith that permeates every aspect of our political, social, and family life. This truth, too, I hope to emphasize abroad.

Of course, as all the world knows, at times, and in some respects, we have fallen short of the high ideals held up for us by our Founding Fathers. But one of the glories of America is that she never ceases her striving toward the shining goal.

And in this striving we know we still can learn much from other cultures. From the ideals and achievements of others we can gain new inspiration. We do not forget that, in the eyes of millions in older lands, our America is still young—in some respects is still on trial.

A Renewed Dedication to American Convictions

So I earnestly make this suggestion as I start this journey tonight—that you, and those close to you, join with me in a renewed dedication to our moral and spiritual convictions and in that light reexamine our own record, including our shortcomings. May this examination inspire each of us so to think and so to act as to hasten our progress toward the goals our fathers established, which have made America an instrument for good. In this rededication we shall replenish the true source of America's strength—her faith and, flowing from it, her love of liberty, her devotion to justice.

So believing, we look on our Nation's great wealth as more than a hard-earned resource to be used only for our own material good. We believe that it should also serve the common good, abroad

¹Delivered to the Nation by television and radio on Dec. 3 (White House press release).

²For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 23, 1959, p. 742, and Dec. 7, 1959, p. 823.

as well as at home. This is not sheer altruism. If we can truly cooperate with other nations—especially our friends of the free world—we can, first, defeat the evils of hunger, privation, and disease that throughout the ages have plagued mankind. Thus we can develop a healthier, more prosperous world and in the process develop greater prosperity for ourselves. Even more than this, we can help reduce the world tensions that are the powder kegs of disaster.

This is why, for more than a decade, America has engaged in cooperative programs with other nations—programs that in many ways concern the areas that I set forth to visit tonight. Our part of this effort is our own Mutual Security Program. Abroad it is supplemented and its effects many times multiplied by programs of all the countries associated with us in this work.

Thus we provide a peaceful barrier, erected by freedom, to the continuous probings of predatory force. Our mutual undertakings support those who strive to forestall aggression, subversion, and penetration. It helps steady the struggling economies of free nations, new and old. It helps build strength and hope, preventing collapse and despair. In a world sorely troubled by an atheistic imperialism, it is a strong instrument of hope and of encouragement to others who are eager, with us, to do their part in sustaining the human spirit and human progress.

So we see that our Nation's security, economic health, and hope for peace demand of all of us a continuing support of these cooperative efforts, initiated a dozen years ago. Of the amounts we devote to our own security and to peace, none yields a more beneficial return than the dollars we apply to these mutual efforts of the free world.

Some Economic Problems That Confront Us

Here at home we are fortunate in having an economy so richly productive as to sustain a most powerful defense without impairment of human values. Without this military strength our efforts to provide a shield for freedom and to preserve and strengthen peace would be futile. We are determined that in quality and power this force shall forever be kept adequate for our security needs until the conference table can replace the battlefield as the arbiter of world affairs.

This kind of defense is costly and burdensome,

as indeed are many other essential Federal programs. For example, the annual interest alone on our Federal debt is now more than \$9 billion a year—a sum in dollars equal to the entire Federal budget of 1940. We must, then, for our security and our prosperity, keep our economy vigorous and expanding. We can keep it so, but only if we meet wisely and responsibly the economic problems that confront us. To mention a few, there are inflation, public spending, taxation, production costs and foreign trade, agriculture, and labor-management relations.

Of these problems, one cries out for immediate solution. I refer to the labor-management dispute that is still unresolved in the steel industry.

This, I am sure, is clear to us all: The success of all our efforts to build and sustain the peace depends not only upon our spiritual and military strength but also upon the health of our economy. Among sovereign nations progress toward a just peace can be achieved only through international cooperation. Likewise, economic strength, in this Nation of free citizens, requires cooperation among us all. We cannot—any of us—indulge our own desires, our own demands, our own emotions, to the extent of working hardship throughout the country.

"Responsible citizenship" in a free country means what it says. It means conducting one's self responsibly in the interest of others as well as self. America will not—indeed, it cannot—tolerate for long the crippling of the entire economy as the result of labor-management disputes in any one basic industry or any group of industries.

Among our free people there is no one man, no one group, no one industry, no one interest, that measures in importance to America.

So, my friends, the choice is up to free American employers and American employees. Voluntarily, in the spirit of free collective bargaining, they will act responsibly, or else in due course their countrymen will see to it that they do act responsibly. It is up to labor and management in these disputes to adjust responsibly and equitably their differences. The Nation is determined to preserve free enterprise, including free collective bargaining. If we are to do this, labor and management alike must see to it, in every dispute and settlement, that the public interest is as carefully protected as the interests of stockholders

and of employees. The public will not stand for less.

Tonight, despite months of effort, labor and management in the steel industry are still in disagreement. As I leave tonight, America still faces the possibility of a renewed steel crisis, beginning a few weeks hence.

Day after day, throughout the economy, uncertainty, indecision, and hesitation are growing as a result of this continuing controversy. Now, negotiations have just been resumed. The exact methods the parties agree upon to advance these negotiations are of relatively little importance to the American people. The leaders of both segments must realize that the achievement of a voluntary settlement, fair to all, is critically important to the entire Nation. Indeed it is so important that I am instructing the Director of the Mediation and Conciliation Service to do all that he can to keep the parties negotiating on an around-the-clock basis.

America needs a settlement now.

During these next 3 weeks, while I am talking of peace and of mutual cooperation with our friends abroad, the subject of America's spiritual and economic strength is bound to come up often and importantly. What great news it would be if, during the course of this journey, I should receive word of a settlement of this steel controversy that is fair to the workers, fair to management, and above all, fair to the American people.

America's Message to the World

One last thought. We have heard much of the phrase "peace and friendship." This phrase, in expressing the aspirations of America, is not complete. We should say instead, "peace and friendship, in freedom." This, I think, is America's real message to the world.

Now, my friends, I set forth as your agent to extend once again to millions of people across the seas assurance of America's sincere friendship. I know you wish me well. And I wish you well in making your influence felt, individually and collectively, in solving, properly, our pressing problems here at home. For, let us remember, these two efforts—the one abroad and the one at home—actually are one and inseparable. Working cooperatively together here at home, rather than wasting our effort and substance in bitter economic and political strife, we in America will

become ever a stronger force on the side of good in the world.

And as we, through our cooperative efforts abroad, strengthen human understanding and good will throughout the world, we bring ever closer the day of lasting peace.

May the Almighty inspire us all, in these efforts, to do our best.

Good night and, for 3 weeks, goodbye.

Human Rights Week, 1959

A PROCLAMATION¹

WHEREAS December 15, 1959, marks the one hundred and sixty-eighth anniversary of the adoption of our Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS December 10, 1959, marks the eleventh anniversary of the adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and

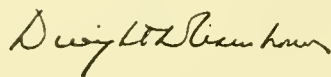
WHEREAS the individual rights and freedoms set forth in the Bill of Rights constitute a vital part of the political heritage of each American citizen; and

WHEREAS promotion of the rights and freedoms declared in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a basic objective of the United Nations:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period of December 10 to December 17, 1959, as Human Rights Week, and I call upon the citizens of the United States to observe these anniversaries by studying the Bill of Rights of the United States and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations, that we may grow in our understanding of the inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of each member of the human family. In gratitude for the liberties that we enjoy, let us work to advance universal freedom and justice and stand ready to uphold the rights of others which are inextricably linked with our own.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this third day of December in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-fourth.



By the President:
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER,
Secretary of State.

¹ No. 3327; 24 *Fed. Reg.* 9763.

What Is Past Is Prologue

*by Under Secretary Murphy*¹

During the years our Government has been indulgent enough to permit me to work in the Department of State and the Foreign Service, it has been fascinating for me to observe the impact of the press on our foreign policy and the relationship between you gentlemen and our Service people. When I was a younger officer, I did not fully appreciate the importance of this relationship. I believe I do today. I know I did not realize that a journalist in the professional sense of the word often is not interested solely in reporting the news. With the knowledge that goes with his years of experience, it is obvious that a mature journalist influences public opinion and frequently official policy.

But there is an invisible line which no doubt you agree must be drawn between the necessity under which a public official must maintain discretion and your obligation to inform the public and to interpret and explain. Looking back on the years I have recently spent in the Department of State, I am not entirely sure that we have found the wisest formula of close cooperation under which the national interests are best promoted. To protect a source, to avoid embarrassment vis-a-vis a foreign government, to avoid the defeat of an official objective, these require the official at times to maintain discretion, although often nothing would please him more than to discuss the matter with interested correspondents. If we were faced today with merely the traditional forms of competition which existed before October 1917, the risks could be absorbed. Today the cost of indiscretion on major items can be quite high.

One of the main reasons I eagerly accepted your president's invitation to this luncheon was to thank you for two things: the support which so many of you have consistently given the American effort in the field of foreign affairs; and the generous understanding you regularly show regarding our Foreign Service, its needs, and the people in it.

The healthy fact that there are criticisms from time to time does not bother me as it once did. I remember, for example, that I returned to Washington from North Africa back in 1943 with a very high temperature generated by some critical editorials and stories which had appeared in the *Washington Post* concerning the policies we were then pursuing in that area. I could hardly wait to get off the airplane to visit Mr. Eugene Meyer. I had selected *a priori* some very purple words to express my indignation over the obtuseness and general myopia of the author, and I asked to meet the guy who wrote the items. In retrospect it no doubt was a silly performance. Mr. Meyer was indulgent and mildly suggested that in public life one must learn to take it. Then he suggested lunch with the author, to whom he introduced me, Herbert Elliston. After lunch we exchanged some rather sharp words, but I learned that the items were based on information which he believed sound and accurate. He was kind enough to listen to my version and later to reflect some of it in subsequent articles.

You will know better than I whether in our democracy, and considering the fierce competition in which so many of us work, we can gear our public information resources into the closely knit machine of this fast-moving era. For me that question is fundamental and it literally concerns our prospect of survival in the tough world of

¹ Address made before the National Press Club at Washington, D.C., on Dec. 1 (press release 830).

today. Certainly we in the Foreign Service should devote a great deal of thought to the means of perfecting our working relationship with you gentlemen. In their initial training our officers should receive early instruction not only on the importance but about the techniques of dealing with this vital problem.

American Foreign Service

I would like to say a word or two about the American Foreign Service. It is developing to a point where we can be proud of it. It has passed through vicissitudes, but then every organization does.

The postwar epoch did not provide a favorable recruiting atmosphere. Caught between an insufficiency of funds preventing competent planning and a good deal of public indifference, the Service did not fare too well. We inherited leftovers of some Government wartime agencies. Some of these individuals were first-class; others were not well adapted to this particular kind of professional work. Today it is possible for the Department of State to plan a young officer's career for the purpose of benefiting the Government to the maximum. At the same time the officer is given incentive to perform well and in circumstances that enable better and more effective performance. The consolidation of Departmental and field service personnel has made for greater utility and has eliminated distinctions between the two which in the past were unhealthy. The lack of substantial financial incentive for the officer is offset by the satisfaction, not found in every undertaking, of doing this particular public service. I know that one of our ambassadors who enjoyed a very substantial business success before he received a political appointment told me that never in his business career had he experienced the stimulating satisfaction he found representing the United States abroad.

We have now 3,627 Foreign Service officers, of whom about 60 percent are serving abroad at 285 diplomatic missions and consular offices. About 10,112 young men and women representing fine talent from all around the country have applied for the Foreign Service examination to be given next Saturday. Only a few of them with the most outstanding records can be appointed as Foreign Service officers of class 8.

I know that you agree that we should have as a nation the ablest people the country can provide to represent us abroad and to work in the Department of State at home. I am glad that the President and the Secretary of State feel that way about it and that our friends in Congress are giving better support to this objective than has ever been the case in our history. I am frankly envious of the young man coming into the Foreign Service today.

U.S. World Position

Perhaps I could risk straining your patience a little longer by examining briefly some features of our world position. On the day after tomorrow [December 3], as you know, our President is embarked on an arduous good-will visit to 11 countries during the course of which he will participate in the heads-of-government meeting at Paris.² I heard reference the other day to the effect that in these matters locomotion is not the desirable thing; rather, one should stick to one's knitting at home. It seemed to be suggested that by fireside meditation the chances of giving birth to new and better foreign policy ideas would be improved. That remark struck me as reflecting a particularly sedentary view. What does it mean? Could it be possible that it contemplates a policy of the broad behind? Somehow it reminded me of the nickname earned by Molotov [Vyacheslav Molotov of the Soviet Union], who was called "Stone Bottom" because he could out-sit almost anybody.

Even if we wished to do so, we could not develop all the answers on a static basis. Personal contacts are invaluable. There is no pat formula for the development of ideas. Interchange in different environments is unquestionably stimulating. Knowledge of people and circumstances is the seedbed from which inspiration often springs. Our friends will not love us more if we assume they should always come to us.

Our distinguished friend Prime Minister Segni has recently honored our country by his visit. The President's plan to visit President Gronchi and Prime Minister Segni in Rome, and to seize that occasion for a personal call at the Vatican on His Holiness Pope John, is eminently in the

² See p. 895.

interest of friendly relations and sound diplomacy.

A trip by our President to the Asiatic subcontinent with its immense potential is if anything overdue, and I believe that our friends in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India welcome it as an opportunity for useful exchanges.

The Shah in Tehran, President Bayar in Ankara, King Paul in Athens, President Bourguiba in Tunis—these are friends to whom it is a pleasure and a duty to manifest our esteem. You know all about the importance of the heads-of-government meeting in Paris. After that there will be visits to our friends in Spain and Morocco.

All of these conversations I believe will help to understand problems, clarify issues, bring us closer to our friends, and promote our mutual interests.

As to our world position, the fundamental principle of our foreign policy is constant. We seek the welfare and the security of the American people, the protection of our democratic institutions, resources, and way of life. Ever since our wartime association with the Soviet Union we have had cause to doubt its purposes. We found via the Berlin blockade and Korea that weakness is not understood in Moscow. Mr. Khrushchev frequently refers with withering scorn to positions of strength. Positions of strength are expensive to maintain and the last thing the American people want on which to spend their effort and money. Yet without them we found the conduct of our foreign policy fraught with grave danger to our national security.

In his excellent address before the National Foreign Trade Council,³ our able Secretary of State pointed out that, since both free men and Communists have a common interest in survival, they have a common interest in developing rules of the game which would prevent East-West competition from breaking out into nuclear war. But we continue to face, as he put it, "the most ruthless competition the world has seen." Is our political maturity adequate? Our central problem is to live with and hope for some accommodation with the dangers we face. After a long period of danger, most of us find it easier to grasp at new hope than to live with the same old fears. Yet we cannot permit our fears to freeze

our thought or paralyze our efforts to realize legitimate hopes.

Soviet Attitudes and Capabilities

What are the attitudes and capabilities of this most ruthless competitor of ours? The Soviet system is probably in a sounder, healthier state today than at the time of the death of Stalin. Chairman Khrushchev has introduced a pragmatic, innovating spirit into that society. He has freed its development from some of the constraints of stale doctrine, insured a continuing growth of Soviet power, and improved a little—just a little—the material lot of the Soviet people. He has sought to revitalize the Communist Party and to make of it a more efficient instrument of rule. His willingness to remodel old economic institutions with a view to increased productivity has apparently given fresh stimulus to the economy as a whole.

Mr. Khrushchev has put forward a number of ideological innovations on the ground that Marxism-Leninism is a doctrine which should be open to new insights. This tendency toward what his supporters call "creative Marxism," and what his opponents label as "practicism," was apparently one of the issues between Khrushchev and his opposition. With his victory in the inner party struggle, Soviet policy acquired a far more flexible and practical approach to its problem.

These various changes have been designed to deal with problems raised by mistakes of past policy and by rapid industrialization and modernization. This they are doing at least for the present.

It is true that the new measures themselves, and the natural processes of change, may eventually give rise to problems of an even more fundamental nature. It is also possible that the new measures mark the beginnings of more basic changes in the long-run nature of Soviet governing institutions. But there does not appear a great probability, within the immediate few years, of any marked change. The leadership of the regime apparently calculates that increasing material benefits and pride in the Soviet Union's scientific achievements and status as a world power will tend to offset discontent and unorthodox views stimulated by increased education, the wider delegation of administrative responsibility, and

³ BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 819.

broader knowledge of the outside world. As we know, despotic government is so much a part of the Russian historical experience that there is a tendency on the part of the people to accept it as normal.

Relations with other Communist states continue to be one of the major policy concerns of the Soviet rulers. East Germany is of critical importance to the Soviet strategic position in Eastern Europe. The regime there remains the object of popular hostility, and its repressive atmosphere leads to the continuing if diminishing exodus of intellectuals and skilled technicians. The internal instability of the regime, in fact, was almost certainly one of the main factors behind last year's Soviet initiative on Berlin.

There are signs that Communist China is becoming less disposed to accept Soviet guidance in domestic and foreign policy. This is a far cry, however, from any open rupture of Sino-Soviet relations.

Current Outlook of Soviet Leaders

The current outlook of the Soviet leaders is clearly one of great confidence. They see their weapons achievements and space advances as a turning point in Soviet history. They expect broad gains in world prestige and popular regard. They want the Soviet people and the world to believe that these successes came about because of the superiority of the Soviet system. They expect that this superiority will be further demonstrated by bloc gains in economic output. This in turn they believe will provide corroboration of their view that power relationships are shifting in an irrevocable way. They claim optimistically, in public at least, that by 1970 they will have an economic system equal to that of the United States. The facts do not support their optimistic assertions as to their rate of progress, but we should obviously not disparage the challenge.

The confidence of the Soviet leaders is further sustained by their opinion that the movement of general political forces in the world is favorable to them. They find this especially true in the underdeveloped countries. Emerging movements for "national liberation" or for social and economic reform they believe will be more susceptible to their tutelage and influence than to that of the Western Powers, whom they continue to brand as colonialist and imperialist. This is a

long-range Soviet calculation little affected by setbacks the Communist cause has encountered in various areas during the past year or so.

Communist political philosophy does not permit them to behave merely as observers of the historical process. They consider that they are the active agents of history. They feel they must exploit the course of events and thus hasten the success of their cause. What will be their tactics?

The Soviet leaders have shown full appreciation both in deeds and words of the incalculable disaster that general war would visit on both sides. In their foreign policy initiatives they have shown reluctance to assume serious risk of major war. A primary goal of our policy is to continue to deter them from action which would seriously risk general war. We cannot be sure that the Berlin crisis was not in part the product of overconfidence and resulting miscalculation. Such miscalculation could be encouraged by instability in the developing areas of the world presenting the Soviet Union with what might seem irresistible opportunity. The chance of miscalculation would be compounded if there were any confusion on the part of the Soviet leadership as to the West's military capability or the conditions under which that capability would be employed.

Barring war, there remains a considerable range within which the main emphasis of Soviet effort might fall. A year ago there was generally a hardening tone in Soviet foreign policy. There were many authoritative utterances, public and private, indicating Soviet intention to act more assertively on the basis of a stronger power position. The Berlin ultimatum was a manifestation of Soviet intentions in particularly sharp form. Then, with the President's invitation to Chairman Khrushchev to visit this country, a new tone was adopted, one reflecting a seemingly genuine desire to relax tensions. This has for the most part been sustained. Thus in the recent past the contradictory elements of pressure and accommodation, of belligerence and *detente*, have appeared in Soviet policy.

The Soviet leaders may have good reasons to pursue a policy which will continue over the next few years to seek relaxation of tensions. I believe the Soviet leadership sees in an abatement of tensions opportunity for "peaceful" shifts of individual countries from colonial or Western-oriented

to neutral status, from neutralism to pro-Soviet alinement or even to satellite status. However, it would certainly not be out of character for the Soviet Government to return before long to a line of pressure and belligerence, particularly if it felt it was operating from a strong position.

It would be comforting to hope that, if the Soviet Union pursued a policy of reduced tensions, they had at long last decided to abandon their concept of continuing struggle between two irreconcilable worlds. Barring strong evidence to the contrary, it would be the part of elementary prudence to assume that we still face, in Secretary Herter's phrase, "the most ruthless competition the world has seen." That will call for the closest understanding between our Government and the American people, who rely on you gentlemen for much of their understanding of our policies.

Letters of Credence

Laos

The newly appointed Ambassador of Laos, Nounphat Chounramany, presented his credentials to President Eisenhower on December 1. For texts of the Ambassador's remarks and the President's reply, see Department of State press release 832 dated December 1.

President Names Fredrick M. Eaton to Disarmament Committee

White House Statement

White House press release dated December 3

The President has designated [on December 3] Fredrick M. Eaton to act, under the direction of the Secretary of State, as the United States representative and chairman of the United States delegation to the 10-nation disarmament committee, which is scheduled to begin its work early in 1960 in Geneva.¹ Mr. Eaton will hold the personal rank of ambassador.

The United States is determined to continue its quest for safeguarded disarmament in order to ad-

vance the cause of world peace and to overcome the growing dangers and burdens of a continued arms competition.

The United States views the forthcoming Committee of Ten negotiations as a major opportunity to progress toward this goal. The United States intends to exert every effort at these negotiations to search out all avenues toward international agreements which will effectively control and limit armaments.

U.S. Protests Communists' Seizing of Consular Employee in Bombay

Press release 826 dated November 30

The following statement was issued by the U.S. Embassy at New Delhi November 28, 1959.

At 11:30 a.m. on November 26 a Chinese, who identified himself as Chang Chien Yuh, walked into the American consulate general in Bombay and requested asylum. During the course of a long interview with an American vice consul he told the officer that he was a citizen of the People's Republic of China and was employed by the China National Import and Export Corp. He said further that he was a member of the staff of the Communist Chinese consulate general in Bombay. Chang told the vice consul that after several months of brooding over the implications of the antirightist campaign in China he had decided to seek asylum in the United States. He said that he had telephoned to the American consulate general the previous evening and had asked if he might talk to a vice consul. He was told by the operator to call the next day during business hours. Chang related that on November 26 at 11:00 a.m. he was told by a clerk in the Chinese Trade Mission that the top man in the Communist Chinese consulate general wanted to see him at 11:30 a.m. on a serious matter. Chang said that he decided that the call to appear at the Chinese consulate general had resulted from his phone call to the American consulate general. He said that he then walked immediately to the American consulate general and requested asylum.

During his interview with the American officer Chang said that he was born in April 1932 in Shanghai, that he was unmarried, and that his father is still living in Shanghai. He said that

¹ For a communique establishing the committee, see BULLETIN of Sept. 28, 1959, p. 438; for biographic details on Mr. Eaton, see Department of State press release 838 dated Dec. 4.

he had studied economics at the Shanghai Commercial College, from which he graduated in 1953. During the period in which he was at the American consulate general Chang wrote and signed two statements as follows:

(1) If I should reappear, in the hands of my government (which is the Chinese People's Republic) or in the hands of any of its agents or representatives stationed outside China, this is to be considered *prima facie* evidence of coercion and possible kidnapping. I should like categorically to affirm that I have sought asylum out of my own free will. I have not been coerced or induced in any way, life under the conditions and values proclaimed by the Chinese People's Republic is an intolerable proposition.

CHANG CHIEN YUH 1959 11/26.

(2) I am a Communist party member but I could not afford the control of the human freedom under the Communist system that has led me to the American Consulate General for political asylum. In the meantime the Red Chinese instructs its foreign diplomats to work as intelligent agents. I am one of the instructed. To all this I express my strong condemnation.

CHANG CHIEN YUH 1959 11/26.

Following the initial interview with Chang, the consulate general telegraphed to the Department of State notifying them that Chang was seeking asylum and a visa for entry into the United States and that his *bona fides* were being investigated.

As a Thanksgiving party for over 200 people was to take place at the consulate general, Chang, accompanied by a vice consul and Robert Armstrong, a security guard of the consulate general, drove to a beach cottage rented by members of the consulate general's staff at Juhu Beach, in the northern suburbs of Bombay, to continue the investigation. Chang was then questioned by the vice consul on a variety of subjects, including his parentage and antecedents, the nature of his employment, the reasons why he was seeking asylum, the precise things he wished the United States to do for him, and his essential motivation in taking this drastic step. Since he had indicated alarm about his personal safety at the hands of his colleagues, he was also questioned as to the possibility and methods of their knowing his whereabouts, and other security points. The questions and answers were openly recorded on a tape recorder with Chang's full knowledge and consent.

At midnight the vice consul drove back to the city. In view of the party and Chang's fears for

his personal safety, it was decided it was best for him to remain at the cottage with Armstrong.

After a night's sleep, Armstrong and Chang went for an early morning walk. Chang then went in to take a bath. A few minutes later Armstrong saw Chang walking down the lane away from the cottage. Armstrong started to follow and asked Chang where he was going. Chang said "Come" several times and beckoned Armstrong to follow him. The two men walked together to a nearby road, and Chang explained that he had left an important key at the American consulate general on the previous day and wanted to return there to recover it. The two men then thumbed a ride in a passing truck. After several minutes' ride Chang spotted a parked taxi and stopped the truck. Chang and Armstrong both jumped down and entered the taxi, which was directed to proceed to the American consulate general. There was some discussion among Armstrong, Chang, and the taxi driver about the destination, relating to the name of the street fronting the American consulate general—which was formerly called Warden Road and is now known as Bhulabai Desai Road—but it was clear to Armstrong that the destination was the American consulate general. However, as the cab was about to turn into the entrance to the American consulate general, Chang objected. The cab went past the American consulate general and pulled up a few yards from the gateway of the Communist Chinese compound. Armstrong endeavored, without success, to regain possession of the tape recording, which Chang had taken from the beach cottage. Chang began to leave the cab and pushed Armstrong in an attempt to prevent him from leaving. Chang shouted to his countrymen inside the compound. At least six of them came out and surrounded the cab. They then attempted to force Armstrong out of the taxi. Armstrong put his right arm around the pillar between the front and rear doors to hold himself in the cab. One or more of the Chinese then went around the other side of the cab and forcibly removed his arm from around the pillar. The Chinese then reached into the cab and dragged him out of the door nearest the sidewalk. He was forcibly taken into the compound, with the Chinese pushing and pulling him and striking him in the ribs with their fists. He was taken into the garage in the compound,

and there his arms and neck were tied with rope and he was further tied to a pillar in the garage. When the Chinese realized that some of the neighbors were looking down into the compound, they dropped a bamboo curtain to the ground.

Armstrong remained bound to the post for some time and then was interrogated briefly by the Chinese. There was no questioning regarding the presence of Chang with Armstrong. Armstrong was told by one Chinese holding a heavy club that, if he were to yell, "You will get this." During most of the period Armstrong remained in the garage with his face to the wall. After some time the rope binding him to the post was lengthened and he was given some freedom of movement. On two occasions he was searched. The ropes were taken off twice, and Armstrong was held by two Chinese and moved into the open area where photographs were taken. At another point he was offered a glass of water and an opportunity to sit down.

The exact time at which Armstrong was forced into the Chinese Communist compound is not certain, but it was approximately 7:40 a.m. The police apparently were first alerted by neighbors who witnessed the fracas at the compound gate. A police car arrived on the scene at about 8:15 a.m., according to neighbors, but the police officers were not admitted to the compound. The Indian neighbor who observed the events phoned to the American consulate general and the police saying that he had just seen a taxi with the license number BMR3748 and witnessed a scuffle in which one man, apparently an American, was forced into the Chinese Communist compound. Two high-ranking police officers entered the Chinese Communist compound about 9:30 a.m. and insisted on the release of the captive, but the Chinese refused, saying they must themselves complete their investigation before releasing him. The police then left to consult and later returned about 12:15.

At about 12:30 the Chinese Communists agreed to release their American prisoner but delayed the actual release until 1:50 p.m. Armstrong was removed to police headquarters, where the police queried him as to whether he was hurt. He removed his shirt and showed rope burns on his neck and back. He was later taken to Breach Candy Hospital and found to be suffering from superficial injuries only.

The American consul general in Bombay, William T. Turner, is cooperating with the Bombay police in further investigation of the incident. A note¹ strongly protesting the actions of the Communist Chinese was presented to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India this forenoon [November 28] by the Embassy of the United States of America. The note, after summarizing the events, stated that the Embassy of the United States considers the actions by the representatives of the Communist Chinese in Bombay constitute a highhanded violation of the personal rights of a United States citizen in a friendly country and strongly protests against the improper and illegal behavior on their part.

President Meets With Inter-American Advisory Committee

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 823 dated November 27

Secretary Herter announced on November 27 that the inaugural session of the National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs,² of which he is chairman, has been scheduled for December 3, 1959.

The Committee was established to consider current and long-range problems in our relations with Latin America and to make recommendations on significant aspects of our inter-American policies for implementation by the Department. Through the creation of this Committee, with a direct voice in recommending hemispheric policies, the Secretary of State will be able to draw upon the vast Latin American knowledge and experience of its members in developing further improvement in our relations with this vitally important area.

In its periodic meetings the Committee will have access to reports from our embassies and consulates throughout the hemisphere and in examining any particular problem may call on appropriate officers of the Department to meet with it. It is not contemplated that the Committee will act in other than an advisory capacity.

¹ Not printed.

² For announcement of establishment of the Committee, see BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 823.

The establishment of the Committee, pursuant to a recommendation submitted by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, was announced by the White House on November 14.

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

White House press release dated December 3

President Eisenhower met at noon December 3 with the members of the newly appointed National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs on the occasion of the Committee's inaugural meeting. The President told the Committee members that their meeting was a reflection of the deep interest among the people of the United States in the affairs of the American Republics. His meeting with the Committee, he said, upon the eve of his departure on a trip to several countries of the Old World³ also reflected his own interest in the New World and the faith he has in the future of the inter-American system as a means of assisting in advancing the welfare of the Western Hemisphere.

The President pointed out that the work of the National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs will have singular importance not only for the American Republics but, with the passage of time, for all of the countries of the world. He said that imaginative innovations in the resolution of common problems through mutual efforts among the friendly nations of the inter-American system can point the way for meeting similar problems in other areas and it is this fact which renders the study and recommendations planned by the Committee of major importance at this time.

The National Advisory Committee was created following the recommendations made by Dr. Milton Eisenhower in his report of December 1958 upon the conclusion of his Latin American tour of that year. The Secretary of State will serve as the Chairman of the group of distinguished men named to the Committee, which will make available to the Secretary and to the United States Government the knowledge and experience in inter-American matters derived from their years of interest in the American Republics. While the December 3 meeting of the Committee was devoted primarily to the scope and methods of its work,

the group is expected to take up major inter-American problems in its future meetings and to advise the Secretary of State on these matters.

U.S. and Brazil Exchange Messages on Inter-American Committee

EXCHANGE WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER

The White House released on December 1 the following exchange of messages between President Eisenhower and Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, President of Brazil.

President Eisenhower to President Kubitschek

NOVEMBER 28, 1959

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I much appreciate your message of November eighteenth and share your hope that the National Advisory Committee for Inter-American Affairs will contribute positively to peace and understanding in this hemisphere, and to the economic betterment envisaged by Operation Pan America.¹ The assessment of problems and needs which now is being undertaken by the Organization of American States at the request of eleven American nations will provide, I am confident, the cornerstone on which Operation Pan America can build to achieve its objectives.

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your personal greetings. I wish for you and the people of Brazil the very best of health and success.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President Kubitschek to President Eisenhower

NOVEMBER 18, 1959

I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on the establishment of the National Advisory Committee for Inter-American Affairs, with the timely purpose of considering current and future problems arising out of the relationship between the United States and Latin America. The fact that you have entrusted the Secretary of State himself with the chairmanship of the new body, as well as your selection of distinguished personalities to integrate it, clearly denote the purpose of carrying out a

³ See p. 895.

¹ For background, see BULLETIN of June 30, 1958, p. 1090, and Oct. 13, 1958, p. 574.

wise and constructive policy for the maintenance of peace and for a better understanding among the nations of our Continent.

Following our exchange of letters in 1958,² and in line with pronouncements by eminent statesmen in Latin America, a movement of continental solidarity was launched which became known as Operation Pan America. The idea behind this movement won the unanimous approval of the twenty-one Republics and it has already been the motive for three Inter-American meetings where certain concrete measures, though still insufficient in scope, have been agreed upon. Operation Pan America has a common objective that is both generous and deeply realistic.

Its first practical step will be the joint preparation of an assessment of the needs and of the economic problems of Latin America, in order that concrete measures be undertaken to fight the underdevelopment that plagues so many regions of this New World. I am sure, Mr. President, that a close consideration of the proposals presented within the framework of Operation Pan America by all the participant States will be of the highest value for the work of the newly formed Commission. The problems of development and those of the preservation of the democratic freedoms are inseparably welded together.

In the fervent hope of a thorough continental understanding, I pray God for your personal happiness and for the security and ever increasing greatness of the noble American people.

JUSCELINO KUBITSCHKE

EXCHANGE WITH SECRETARY HERTER

The Department of State released on December 4 (press release 839) the following exchange of messages between Secretary Herter and Horacio Lafer, Foreign Minister of Brazil.

Secretary Herter to Mr. Lafer

DECEMBER 1, 1959

EXCELLENCY: Thank you for your message of November 19, 1959, congratulating me on my appointment by President Eisenhower as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Inter-American Affairs.

I look forward to exploring with the members of the Committee the means for making more effective our contributions toward resolving the problems of the American Continent, and toward strengthening for this purpose our participation in the cooperative economic development effort. Particularly at this time, with Operation Pan America successfully launched on its course to-

ward accelerating economic, social and political development, the Committee has the opportunity to contribute significantly to the promotion of those objectives which we all seek. Personally, it is a privilege for me and for the Committee to participate in the common endeavor to assure that each American nation, with the assistance of its friends and neighbors complementing its own efforts, can look forward with confidence to a future of ever increasing promise.

CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

Mr. Lafer to Secretary Herter

NOVEMBER 19, 1959

Please accept my congratulations on your appointment as Chairman of the National Advisory Committee for Inter-American Affairs recently created by your distinguished President. The speech delivered by President Kubitschek just a few days ago—and which I understand is being the object of close attention on the part of the State Department—evidences the timeliness of this initiative.

We should all join in a common effort to ensure that the problems of our American Continent receive a special consideration and be the object of a real cooperation not only in the material field but above all on the moral and political plane. Although issues of grave consequence demand that the attention of the United States be focused constantly on other areas of the world, we would like to see the greatest of all nations of our continent fully engaged in the defense of common causes, rendered the center of our concern by geographical imperatives.

A new policy known as Operation Pan America is following its course since the meeting of the Foreign Ministers called together by Secretary Dulles in September 1958. We believe this policy should be strengthened. I therefore rejoice at the action that has been undertaken, and wish to express the hope that under your able guidance a number of happy initiatives will contribute to solve difficulties that might possibly exist. It is also my hope that confidence will thereby be fortified and all our nations united in the struggle for prosperity and for the preservation of public liberties and individual freedoms.

HORACIO LAFER

U.S. and Venezuela Begin Talks on Introduction of Jet Service

Press release 837 dated December 4

Delegations of the United States and Venezuela met on December 3 at Washington to begin discussions under the terms of the bilateral air transport agreement which regulates air transportation between the two countries. The Vene-

² *Ibid.*, June 30, 1958, p. 1090.

zuelan Government requested consultation in order to arrive at a mutually satisfactory procedure for the introduction of jet aircraft on international flights.

The Venezuelan delegation is headed by the Venezuelan Ambassador to the United States, Marcos Falcón-Briceño. The other members are Mariano Tirado, Rafael Ramírez, Oscar Niemtschik, Col. Alberto Delgado Ontiveros, and Antonio Arellano Moreno.

Laurence C. Vass, director of the Office of Transport and Communications, Department of State, is the chairman of the U.S. delegation, which includes Alan S. Boyd, member of the Civil Aeronautics Board, and Richard J. O'Melia and Dorothy Thomas, also of the Civil Aeronautics Board. John J. Ingersoll and Elizabeth Simmons of the Department of State and E. W. Hassell of the Department of Commerce are the other members of the delegation.

Latin American Arms Limitation Endorsed by United States

Department Statement

Press release 833 dated November 30

President Jorge Alessandri of Chile has strongly urged the limitation of arms in Latin America to reasonable levels based on defense against aggression, and President Manuel Prado of Peru has proposed a meeting of the nations of the southern continent most affected by the armaments question to study means of limitation of armaments acquisitions to essential defense needs and permitting the release of additional resources for economic development.

The United States shares the hopes voiced by Presidents Alessandri and Prado toward the limitation of armaments. This has long been the position of the U.S. Government, as stated by Secretary of the Treasury Anderson, who declared, at the Economic Conference of the OAS at Buenos Aires in August 1957,¹ "The assurances now provided by our common defense system offer us a

¹ BULLETIN of Sept. 16, 1957, p. 463.

² For background on the Santiago meeting, see *ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1959, p. 299, and Sept. 7, 1959, p. 342.

dramatic opportunity to give greater emphasis to those economic activities that can better the lot of our peoples." The United States delegation, headed by Secretary Herter, also joined in Resolution 12 of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Santiago in August 1959² urging the Governments of the American states to study the problem of military expenditures in order that, should they be disproportionately high in relation to the requirements of national and hemispheric defense, they may gradually and progressively reduce them.

The United States is pleased that this subject has been included on the agenda for the 11th Inter-American Conference to be held at Quito February 1, which includes as item 12(b) "The possibilities of realizing a specialized conference with regard to (1) the effective strengthening of the Inter-American system of collective security and (2) the limitation of armaments of the American states, without prejudice to the needs of self-defense and defense of the continent."

U.S. Negotiating New Treaty With Japan

Statement by President Eisenhower

White House press release dated December 2

During the past months we have been negotiating a new treaty and other security arrangements with Japan. We attach the greatest importance to this new treaty with Japan which is being negotiated between equals for the mutual benefit and enlightened self-interest of both countries and is therefore in keeping with the new era in our relations with Japan enunciated following my talks with Prime Minister Kishi here in Washington in June 1957.¹ The timing of this new treaty with Japan is particularly opportune since I feel it is most essential at the present juncture in international affairs for the free world to maintain its unity and strength.

Since the negotiations are still in progress, I would prefer not to comment on the details of the new arrangements or the final plans for signing the treaty. However, I understand that Prime

¹ BULLETIN of July 8, 1957, p. 51.

Minister Kishi is considering coming to Washington for the signing of the new treaty. If he decides to come, I will welcome the opportunity to talk with him again, since he is one of the free world's staunchest leaders and heads a country whose friendship we value most highly.

The Search for Guidelines in ICA Development Programing

Remarks by Under Secretary Dillon¹

It is a great pleasure to be with you today as you complete your studies at this unique institution.

This institute reflects our conviction that economic assistance to the free world's newly developing areas will continue to be a keystone of American foreign policy for many years to come. It also reflects our urgent desire to obtain maximum efficiency in the conduct of our foreign aid programs. These considerations—plus, I must truthfully admit, a sharp awareness of our past shortcomings—led to the establishment of a course of study general enough to take account of all the diverse factors that shape decisions concerning economic growth, yet specialized enough to focus on the specific problems of development.

The training provided by the institute will, we anticipate, enable us gradually to refine our overseas development efforts and help us to eliminate mistakes that have plagued us in the past. The institute provides a means of bringing together the accumulated experience of qualified individuals from Government and from universities and of testing their knowledge against your individual experiences in the operating field.

The ultimate measure of the institute's success will be provided by you who have participated in its sessions. Since all of you have had a number of years' experience in technical assistance or in programing, it is hardly necessary to tell you that the caliber of the great majority of men and women serving in our foreign aid program is of a high order. These oft-maligned individuals are sincere, dedicated, and competent. They are

explorers in relatively uncharted regions, for there is no carefully developed body of proven theory and experience to fall back upon. There are no generally accepted rules and guideposts to follow.

In the comparatively short span of years since the United States has been engaged in extending foreign aid, we have had to feel our way slowly and evolve our own guidelines, largely through trial and error. Gradually we are learning to be more effective. We are discovering certain universals that apply in a number of countries where rapid economic growth is being sought. We are becoming more and more aware of the importance and relevance of those noneconomic aspects of developing societies which can either strengthen or break the thin thread of growth. And we have learned that the manner in which our aid is extended can be every bit as important as the aid itself.

If we are to make continued progress in our assistance program, we must be constantly alert for opportunities to improve the quality of our people through training, experience, and study. As you know, we are heavily committed to a program of career development for our officers who work overseas. We believe that these efforts will pay rich dividends. This institute represents a vital part of our efforts.

In order to make further progress in what might be called the "professionalization" of our officers, we must advance on a broad front. We have today the anomalous situation where the valuable experience of officers such as yourselves is largely unavailable to those in the academic world who are working on the same problems in theoretical terms. At the same time, the research and thinking of the academic world are not readily available to you—the operators—in an organized and integrated form. I know that the faculty of the institute is well aware of this gap, and I hope that their best efforts will be bent toward ways and means of closing it. True, a number of leading academic thinkers about development problems participate in the institute's programs. But I am thinking of an attack on a much broader and more intensive scale.

Let me suggest a few thoughts along these lines. I shall put them as questions:

Could the institute award five or six fellowships to carefully selected academicians for as

¹ Made at concluding exercises of the third session of the Institute on ICA Development Programing at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies, Washington, D.C., on Dec. 4 (press release 836).

long as a year to work in Washington on coordinated research projects? They would have full access to necessary Government materials and participate in the institute's seminars and discussions. This would bring together the researcher, the materials, and the specialists who have worked in the field.

Second: Would it not be possible to couple with the institute some machinery for distilling out the essence of current writing in the development field? The results could then be given wide dissemination among the field and Washington staffs of the International Cooperation Administration, as well as among academicians.

Third: Would it not be profitable for the institute to hold regional meetings from time to time in various parts of the world for a week or so, where common problems could be discussed and the latest thinking in the development field examined?

Fourth: Should we consider establishing some sort of Government machinery to give encouragement and, if necessary, financial assistance to some American colleges and universities to encourage the training and education of young people for specialized overseas careers?

In conclusion, I should like to comment briefly on your own futures:

The fact that you were selected to attend this institute is, in itself, evidence of the value which we attach to your services. We believe that your training here will improve your capacity to carry out your assignments with greater facility and skill.

It is upon officers such as yourselves that we shall draw in filling top positions in the future. You will have more and more responsibility thrust upon you, and we are confident that you will carry out your increasingly important assignments with credit to yourselves and to your country. Yours is the privilege of sharing in the task of shaping the world of the future. In the process, what you have learned at this institute should be applied, tested, and revised. Above all, we expect you to continue to think about the problems of development, both in the narrow sense and in their broadest context. It is only out of such a continuing process of education and evaluation that you and the program of which you are a part will sharpen and mature.

I know that I can speak for President Eisenhower and for Secretary Herter when I tell you that you have our complete confidence as you leave this institution to return to responsible positions in the field. You have my congratulations on the successful completion of your studies here. I wish you well, and I expect great things of you!

Private Investment Team Reports on Opportunities in Thailand

Press release 825 dated November 28, for release November 29

In a report¹ released simultaneously on November 29 by the Royal Thai Government and the U.S. Government, a six-man U.S. investment survey team which recently visited Thailand under sponsorship of the International Cooperation Administration² reported that Thailand has many favorable factors for new private investment. The group recommended that the Thai Government make an intensified effort to simplify Government procedures, to negotiate certain treaties affecting investment, and to reduce Government participation in commercial enterprises.

"By and large," the team reported, "current conditions in Thailand for new private investment provide a base which must be preserved and which can be extended. Unlike many other countries, there is little, if any, hostility toward private business, and foreign capital enjoys freedom of entry and exit. Internal security of persons and property is good. The skillful management of the country's internal and external finances has produced the kind of stability conducive to investment, particularly foreign investment which seeks maximum freedom to remit earnings and repatriate capital. There is every indication of a labor force which is adaptable, reliable and increasingly skilled technically. Underlying all these favorable factors is a country agriculturally rich and potentially capable of supporting a greater population at increasingly higher levels

¹ Copies of the report, *Expanding Private Investment for Thailand's Economic Growth*, are available through the Department of Commerce and its field offices to companies and individuals interested in investment in Thailand.

² BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 514.

of living with consequent expansion of the local market."

The survey on which the report is based was undertaken as an outgrowth of the announced policy of the Royal Thai Government to take measures to accelerate economic development by encouraging local and foreign private investment. Assignment of the U.S. team, under ICA sponsorship and with assistance of the Departments of State and Commerce, also reflected the importance the U.S. Government attaches to private investment for economic growth, as set forth in President Eisenhower's statement at the 1958 Colombo Plan meeting at Seattle.³

The team leader was George B. Beitzel, former president and now director of Pennsalt Chemicals, Inc., of Philadelphia. Members included Oliver P. Wheeler, vice president, Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco; Cornelius C. Bond, former president of Knox Metals Products Co. of Knoxville, Tenn.; S. H. Chafkin of ICA; Robert M. Klein of the Department of Commerce; and Frank S. Wile of the Department of State.

The report, released by arrangement with the Royal Thai Government, notes that the recommendations it contains "are directed at increasing the free play of private business decisions to produce greater Thai and foreign investment activity during the next five years." Its main recommendations are:

That the existing favorable factors in Thailand for new investment be expanded by an intensified effort to simplify Government procedures, to negotiate certain treaties affecting investment, and to reduce Government participation in commercial enterprises;

That a blanket exemption from import duty be given to all productive machinery for industrial enterprises, regardless of whether the particular enterprise is approved for additional benefits un-

der the new investment law, in order to provide a dramatic, universally available inducement which is entirely free of administrative judgment;

That proposed new investment legislation be enacted calling for a single legally constituted agency (Board of Investment) to administer the granting of individual inducements and to establish a program of special technical, informational, and promotional services (In addition the team recommends enlarging the area of industrial activities eligible for inducements, with the less complicated inducements being automatically granted to approved applicants, thus minimizing the problems of case-by-case negotiation.);

That certain actions be taken, particularly in the field of credit, to strengthen the position of the small Thai industrial entrepreneur and to improve management practices generally;

That specific steps be taken relating to tourism, economic research and publications, and commercial and investment contacts to make the potentials of Thailand better known to investors; and.

That the Board of Investment create an affiliated institution to develop specific investment opportunities and to furnish specialized services to Thai and foreign investors.

In his letter of transmittal to the Prime Minister, Mr. Beitzel pointed out that "my associates and I have not limited our examination only to ways of inducing private American investment. Our concern has been with the economic growth of Thailand and the potential role of all private initiative—Thai and foreign—in furthering this growth." He added that "this report does not insist that private enterprise can do everything. It does insist that private enterprise should be permitted and encouraged to do everything it can."

An investment guarantee agreement covering American investments against risks of inconvertibility, expropriation, and war risk already exists between the United States and Thailand, under which some investments have received guarantees.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1958, p. 853.

Twelve Nations Sign Treaty Guaranteeing Nonmilitarization of Antarctica and Freedom of Scientific Investigation

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 827 dated December 1

The United States and 11 other nations signed the Antarctic treaty at Washington on December 1. The treaty, which was negotiated during the past 6 weeks, is based upon the principles that Antarctica will be used for peaceful purposes only and that the international scientific cooperation which characterized the 1957-58 International Geophysical Year should continue.

The conference called to negotiate the treaty was convened at the initiative of the U.S. Government. On May 3, 1958, President Eisenhower announced that invitations had been extended to the Governments of the 11 nations which had carried on scientific research programs in Antarctica during the International Geophysical Year to participate in a conference with a view to writing a treaty "dedicated to the principle that the vast uninhabited wastes of Antarctica shall be used only for peaceful purposes."¹

The following nations were invited: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the United Kingdom.

At the treaty-signing ceremony, Herman Phleger, the U.S. representative, and Paul C. Daniels, alternate U.S. representative, signed for the United States.

The treaty will not go into effect until it has been ratified by the 12 Governments. As regards the United States, this ratification would require the advice and consent of the Senate in accordance with constitutional processes. The instrument of

ratification is issued by the President after a resolution of approval is agreed to by a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

The treaty consists of a preamble and 14 articles. The treaty provides that an area of the world as large as the United States and Europe together will be used for peaceful purposes only. An effective and unprecedented system of inspection on the Antarctic Continent is envisaged. Cooperative scientific research will be continued in the Antarctic region subject to the provisions of the treaty. Until a general international agreement on nuclear explosions is reached, such explosions will be prohibited in Antarctica.

The treaty is of indefinite duration, but after 30 years any party may call a conference for review and amendment. The treaty provides that all territorial and sovereignty claims and the position of all the Governments regarding their recognition or nonrecognition of such claims shall remain in *status quo* for the period of the treaty. The treaty is open to accession by other U.N. members and by such other states as may be agreed upon unanimously.

In order to further the purposes and the objectives of the treaty a consultative committee will be established and will meet within 2 months of the entry into force of the treaty and at suitable intervals thereafter to recommend measures to the participating parties. The first meeting will be at Canberra, Australia. In the meantime the conference recommended that representatives of the Governments meet at Washington at convenient times to discuss such arrangements as they might deem desirable.

The Conference on Antarctica convened at Washington October 15, 1959.² At the first

¹For a statement by the President and text of the U.S. note addressed to the Foreign Ministers of the 11 countries, see BULLETIN of June 2, 1958, p. 910.

²For a welcoming address by Secretary Herter and a list of the heads of delegations, see *ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1959, p. 650.

plenary session held that day, Herman Phleger, the U.S. representative, was named the chairman of the conference, and Henry E. Allen, the Secretary General. Paul C. Daniels and George H. Owen were alternate U.S. representatives.

U.S. interest in Antarctica dates from the early part of the 19th century. One of the earliest achievements was the 1838-42 expedition of Lt. Charles Wilkes, which made sightings extending for 1,500 miles, thus proving the existence of the Antarctic Continent.

The period from 1928 to the present has been one of great activity. The names of Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd, Lincoln Ellsworth, Capt. Finn Ronne, and Rear Adm. R. H. Cruzen became intimately linked to Antarctica during this period. The U.S. Navy in 1946-47 organized the largest U.S. expedition to Antarctica. During the International Geophysical Year the United States established seven stations in Antarctica under the leadership of Rear Adm. George Dufek. At the present time four stations are being maintained, including one at the South Pole.

Scientific research in the Antarctic, coordinated and planned by the National Science Foundation, is made possible through the logistic support of the Navy Department, with its long experience in polar operations. The U.S. Naval Support Force is commanded by Rear Adm. David N. Tyree.

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER³

I am gratified that the Antarctic treaty is being signed today in Washington by the representatives of 12 nations. This treaty is the result of the arduous and painstaking efforts of many people who for 2 years have worked to achieve this agreement of great importance to the world.

The Conference on Antarctica was convened October 15, 1959, as a result of a United States note of invitation, dated May 2, 1958, to those nations which had participated in scientific research in Antarctica during the 1957-58 International Geophysical Year.

The spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding which the 12 nations and their delegations exhibited in drafting a treaty of this

importance should be an inspiring example of what can be accomplished by international cooperation in the field of science and in the pursuit of peace.

This treaty guarantees that a large area of the world will be used only for peaceful purposes, assured by a system of inspection. Antarctica will constitute a laboratory for cooperative scientific research in accordance with treaty provisions. The legal *status quo* there will be maintained for the duration of the treaty. Nuclear explosions are prohibited pending general international agreement on the subject.

The Antarctic treaty and the guarantees it embodies constitute a significant advance toward the goal of a peaceful world with justice.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER⁴

The Governments of the United States of America, Argentina, and Chile, on the occasion of the signing of the Antarctic treaty, declare that the Antarctic treaty does not affect their obligations under the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1947.⁵

TEXT OF FINAL ACT

The Governments of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, the French Republic, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America,

Having accepted the invitation extended to them on May 2, 1958, by the Government of the United States of America to participate in a Conference on Antarctica to be attended by representatives of the twelve nations which cooperated in the Antarctic Program of the International Geophysical Year;

Appointed their respective Representatives, who are listed below by countries:

Argentina

Representative

His Excellency
Adolfo Scilingo
(Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representative

Dr. Francisco R. Bello

³ Read to the representatives who signed the Antarctic treaty by Secretary Herter on Dec. 1 (press release 829).

⁴ Released on Dec. 1 (press release 831).

⁵ 62 Stat. 1681.

Australia

Representatives

The Right Honorable
Richard Gardiner Casey, C.H., D.S.O., M.C., M.P.
(Head of Delegation)

His Excellency the Honorable
Howard Beale, Q.C.
(Deputy Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representatives

J. C. G. Kevin
M. R. Booker

Belgium

Representative

His Excellency
Viscount Obert de Thieusies
(Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representatives

Jean de Bassompierre
Alfred van der Essen

Chile

Representatives

His Excellency
Marcial Mora
(Head of Delegation)

His Excellency
Enrique Gajardo

His Excellency
Julio Escudero

Alternate Representative

Horacio Suarez

The French Republic

Representative

His Excellency
Pierre Charpentier
(Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representative

Guy Scalabre

Japan

Representatives

His Excellency
Koichiro Asakai
(Head of Delegation)
Takeso Shimoda

New Zealand

Representatives

The Right Honorable
Walter Nash, C.H.
(Head of Delegation)

A. D. McIntosh, C.M.G.
(Deputy Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representative

G. D. L. White, M.V.O.

Norway

Representatives

His Excellency
Paul Koht
(Head of Delegation)

Torfinn Oftedal
(Deputy Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representatives

Dr. Anders K. Orvin
Gunnar Haerum

Union of South Africa

Representatives

The Honorable
Eric H. Louw
(Head of Delegation)
His Excellency
W. C. du Plessis
(Deputy Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representatives

J. G. Stewart
A. G. Dunn
D. Stuart Franklin

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Representatives

His Excellency
Vasili V. Kuznetsov
(Head of Delegation)

Grigory I. Tunkin

Alternate Representatives

Alexander A. Afanasiev
Vice Admiral Valentin A. Chekurov
Mikhail M. Somov
Mikhail N. Smirnovsky

United Kingdom

Representatives

Sir Esler Dening, G.C.M.G., O.B.E.
(Head of Delegation)

His Excellency
Sir Harold Caccia, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.

Alternate Representatives

H. N. Brain, C.M.G., O.B.E.
The Viscount Hood, C.M.G.
The Honorable
H. A. A. Hankey, C.V.O.

Representative

The Honorable
Herman Phleger
(Head of Delegation)

Alternate Representatives

The Honorable
Paul C. Daniels

George H. Owen

The Conference met at Washington on October 15, 1959. It had before it as a basis for discussion working papers considered in the course of informal preparatory talks among representatives of the twelve countries who had met in Washington following the aforesaid invitation of the Government of the United States of America.

At the opening Plenary Session of the Conference the Honorable Herman Phleger, Head of the United States Delegation, was elected Chairman of the Conference. Mr. Henry E. Allen was appointed Secretary General of the Conference and Rapporteur.

The Conference established two Committees under rotating chairmanship to deal with the items on the agenda of the Conference. Following initial consideration of such items, these Committees were reconstituted as a Committee of the Whole. There were also established a Credentials Committee, a Drafting Committee, and a Committee on Style.

The final session of the Conference was held on December 1, 1959.

As a result of the deliberations of the Conference, as recorded in the summary records and reports of the respective Committees and of the Plenary Sessions, the Conference formulated and submitted for signature on December 1, 1959, the Antarctic Treaty.

The Conference recommended to the participating Governments that they appoint representatives to meet in Washington within two months after the signing of the Treaty and thereafter at such times as may be convenient, pending the entry into force of the Treaty, to consult together and to recommend to their Governments such interim arrangements regarding the matters dealt with in the Treaty as they may deem desirable.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the following Plenipotentiaries sign this Final Act.

DONE at Washington this first day of December, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine, in the English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, each version being equally authentic, in a single original which shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. The Government of the United States of America shall transmit certified copies thereof to all the other Governments represented at the Conference.

For Argentina:

ADOLFO SCILINGO
F. BELLO

For Australia:

HOWARD BEALE.
J. C. G. KEVIN
M R BOOKER

For Belgium:

OBERT DE THIEUSIES

For Chile:

MARCIAL MORA M
E. GAJARDO V
JULIO ESCUDERO

For the French Republic:

PIERRE CHARPENTIER

For Japan:

KOICHIRO ASAKAI
T. SHIMODA

For New Zealand:

G D L WHITE

For Norway:

PAUL KOHT

For the Union of South Africa:

WENTZEL C. DU PLESSIS.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

V. KUZNETSOV [Romanization]
G. TUNKIN [Romanization]

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

HAROLD CACCIA.

For the United States of America:

HERMAN PHLEGER.
PAUL C. DANIELS

TEXT OF ANTARCTIC TREATY

The Governments of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, the French Republic, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America,

Recognizing that it is in the interest of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord;

Acknowledging the substantial contributions to scientific knowledge resulting from international cooperation in scientific investigation in Antarctica;

Convinced that the establishment of a firm foundation for the continuation and development of such cooperation on the basis of freedom of scientific investigation in Antarctica as applied during the International Geophysical Year accords with the interests of science and the progress of all mankind;

Convinced also that a treaty ensuring the use of Antarctica for peaceful purposes only and the continuance of international harmony in Antarctica will further the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations:

Have agreed as follows:

1. Antarctica shall be used for peaceful purposes only. There shall be prohibited, *inter alia*, any measures of a military nature, such as the establishment of military bases and fortifications, the carrying out of military maneuvers, as well as the testing of any type of weapons.

2. The present Treaty shall not prevent the use of military personnel or equipment for scientific research or for any other peaceful purpose.

ARTICLE II

Freedom of scientific investigation in Antarctica and cooperation toward that end, as applied during the International Geophysical Year, shall continue, subject to the provisions of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE III

1. In order to promote international cooperation in scientific investigation in Antarctica, as provided for in Article II of the present Treaty, the Contracting Parties agree that, to the greatest extent feasible and practicable:

(a) information regarding plans for scientific programs in Antarctica shall be exchanged to permit maximum economy and efficiency of operations;

(b) scientific personnel shall be exchanged in Antarctica between expeditions and stations;

(c) scientific observations and results from Antarctica shall be exchanged and made freely available.

2. In implementing this Article, every encouragement shall be given to the establishment of cooperative working relations with those Specialized Agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations having a scientific or technical interest in Antarctica.

ARTICLE IV

1. Nothing contained in the present Treaty shall be interpreted as:

(a) a renunciation by any Contracting Party of previously asserted rights of or claims to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica;

(b) a renunciation or diminution by any Contracting Party of any basis of claim to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica which it may have whether as a result of its activities or those of its nationals in Antarctica, or otherwise;

(c) prejudicing the position of any Contracting Party as regards its recognition or non-recognition of any other State's right of or claim or basis of claim to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica.

2. No acts or activities taking place while the present Treaty is in force shall constitute a basis for asserting, supporting or denying a claim to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica or create any rights of sovereignty in Antarctica. No new claim, or enlargement of an existing claim, to territorial sovereignty in Antarctica shall be asserted while the present Treaty is in force.

1. Any nuclear explosions in Antarctica and the disposal there of radioactive waste material shall be prohibited.

2. In the event of the conclusion of international agreements concerning the use of nuclear energy, including nuclear explosions and the disposal of radioactive waste material, to which all of the Contracting Parties whose representatives are entitled to participate in the meetings provided for under Article IX are parties, the rules established under such agreements shall apply in Antarctica.

ARTICLE VI

The provisions of the present Treaty shall apply to the area south of 60° South Latitude, including all ice shelves, but nothing in the present Treaty shall prejudice or in any way affect the rights, or the exercise of the rights, of any State under international law with regard to the high seas within that area.

ARTICLE VII

1. In order to promote the objectives and ensure the observance of the provisions of the present Treaty, each Contracting Party whose representatives are entitled to participate in the meetings referred to in Article IX of the Treaty shall have the right to designate observers to carry out any inspection provided for by the present Article. Observers shall be nationals of the Contracting Parties which designate them. The names of observers shall be communicated to every other Contracting Party having the right to designate observers, and like notice shall be given of the termination of their appointment.

2. Each observer designated in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article shall have complete freedom of access at any time to any or all areas of Antarctica.

3. All areas of Antarctica, including all stations, installations and equipment within those areas, and all ships and aircraft at points of discharging or embarking cargoes or personnel in Antarctica, shall be open at all times to inspection by any observers designated in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article.

4. Aerial observation may be carried out at any time over any or all areas of Antarctica by any of the Contracting Parties having the right to designate observers.

5. Each Contracting Party shall, at the time when the present Treaty enters into force for it, inform the other Contracting Parties, and thereafter shall give them notice in advance, of

(a) all expeditions to and within Antarctica, on the part of its ships or nationals, and all expeditions to Antarctica organized in or proceeding from its territory;

(b) all stations in Antarctica occupied by its nationals; and

(c) any military personnel or equipment intended to be introduced by it into Antarctica subject to the conditions prescribed in paragraph 2 of Article I of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE VIII

1. In order to facilitate the exercise of their functions under the present Treaty, and without prejudice to the respective positions of the Contracting Parties relating to jurisdiction over all other persons in Antarctica, observers designated under paragraph 1 of Article VII and scientific personnel exchanged under subparagraph 1(b) of Article III of the Treaty, and members of the staffs accompanying any such persons, shall be subject only to the jurisdiction of the Contracting Party of which they are nationals in respect of all acts or omissions occurring while they are in Antarctica for the purpose of exercising their functions.

2. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article, and pending the adoption of measures in pursuance of subparagraph 1(e) of Article IX, the Contracting Parties concerned in any case of dispute with regard to the exercise of jurisdiction in Antarctica shall immediately consult together with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable solution.

ARTICLE IX

1. Representatives of the Contracting Parties named in the preamble to the present Treaty shall meet at the City of Canberra within two months after the date of entry into force of the Treaty, and thereafter at suitable intervals and places, for the purpose of exchanging information, consulting together on matters of common interest pertaining to Antarctica, and formulating and considering, and recommending to their Governments, measures in furtherance of the principles and objectives of the Treaty, including measures regarding:

- (a) use of Antarctica for peaceful purposes only;
- (b) facilitation of scientific research in Antarctica;
- (c) facilitation of international scientific cooperation in Antarctica;
- (d) facilitation of the exercise of the rights of inspection provided for in Article VII of the Treaty;
- (e) questions relating to the exercise of jurisdiction in Antarctica;
- (f) preservation and conservation of living resources in Antarctica.

2. Each Contracting Party which has become a party to the present Treaty by accession under Article XIII shall be entitled to appoint representatives to participate in the meetings referred to in paragraph 1 of the present Article, during such time as that Contracting Party demonstrates its interest in Antarctica by conducting substantial scientific research activity there, such as the establishment of a scientific station or the despatch of a scientific expedition.

3. Reports from the observers referred to in Article VII of the present Treaty shall be transmitted to the representatives of the Contracting Parties participating in the meetings referred to in paragraph 1 of the present Article.

4. The measures referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article shall become effective when approved by all the Contracting Parties whose representatives were entitled

to participate in the meetings held to consider those measures.

5. Any or all of the rights established in the present Treaty may be exercised as from the date of entry into force of the Treaty whether or not any measures facilitating the exercise of such rights have been proposed, considered or approved as provided in this Article.

ARTICLE X

Each of the Contracting Parties undertakes to exert appropriate efforts, consistent with the Charter of the United Nations, to the end that no one engages in any activity in Antarctica contrary to the principles or purposes of the present Treaty.

ARTICLE XI

1. If any dispute arises between two or more of the Contracting Parties concerning the interpretation or application of the present Treaty, those Contracting Parties shall consult among themselves with a view to having the dispute resolved by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. Any dispute of this character not so resolved shall, with the consent, in each case, of all parties to the dispute, be referred to the International Court of Justice for settlement; but failure to reach agreement on reference to the International Court shall not absolve parties to the dispute from the responsibility of continuing to seek to resolve it by any of the various peaceful means referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article.

ARTICLE XII

1. (a) The present Treaty may be modified or amended at any time by unanimous agreement of the Contracting Parties whose representatives are entitled to participate in the meetings provided for under Article IX. Any such modification or amendment shall enter into force when the depositary Government has received notice from all such Contracting Parties that they have ratified it.

(b) Such modification or amendment shall thereafter enter into force as to any other Contracting Party when notice of ratification by it has been received by the depositary Government. Any such Contracting Party from which no notice of ratification is received within a period of two years from the date of entry into force of the modification or amendment in accordance with the provisions of subparagraph 1(a) of this Article shall be deemed to have withdrawn from the present Treaty on the date of the expiration of such period.

2. (a) If after the expiration of thirty years from the date of entry into force of the present Treaty, any of the Contracting Parties whose representatives are entitled to participate in the meetings provided for under Article IX so requests by a communication addressed to the depositary Government, a Conference of all the Contracting Parties shall be held as soon as practicable to review the operation of the Treaty.

(b) Any modification or amendment to the present Treaty which is approved at such a Conference by a ma-

jority of the Contracting Parties there represented, including a majority of those whose representatives are entitled to participate in the meetings provided for under Article IX, shall be communicated by the depositary Government to all the Contracting Parties immediately after the termination of the Conference and shall enter into force in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of the present Article.

(c) If any such modification or amendment has not entered into force in accordance with the provisions of subparagraph 1(a) of this Article within a period of two years after the date of its communication to all the Contracting Parties, any Contracting Party may at any time after the expiration of that period give notice to the depositary Government of its withdrawal from the present Treaty; and such withdrawal shall take effect two years after the receipt of the notice by the depositary Government.

ARTICLE XIII

1. The present Treaty shall be subject to ratification by the signatory States. It shall be open for accession by any State which is a Member of the United Nations, or by any other State which may be invited to accede to the Treaty with the consent of all the Contracting Parties whose representatives are entitled to participate in the meetings provided for under Article IX of the Treaty.

2. Ratification of or accession to the present Treaty shall be effected by each State in accordance with its constitutional processes.

3. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, hereby designated as the depositary Government.

4. The depositary Government shall inform all signatory and acceding States of the date of each deposit of an instrument of ratification or accession, and the date of entry into force of the Treaty and of any modification or amendment thereto.

5. Upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by all the signatory States, the present Treaty shall enter into force for those States and for States which have deposited instruments of accession. Thereafter the Treaty shall enter into force for any acceding State upon the deposit of its instrument of accession.

6. The present Treaty shall be registered by the depositary Government pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XIV

The present Treaty, done in the English, French, Russian, and Spanish languages, each version being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America, which shall transmit duly certified copies thereof to the Governments of the signatory and acceding States.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, duly authorized, have signed the present Treaty.

DONE at Washington this first day of December, one thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine.

For Argentina:

ADOLFO SCILINGO

F. BELLO

For Australia:

HOWARD BEALE.

For Belgium:

OBERT DE THIEUSIES

For Chile:

MARCIAL MORA M

E. GAJARDO V

JULIO ESCUDERO.

For the French Republic:

PIERRE CHARPENTIER

For Japan:

KOICHIRO ASAKAI

T. SHIMODA

For New Zealand:

G D L WHITE

For Norway:

PAUL KOHT

For the Union of South Africa:

WENTZEL C. DU PLESSIS.

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

V. KUZNETSOV [Romanization]

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

HAROLD CACCIA.

For the United States of America:

HERMAN PHLEGER.

PAUL C. DANIELS

U.N. General Assembly Urges Suspension of Nuclear Tests

Following are statements made in Committee I (Political and Security) by Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Representative to the General Assembly, together with the texts of two resolutions adopted in plenary on November 21.

STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 18

U.S. delegation press release 3297

I should like to make a few brief remarks under my right of reply.

The representative of the Soviet Union said that the insistence of the United States on the further study of the scientific data relating to the detection of underground tests "means that the attainment of an agreement on the cessation of tests will be postponed indefinitely."

I really think that calls for a few words of

reply from me, and I should like to say that the United States is definitely not dragging its feet. We are anxious to complete agreement on a treaty regarding the cessation of nuclear weapons tests just as soon as the Soviet Union agrees on an effective international control system.

We welcome the recent agreement of the Soviet Union, after it refused for several months to examine the scientific data, to discuss the technical data relating to underground tests. At this very moment our representatives in Geneva are working out the basis for discussions on this subject.¹ We expect these discussions to succeed. The moment the work is completed there need be no delay in moving on to the translation of the findings into the provisions of the treaty.

The Soviet representative has continued to maintain today that the number of inspections should be fixed without reference to the scientific facts. This is hard to understand, I must admit. One can only speculate as to the motive for rejecting the idea that inspection should be related to the number of unidentified events.

STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 19

U.S. delegation press release 3299

The United States has already made its position clear on the question of the testing of nuclear weapons. As I said here yesterday, the United States is anxious to achieve agreement on a treaty on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests just as soon as the Soviet Union agrees to an effective international control system.

I think it is appropriate, however, for me to say a few words about the two resolutions before the committee.

The first resolution,² submitted by Austria, Japan, and Sweden, is addressed to the states concerned in the Geneva discussions. It urges the states concerned in the Geneva discussions to "continue their present voluntary discontinuance of the testing of nuclear weapons."

The United States, as one of the states concerned, will vote in favor of this paragraph and this resolution.

¹ For an announcement naming the U.S. technical experts, see BULLETIN of Dec. 14, 1959, p. 859.

² U.N. doc. A/C.1/L.236/Rev. 1; adopted in Committee I on Nov. 19.

The United States has voluntarily refrained from conducting nuclear weapons tests since October 31 of last year. We have recently announced our intention to continue this suspension at least through this year.³ The purpose of this voluntary action is to provide the best possible circumstances for the success of the Geneva negotiations.

At this point it is obviously impossible to know what the status of these negotiations will be at the end of this year. However, I can assure you that the United States will continue to do everything in its power to enhance the prospects of success at Geneva. The United States voluntary moratorium may be continued, depending upon circumstances which have yet to develop.

On the other hand—and let there be no misunderstanding on this point—the objective which we are striving to achieve is the ending of nuclear weapons test explosions under an agreement providing for effective international control. We do not think that an indefinite continuation of a voluntary, uncontrolled suspension of tests will contribute to this objective. In such circumstances our further efforts to reach agreement on a test suspension with proper safeguards would probably be fruitless.

Furthermore, as we have repeatedly explained in detail to this Assembly, we consider that test suspension not subject to verification is incompatible with requirements of national security. Since nuclear tests can be conducted in such ways that, in the absence of controls, they are impossible to detect, it is clear that without controls there would be no assurance that tests had in fact been stopped. For example, nuclear tests conducted underground leave no telltale fallout. The United States continues to believe that a system of agreed control is an utterly indispensable prerequisite to a permanent cessation of nuclear tests.

In the negotiations at Geneva we seek an agreement incorporating adequate controls which will represent a step forward on the path to achieving true disarmament. The Geneva negotiations are thus a test of whether we can in fact move forward in the quest for mutual arms control agreements. Our objective is not just the ending of nuclear weapons tests.

In voting for the resolution submitted by Austria, Japan, and Sweden the United States again

³ BULLETIN of Sept. 14, 1959, p. 374.

notes that it remains opposed to any permanent cessation of nuclear tests without agreement on a system of international safeguards.

The other resolution before the committee,⁴ submitted by India and a number of cosponsors, is more far-reaching. It includes certain language with which we are not in accord. I should like to make plain, however, that the same considerations I have just set forth regarding the position of the United States also apply to this resolution.

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS

Three-Power Resolution⁵

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 1252 B (XIII) of 4 November 1958,

Noting that the negotiations on the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests and on the establishment of an appropriate international control system, which began in Geneva on 31 October 1958, are still continuing,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the States concerned for their efforts to reach an agreement relating to the prohibition of nuclear weapons tests and including an appropriate international control system;

2. *Expresses the hope* that these States will intensify their efforts to reach such an agreement at an early date;

3. *Urges* the States concerned in these negotiations to continue their present voluntary discontinuance of the testing of nuclear weapons;

4. *Requests* the States concerned to report to the General Assembly the results of their negotiations.

24-Power Resolution⁶

The General Assembly,

Desiring to safeguard mankind from the increasing hazards resulting from tests of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons,

Bearing in mind the profound concern evinced by the peoples of all countries regarding the testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons,

Welcoming the endeavours at Geneva of the States concerned to reach an agreement on discontinuance of these tests, and the progress so far achieved,

Noting with appreciation that the States concerned have voluntarily suspended such tests, enabling progress in the discussions at Geneva,

Considering that an agreement on the cessation of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests with effective international control is urgent,

1. *Expresses its appreciation* to the States concerned for their patient and sincere efforts to reach agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests with effective international control, and for the progress hitherto achieved;

2. *Expresses further the hope* that the States concerned will reach such agreement at an early date;

3. *Appeals* to the States concerned in the Geneva discussions to continue their present voluntary suspension of tests, and to other States to desist from such tests;

4. *Requests* the States concerned to report to the Disarmament Commission and the General Assembly the results of their negotiations.

The U.N. Emergency Force, Responsibility of All Members

Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge

U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹

Three years ago the members of the United Nations meeting here in this very hall were faced with a mounting and a multiple threat to the peace of the world. To meet the danger of a situation created by one of those threats—the crisis at Suez—the General Assembly, during one night's session, created the United Nations Emergency Force.² It is interesting to remember that not one single member of the General Assembly voted against the establishment of that force on that night.

The deeds which have been achieved by this force in the last 3 years could fill us all with the greatest pride for the part which we played in its creation, and here is why I say that:

Before the creation of this force, both the Gaza Strip and the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba had been explosive places full of peril to the peace of the world. But after this force came into the field, the mere presence of this United Nations Emergency Force, in these two places, has been enough to make them peaceful.

Now that is a very brief statement. And yet no more needs to be said. For to say this is to say everything. The United Nations Emergency

⁴ U.N. doc. A/C.1/L.237/Rev. 1/Add. 2; adopted in Committee I on Nov. 19.

⁵ U.N. doc. A/RES/1402 A (XIV) (A/C.1/L. 236/Rev. 1); adopted in plenary session on Nov. 21 by a vote of 78 (U.S.)-0-2.

⁶ U.N. doc. A/RES/1402 B (XIV) (A/C.1/L. 237/Rev. 1 and Add. 2); adopted in plenary session on Nov. 21 by a vote of 60-1-20 (U.S.).

¹ Made in plenary session on Nov. 21 (U.S. delegation press release 3305).

² BULLETIN of Feb. 25, 1957, p. 325.

Force has had a record of complete success. It has in every respect fulfilled our highest expectations; and you do not have to take my word for this—you will find it in the report of the Secretary-General.³ Surely it would be a most imprudent and a most irresponsible act to permit this force to go out of existence. To do so would simply recreate the same disorderly and inflamed conditions which brought about the great trouble of 1956.

The Secretary-General tells us “. . . it is difficult to foresee when the United Nations Emergency Force might be withdrawn without inviting the risk of dangerous consequences.” He who would contribute directly or indirectly to ending this force in the face of this statement by the Secretary-General, the number-one international civil servant of the world, takes upon himself a heavy and a fateful responsibility indeed.

Instead of talking this way, we should be offering our thanks to the 10 member states who have contributed military personnel; we should be offering our thanks to General [E. L. M.] Burns, who commands the force, and our thanks to the thousands of officers and men who have served and are serving with the force. We can pay tribute to the General Assembly, which had the intelligence, the imagination, and the courage to create this force—because it is through courage and sacrifice and not by hedging and trimming that we will build great traditions for the United Nations, that we will make the United Nations work. The United Nations is only as good as the willingness of its members to support it when the going gets rough. And the United Nations Emergency Force gives us a prime opportunity to do just this.

General Responsibility of All Members

Obviously a force like this cannot exist on air alone. It costs money, and each member must accept its fair share of the responsibility. The threat of 1956 was a worldwide threat and not merely local. Every member has benefited and is benefiting today from the existence of the United Nations Emergency Force.

Remember that in every resolution involving this force the General Assembly has recognized the general responsibility of the United Nations

for maintaining peace in the Middle East. They did not say it was the responsibility of this country or that country, or of two or three countries; they said it was the general responsibility of the United Nations. To carry out this principle, the General Assembly has decided that all members should share in the cost of the force.

We realize that the expense of the United Nations Emergency Force has created a substantial financial burden for some states. The United States and other members have recognized this fact and have therefore made voluntary contributions for the support of the force in order to reduce the burden on those less able to pay.

We have examined with care the Secretary-General's report contained in document A/4210. We agree with him that the force must be maintained at the minimum strength necessary for the performance of its task. This will take money, considerable sums of money; but, as the Secretary-General has said, the removal of the United Nations Emergency Force could only lead to a substantial increase of disturbances whose cumulative effect “would probably soon attain a seriousness far overshadowing the effort and expense now involved in the maintenance of the Force.”

Therefore I ask you this question: Could there ever be money spent for a better cause than to save succeeding generations—our children, our grandchildren—from the scourge of war?

This is an obligation resting on all members. All the arguments have been heard, the decision has been made, and it is therefore the clear duty to contribute.

I trust, however, that our feelings will be not so much those of duty, clear though the duty is. I hope rather that we all will feel proud of what we have accomplished and consider it a privilege to support this bold and imaginative step toward the prevention of war.

Refusal of Soviet Union To Share Costs

We have heard the speech of the Soviet representative, and I must say that the continued refusal of the Soviet Union to accept its fair share of the cost of the force—on whatever grounds—is really disappointing, and I hope that the Soviet Union may yet reconsider it.

The only conclusion to be drawn from Mr. [A. A.] Sobolev's speech is that the Soviet Union is deliberately and as a matter of conscious pol-

³ U.N. doc. A/4210.

icy—not because of financial stringency—opposed to having the United Nations Force maintain the peace as it is doing. I regret that on this particular question once again the Soviet Union finds itself alone.

The unwillingness of the Soviet Union to pay its duly levied assessments has created a financial crisis both for UNEF and for this Organization as a whole.

It raises a serious question as to whether the Soviet Union really desires the maintenance of stability in the Middle East.

It indicates that the Soviet Union has no desire to see the United Nations develop as a more effective organ in meeting its obligations under the charter.

It shows disdain for duly adopted decisions of the General Assembly when those decisions do not happen to accord with the views of the Soviet Union.

Finally, it represents what is in effect an attempt to veto a major policy decision of the General Assembly. Remember that the United Nations Emergency Force was established by the vote of an overwhelming majority of the members of this Organization. As I have said, there was not a single dissenting vote. From its very inception UNEF has been considered as a general United Nations responsibility, both as to its operation and as to its finances. Every resolution involving UNEF has been adopted by a substantial majority of the members of the Assembly on this basis. It had to be that way, because only on such a basis could the force effectively represent the Organization. Only on such a basis could the contributing members make military personnel available. Only on this basis could the force be financed.

We deplore the refusal of the Soviet Union to pay any of its assessed share of UNEF costs—let alone to make a special contribution, which it certainly is in a position to do if it wanted to. We have all heard before the argument of the Soviet delegation that the creation of UNEF was unlawful. This is a strange position indeed for a member to take which did not vote against the resolution establishing UNEF in 1956. Was it lawful then and has it become unlawful since then? It also ignores the consistent support given the force by the overwhelming majority of members of the General Assembly.

The attitude of a member toward a resolution, including the casting of a negative vote, does not in any way absolve that member from any of the legal obligations or financial responsibilities of membership set forth in articles 17 and 19 of the charter. Opinions regarding the merits of decisions duly taken by the Organization and the financial responsibilities of membership are wholly separate matters. But obviously there would soon be no United Nations at all if members were free to pick and to choose which decisions of the Organization they would support financially and which they would not. So long as a country is a member of this Organization it must honor its obligations to pay its assessments as determined by a legal decision of the General Assembly.

We have heard once more the Soviet argument that the aggressors must pay for the United Nations Emergency Force. This is a peculiar refrain. It argues that the north Koreans and the Chinese Communists should pay for the cost of the Korean campaign because they were officially proclaimed to be the aggressors by the United Nations in the case of that Korean affair—and I have yet to hear the Soviet representative make a suggestion that this be done, and yet, to be consistent with himself, that certainly is what he should do.

The United Nations Emergency Force is a clear obligation of honor. To refuse to pay one's share—and by that I mean deliberately and as a matter of conscious policy—is to welsh. Now that is a blunt word, but it is an accurate word. I trust that the Soviet Union will yet see the light and will live up to its international obligations.

[In reply to a second statement by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Lodge said the following in the General Assembly:]

I simply wish to point out that of course Mr. Sobolev is right when he says that decisions of the General Assembly on political questions are purely recommendatory. But that is not true at all as regards financial questions. Decisions of the General Assembly are not merely recommendations as far as money is concerned, and it is very clear in the charter that a financial obligation of the United Nations is an obligation of honor resting on members. Members who deliberately and consciously seek to evade that obligation are

doing something which, to use the short and ugly English word, can only be described as welshing.

Then I would like to say, if the Soviet Union thought at the time that the creation of the United Nations Emergency Force was illegal, why did they not vote against it?

U.S. Expresses Confidence in Future of Cameroun

Statement by Clement J. Zablocki

*U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

I would like to state briefly my delegation's views on draft Resolution L. 610. My delegation has thought long and hard about this problem. We have considered and rejected numerous possibilities. We believe the sponsors of this resolution are to be commended for attempting to solve a heart-rending problem. This difficult situation exists in a country, blessed by nature and by the intellectual vigor of its population in so many ways, unable thus far to achieve complete acceptance by all of the people of peaceful solutions to domestic political differences.

Before I explain why the United States will vote against the proposal, let me make it perfectly clear that we understand and appreciate the motives and the purposes of the cosponsors. Nothing but good will is intended for the new nation. The United States, however, has some very grave reservations on this resolution.

Basically, we believe that the implications of this resolution are in conflict with the decision taken by the resumed session of the 13th General Assembly last March.²

Secondly, while we know it was not so intended, we fear that this reversal will be construed by many people as a General Assembly political act which detracts from the confidence which we have placed in Prime Minister [Amadou] Ahidjo. The coming 2 months will be the most important period in the development of Cameroun, and anything which might weaken the present Government might well prejudice the birth of a new nation.

Thirdly, we do not think that the resolution takes proper note of the invitation which the Camerounian Government has just extended to all political elements to meet with them in a roundtable to discuss the future of the country.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the comments of the distinguished representative of Iraq, in which he hoped we could support the draft resolution of which he and many of our other good friends are cosponsors. The independence of Cameroun is a matter of days away. Our hopes for the prosperity of this new nation are as sincere as those of the cosponsors of this resolution. We believe, however, that a resolution of this type might have serious consequences and does not give the Government the full support to which it is entitled. We believe the passage of a resolution of this kind is not the warmest way to welcome to our midst a new member of the United Nations.

U.S. Reservations on Resolution

Now for the resolution. The preambular paragraphs simply recall key portions of Resolution 1349 (XIII) of 13 March 1959, which my delegation supported then as the definitive decision to be taken by the United Nations on this subject. We could vote for these paragraphs again, although we believe repetition is not a virtue; indeed, we consider it the bane of this committee.

Our difficulties start with the unfortunate conjunction of the last preambular sentence and the first operative paragraph. We are asked to agree that "having heard the views of the petitioners, [the General Assembly] notes the unfavourable conditions prevailing in the Territory." The implication is that, had we not heard the statements of the petitioners, we would be unaware of conditions in the country. This is surely not so. We all know that there exists a problem of national peace and reconciliation, that organized attempts to spread panic and disorder have been met by forceful measures, and that in the process lives shockingly have been lost in a country where rejoicing should be universal.

There can exist legitimate differences of opinion as to whether or not some of the undertakings described in the preambular paragraphs have been carried out by the Government of Cameroun. However, operative paragraph 2 implies that none of these engagements have been observed. Certainly, many Camerounians have returned to their

¹ Made in Committee IV (Trusteeship) on Nov. 19 (U.S. delegation press release 3298).

² For background and text of Resolution 1349 (XIII), see BULLETIN of Apr. 13, 1959, p. 531.

homes and have resumed normal life. For example, we know that 257 additional Bassa returned to Sanaga Maritime in mid-October. Moreover, the Government of Cameroun has announced that legislative elections would take place in late February or early March and that the constitution would be submitted to popular referendum in early January. Therefore, my delegation cannot accept the clear implication in operative paragraph 2 that the government of Prime Minister Ahidjo has failed to carry out any of the terms of Resolution 1349 (XIII).

On the eve of independence it ill behooves the nations expressing friendship and desire to be of assistance to Cameroun to discredit the sincere efforts of the Camerounian Government to abide by the provisions of Resolution 1349 (XIII).

Operative paragraph 3 would seem to place on the same footing those who have committed murder and the police forces which have attempted to stop the violence. Surely we should call upon all Camerounians to avoid violence but recommend to the Government that it act with as much charity and understanding as possible. It is not appropriate to place dissident citizens and legitimate governments on exactly the same footing in a General Assembly resolution.

Paragraph 5 is of dubious value because it implies that the "unfavourable conditions" in the territory are entirely the Government's fault and that, since only governments can in the first instance guarantee the fundamental rights laid down in the charter, if these rights are not now being observed, it necessarily is the Government's fault. We cannot accept this as an accurate and fair statement of the reasons for conditions in the country. It is our understanding there is intensive, full, and free democratic political activity in the country.

Our main difficulty, however, is with operative paragraph 6, which would set up a three-man commission to assist the Government and the people of Cameroun in achieving an atmosphere of peace and harmony. Would such a group be acceptable to the Government of Cameroun? If, as seems likely, it would not, what possible use could it be? Indeed, would it be permitted to enter the country? To whom would it report its recommendations to promote peace and harmony? Obviously to no one. What would its powers be? Very few, if any. Mr. Chairman, the distin-

guished delegate of India stated this morning that the proposed commission will help to calm the situation in Cameroun. How can that be? I maintain that, by its very nature and existence, the commission would undermine the efforts and the authority of the legitimate government of Cameroun, thereby aggravating the internal situation.

Furthermore, if the terms of the trusteeship agreement are to be carried out, the Administering Authority responsible for administration of the territory must agree if the resolution is ever to be implemented. If there are member states able to assist the Government and people of Cameroun to achieve the purposes of this resolution, they can come forward to offer their services without a resolution.

The problems of Cameroun increasingly belong to its people, and we hope its neighbors will help them, as we of the New World have endeavored to help one another.

Political Leaders Invited To Confer

I have been more negative than I would like to be, Mr. Chairman, because we are discussing a draft resolution and not engaging in general debate. At the same time, my delegation welcomes the reaffirmation, on November 11, by Prime Minister Ahidjo of his willingness to take part in a roundtable conference on political problems. We have noted that Messieurs Moussa Yaya for the *Union camerounaise*, Andred Fouda for the *Rassemblement du peuple camerounais*, Charles Assale for the National Action Party, and Charles Okala for the Socialist Party issued an invitation on November 14 to all leaders of political parties, movements, and segments of opinion whether in Cameroun or abroad to apply before November 30 for participation in the conference. A preparatory committee has been established. The only condition imposed is that all participants must renounce violence as a means of political action. Those who have openly accepted the responsibility for terrorism but who now formally renounce violence can, we believe, return in full liberty to take part in this conference. We urge them to take advantage of this last chance.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to recall the very moving words on the use of violence spoken by the distinguished delegate of India at the resumed session. Speaking of Mahatma Gandhi, he re-

called that this great man "called off the mighty movement of civil disobedience in India in 1921 because of a single instance of mob violence in the later stages of the movement." Although we cannot expect anyone in our time to approach the saintly rectitude of this man, it is not too much to ask that violence in a trust territory not be rewarded. Apart from the moral abhorrence in which we hold it, history has proven it unnecessary. Cameroun will become independent in about 1 month.

For these reasons, my delegation cannot support the resolution and shall vote against it.³

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

General Assembly

Progress Achieved by the Non-Self-Governing Territories in Pursuance of Chapter XI of the Charter: Status of Women in Non-Self-Governing Territories. Report prepared by the Secretariat. A/4193. November 11, 1959. 27 pp.

United Nations Special Fund: Administrative Budget for 1960. Twenty-fourth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4268. November 11, 1959. 5 pp.

Programmes of Technical Assistance: Budget Estimates of the Technical Assistance Board Secretariat for the Year 1960. Twenty-fifth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4269. November 12, 1959. 8 pp.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1960: Department of Economic and Social Affairs—Organizational Changes and Review of Internal Procedures Relating to the Technical Assistance Programme. Report of the Secretary-General. A/C.5/801. November 13, 1959. 20 pp.

Annual Progress Report of the Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation for 1959. Statement of financial implications submitted by the Secretary-General. A/4119/Add. 1. November 13, 1959. 5 pp.

Construction of the United Nations Building in Santiago, Chile. Twenty-sixth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4277. November 13, 1959. 4 pp.

Report of the Economic and Social Council (Chapter VI, Sections I, II, III and V; Chapter VII, Sections I, II,

III, IV, VI, VII, VIII and IX). Report of the Third Committee. A/4250. November 17, 1959. 30 pp.

Annual Progress Report of the United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation: Statement of Financial Implications Submitted by the Secretary-General. Corrigendum. A/4283/Corr. 1. November 17, 1959. 1 p.

United Nations Emergency Force: Supplementary Estimates for 1959 and Revised Estimates for 1960. Twenty-eighth report of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to the General Assembly at its 14th session. A/4284. November 17, 1959. 4 pp.

Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Proposed by the Special Representative on the Question of Hungary—Question of Hungary. Letter dated 16 November 1959 from the Special Representative on the Question of Hungary addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4285. November 17, 1959. 2 pp.

Request for the Inclusion of an Additional Item in the Agenda of the Fourteenth Regular Session: Item Proposed by the United States of America—Question of Hungary. Letter dated 20 November 1959 from the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, addressed to the Secretary-General. A/4292. November 20, 1959. 3 pp.

Economic and Social Council

Economic Commission for Latin America. The Fiscal Budget as an Instrument in the Programming of Economic Development. A provisional document subject to modification. E/CN.12/521. April 25, 1959. 72 pp.

Technical Assistance Committee. United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance. Report of the Secretary-General on programs of technical assistance financed by the regular budget. E/TAC/95. November 17, 1959. 30 pp.

TREATY INFORMATION

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Agriculture

Protocol of amendment to the convention on the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences of January 15, 1944 (58 Stat. 1169). Opened for signature at Washington December 1, 1958.¹

Ratification deposited: El Salvador, December 1, 1959.

Antarctica

The Antarctic Treaty. Signed at Washington December 1, 1959. Enters into force upon the deposit of ratifications by all the signatory states.

Signatures: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

¹ Not in force.

³ On Nov. 19 Committee IV rejected the draft resolution by a vote of 33-41-7.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain libraries in the United States.

Finance

Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank, with annexes. Done at Washington April 8, 1959.¹

Signature: Venezuela, November 18, 1959.

Narcotics

Protocol for limiting and regulating the cultivation of the poppy plant, the production of, international and wholesale trade in, and use of opium. Dated at New York June 23, 1953.¹

Accession deposited: Brazil, November 3, 1959.

Sugar

International sugar agreement of 1958. Done at London December 1, 1958. Entered into force provisionally January 1, 1959.

Accession deposited: El Salvador, November 3, 1959.

Ratifications deposited: Morocco, October 26, 1959; Philippines, July 16, 1959; Poland, October 28, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.¹

Notification of approval: France, October 17, 1959;

Paraguay, October 6, 1959; Tunisia, October 12, 1959;

United Kingdom, including Channel Islands and Isle of Man, October 22, 1959.

Wheat

International wheat agreement, 1959, with annex. Opened for signature at Washington April 6 through 24, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, for part I and parts III to VIII, and August 1, 1959, for part II. TIAS 4302.

Acceptances deposited: Spain, Sweden, November 30, 1959; Argentina, Australia, Ireland, and Japan, December 1, 1959.

Accession deposited: Iceland, December 1, 1959.

Notification received November 25, 1959, from United Kingdom of application to: Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, British Solomon Islands, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Dominica, Falkland Islands, Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya, Mauritius, Monserrat, The Federation of Nigeria, North Borneo, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Sarawak, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, and Zanzibar.

BILATERAL

Bolivia

Agreement amending the economic assistance agreement of November 6, 1953 (TIAS 2883). Effected by exchange of notes at La Paz August 24 and November 11, 1959. Entered into force November 11, 1959.

Ceylon

Agreement amending the agreement of November 17, 1952 (TIAS 2652), for financing certain educational exchange programs. Effected by exchange of notes at Colombo July 29 and October 7, 1959. Entered into force October 7, 1959.

¹ Not in force.

Japan

Agreement relating to the donation of wheat flour to Japan for distribution to typhoon victims. Effected by exchange of notes at Tokyo November 12, 1959. Entered into force November 12, 1959.

Libya

Agreement concerning the economic assistance program in Libya for fiscal year 1959 amending and supplementing the agreement of September 9, 1954, as amended (TIAS 3105 and 3382). Effected by exchange of notes at Benghazi May 21, 1959. Entered into force May 21, 1959.

New Zealand

Agreement relating to an aerial photographic survey of the New Zealand coastline. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington October 30, 1959. Entered into force October 30, 1959.

Norway

Convention modifying and supplementing convention of July 13, 1949 (TIAS 2357), for avoidance of double taxation and prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income. Signed at Oslo July 10, 1958. Entered into force October 21, 1959.

Proclaimed by the President: November 23, 1959.

Turkey

Agreement approving the procedures to be used in the sale of excess and/or scrap property in Turkey by the United States. Effected by exchange of notes at Ankara October 6 and November 13, 1959. Entered into force November 13, 1959.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Recess Appointments

The President on December 1 appointed Livingston T. Merchant to be Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, vice Robert D. Murphy, resigned.

Designations

Charles W. Adair, Jr., as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, effective November 1. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 849 dated December 10.)

J. Lampton Berry as Deputy Director of Intelligence and Research, effective December 1.

Charles E. Bohlen as Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, effective December 5. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 660 dated September 21.)

Harland J. Corson as Director, U.S. Operations Mission, Mexico, effective December 3. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 835 dated December 3.)

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

American Foreign Policy—Current Documents, 1956. Pub. 6811. xxxiv, 1,495 pp. \$4.75 (buckram).

An annual collection of the principal messages, addresses, statements, reports, diplomatic notes, and treaties made during a given calendar year which indicate the scope, goals, and implementation of the foreign policy of the United States.

The Citizen's Role in Cultural Relations. Pub. 6854. International Information and Cultural Series 69. 36 pp. 20¢.

A pamphlet giving an account of public-private cooperation in the International Educational Exchange Program.

Technical Cooperation in Health. Pub. 6855. Economic Cooperation Series 54. 28 pp. 15¢.

A review of the U.S. bilateral programs of cooperation in the health field throughout the world and the significant results achieved.

United States Foreign Policy in a New Age. Pub. 6864. General Foreign Policy Series 138. 36 pp. 25¢.

This pamphlet, another in the popular *Background* series, is based on excerpts from addresses and statements by Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs.

Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program. Pub. 6890. General Foreign Policy Series 142. 51 pp. Limited distribution.

The fifteenth semiannual report on the operations of the Mutual Security Program for the first half of fiscal year 1959.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. TIAS 4250. 52 pp. 20¢.

Second protocol of rectifications and modifications to the texts of the schedules to the agreement of October 30, 1947, between the United States of America and Other Governments—Done at Geneva November 8, 1952. Entered into force February 2, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities—Cooperative Cholera Research. TIAS 4261. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Thailand, amending agreement of March 4, 1957. Exchange of notes—Signed at Bangkok March 12 and April 9, 1959. Entered into force April 9, 1959.

Defense—Loan of Small Craft to China. TIAS 4274. 11 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei July 8, 1959. Entered into force July 8, 1959.

Double Taxation—Taxes on Income. TIAS 4280. 8 pp. 10¢.

Supplementary convention between the United States of America and Belgium, modifying convention of October 28, 1948, as modified by the supplementary convention of

September 9, 1952—Signed at Washington August 22, 1957. Ratification advised by the Senate of the United States of America July 9, 1958; ratified by the President of the United States of America July 23, 1958; ratified by Belgium July 8, 1959; ratifications exchanged at Brussels July 10, 1959; proclaimed by the President of the United States of America July 28, 1959. Entered into force July 10, 1959, with exchange of notes—signed at Washington April 2, 1954, and July 28, 1959.

Weather Stations—Cooperative Program at Guayaquil. TIAS 4282. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Ecuador, amending the agreement of April 24, 1957, as extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Quito June 9 and July 22, 1959. Entered into force July 22, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4283. 7 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Arab Republic—Signed at Cairo July 29, 1959. Entered into force July 29, 1959, with exchange of notes.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities—Child Feeding Program. TIAS 4284. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Italy. Exchange of notes—Signed at Rome July 30, 1959. Entered into force July 30, 1959.

Opening of Inspection Stations at Córdoba Island. TIAS 4285. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington July 31 and August 5, 1959. Entered into force August 5, 1959.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: November 30–December 6

Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to November 30 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 823 of November 27 and 825 of November 28.

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826	11/30	Abduction of U.S. consular employee at Bombay.
827	12/1	Signing of Antarctic treaty.
†828	12/1	U.S.–U.S.S.R. cultural exchange agreement.
829	12/1	Eisenhower: Antarctic treaty.
830	12/1	Murphy: "What Is Past Is Prologue."
831	12/1	Herter: Antarctic treaty.
832	12/1	Laos credentials (rewrite).
833	11/30	Limitation of arms in American Republics.
*834	12/2	Hare to be nominated Deputy Under Secretary for Political Affairs (biographic details).
*835	12/3	Corson designated director, USOM, Mexico (biographic details).
836	12/4	Dillon: School of Advanced International Studies.
837	12/4	U.S.–Venezuelan air transport talks.
*838	12/4	Eaton designated to disarmament committee (biographic details).
839	12/4	Exchange of messages with Brazilian Foreign Minister on Inter-American Advisory Committee.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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Bulletin

Vol. XLI, No. 1070

December 28, 1959

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THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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December 28, 1959

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

President Eisenhower Visits Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan

President Eisenhower left Washington on December 3 for a trip to 11 countries in Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa. Following are texts of joint communiques issued following his visits to Italy, Turkey, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ROME, DECEMBER 5

Press release 844 dated December 8

The President of the United States, assisted by Ambassador [Robert] Murphy, the President of the Italian Republic and the President of the Council of Ministers of the Italian Republic [Giovanni Gronchi], assisted by Minister of Foreign Affairs [Giuseppe] Pella, concluded on December 5 a two-day series of meetings which were held both at the Quirinal Palace and the Viminal Palace. The conversations were animated by friendship, respect and understanding. They covered a wide range of international topics in which both Italy and the United States are interested.

The meetings were conducted in the clear knowledge that Italy's increasing contribution to the elaboration of a common Western policy is in the interest of the Western countries.

President Eisenhower and President Gronchi discussed plans for their respective visits to the Soviet Union next year. They agreed that these visits are being undertaken in the hope that they will advance the cause of peace and contribute to the search for solutions to outstanding international problems.

Both parties declared that the North Atlantic Alliance remains the cornerstone of their foreign policies. They found themselves in full agreement with regard to the vital role which the North Atlantic Alliance must continue to play.

They confirmed the firm belief that the way to world peace lies through full application of the principles set forth in the U.N. Charter and expressed the dedication of their two countries to the United Nations.

They exchanged views regarding appropriate ways and means to accelerate the economic growth of the less developed countries of the world, with the purpose of increasing the combined economic strength of the free world and the well-being of all peoples. They agreed that increased free-world participation in assistance to the less developed areas is necessary and that this participation should be coordinated among the free nations.

The participants expressed their determination to pursue policies aimed at reducing the burden of armaments throughout the world. The two Governments also expressed their determination to do all in their power to insure that the ten-nation disarmament group, of which both Italy and the United States are members, will be able to lay the groundwork for an acceptable solution to the problem of disarmament, which can only be achieved within the framework of a specific system of controls, inspections and safeguards.

They reviewed developments related to the European Economic Community. They noted the substantial progress which is being achieved in carrying out the Rome Treaty and in increasing political and economic unity among the member states of the Community. They were agreed on the continuing importance of these objectives and the need for the Community to evolve policies in order to promote collaboration with other similar associations and other countries, and also to contribute to the goal of freer, expanded world trade.

President Segni informed President Eisenhower of the measures being taken by the Italian

Government to further liberalize trade with the dollar area. President Eisenhower noted this action with satisfaction.

The two Presidents and the Prime Minister considered efforts which are being made through GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] and other appropriate bodies to remove obstacles to world trade. They agreed that further measures should be taken to eliminate discriminatory trade restrictions.

This series of meetings constituted an important step in the progress toward the realization of the ideals of peace, security, justice and social progress which form the basis of all the policies of the two countries.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, ANKARA, DECEMBER 7

Press release 845 dated December 8

President Eisenhower visited Turkey on December 6 through December 7, 1959. The sincere rejoicing of the Turkish nation and the outstanding reception extended to President Eisenhower and to his party during his brief but meaningful visit reaffirmed in the most impressive way the existing strong friendship and close cooperation between the governments and peoples of Turkey and the United States. The visit demonstrated anew the desire of both countries to continue this fruitful cooperation in their mutual interest as well as in that of the community of free nations to which they both belong.

In the course of this visit talks were held at President [Celal] Bayar's residence on Sunday evening between the two Presidents with the participation of Prime Minister [Adnan] Menderes and Foreign Minister [Fatin Rustu] Zorlu, Under Secretary of State Murphy, Secretary General [of the Foreign Ministry Melih] Esenbel and Ambassador [Fletcher] Warren.

During the talks a full and friendly exchange took place on a wide range of problems of common interest.

The alliance and partnership of Turkey and the United States within the defense organization of NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization] and active association in CENTO [Central Treaty Organization], together with their common participation in the actions of the United Nations for the preservation of peace, influenced the nature and

the scope of the talks. Turkish cooperation in the United Nations Command, Korea, was recalled in this connection. On the vital question of the creation of an atmosphere that would lead to establishment of a true *detente* in the whole world, the two Presidents agreed that such a *detente*, in order to be effective, should be based on justice and equality and provided with the essential safeguards. Since it is not possible to divide the many problems at present separating East and West into separate compartments, they recognized that *detente* like peace had to be considered as an indivisible entity. It was understood that an efficient controlled system of disarmament is necessary.

In the course of the discussions particular attention was paid to existing areas of tension and danger throughout the world. President Bayar and President Eisenhower jointly expressed strong conviction that at this point in history the future of humanity depended above all on the degree of solidarity in thought and action which the free nations can master in meeting their common problems. They agreed that cooperation and continuing consultation between the two countries both on a bilateral basis and within NATO and CENTO were paramount.

President Bayar expressed his sincere appreciation of the admirable efforts made by President Eisenhower in order to reduce international tensions and both Presidents voiced the hope that these efforts would bear fruit for the benefit of the whole world. Particular attention was paid to the question of subversive activities in the Middle East and the situation was appraised in the light of an eventual atmosphere of *detente*.

Economic aspects of the Turkish-American relations, as well as the broader problem of the assistance to underdeveloped countries, were considered. President Bayar stressed the importance of securing a sufficient raising of the living standard of the Turkish people in order to enable Turkey to assume adequately the responsibilities which her geographic position imposes upon her. He outlined the economic progress achieved in the last ten years in Turkey and expressed appreciation for the generous assistance given by the American people to Turkey.

President Eisenhower expressed his appreciation of the economic and social goals met by the Turkish nation. He expressed confidence that the

United States will continue to support, in concert with other friends and allies, the economic development and security efforts of Turkey. He expressed his belief that such efforts would be successful.

The two Presidents recognized that improvement in the standard of living of the less developed countries is a necessary ingredient to the achievement of peace and security in the world. They expressed the view that coordinated action is desirable and that any aid extended would prove most effective when providing and receiving countries were united through a dedication to common goals.

The economic collaboration realized after the war constitutes a remarkable example in the field of economic assistance. The hope was expressed as well that European efforts in this field could be directed to the assistance of the less developed areas of the European Continent, like Turkey.

The initiative of Turkey to be an associate member of the European Common Market was also examined and the hope was expressed that such association would foster solidarity among these countries. In concluding their talk the two Presidents reiterated their dedication to the ideals enshrined in the charter of the United Nations. They expressed their determination to marshal all their efforts to the attainment of a lasting peace embracing full security and justice for all.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, KARACHI, DECEMBER 8

Press release 851 dated December 10

On the morning of December 8, 1959, the President of Pakistan [Gen. Mohammed Ayub Khan] and the President of the United States, with advisers of both Governments, met to discuss matters of common interest.

These discussions continued at lunch and the two Presidents have had other opportunities to exchange views.

Both Presidents warmly welcomed the opportunity afforded by President Eisenhower's visit to have these talks which were held in an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness characterizing relations between the two allied nations.

They reviewed generally worldwide political questions and, in particular, problems of relations between the free world and the Sino-Soviet bloc. They were in full agreement as to the essentiality

of cooperation among members of the family of free nations in the interest of their mutual security.

They discussed relationships among the nations of the area and the urgent desirability of finding solutions to existing disputes. In this way the energies of the peoples and governments may be directed more fully toward constructive programs adding to stability and progress, and a greater degree of cooperation among them may be achieved.

They reaffirmed their satisfaction with the increasingly close cooperation between Pakistan and the United States. Relations between the countries are based upon mutual respect and friendship resting on the firm determination of both to work together for the achievement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

They emphasized anew the importance of CENTO and SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] in preserving the stability and security of the areas covered by them. They reiterated the determination of the two Governments to continue strongly to support these regional collective security organizations in accordance with article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

They recognized the heavy financial burden placed upon Pakistan in its efforts to undertake substantial development projects and, at the same time, to maintain armed forces consonant with its national security.

They reviewed various elements of technical, economic and military aid which is extended to Pakistan by the United States as part of the two nations' mutual assistance which contributes to the security of both.

They reiterated their conviction that the free world's best interests require closer cooperation in order to advance economic growth and development. They reviewed with gratification the progress being made in Pakistan in this connection, and the President of the United States expressed in particular to President Ayub his admiration for the remarkable achievements in Pakistan toward the resettlement of those elements of the population which have been inadequately housed.

The President of Pakistan explained steps taken by his Government during the past year to strengthen the country. He outlined the "Basic

Democracies Plan" and progress toward a new constitution. The President of the United States stated that his Government was following Pakistan's venture with genuine interest.

The two Presidents expressed their belief that the visit had led to an even closer understanding between Pakistan and the United States, had strengthened the strong ties already existing between the two countries, and had underlined the need of continued cooperative programs between them.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE, KABUL, DECEMBER 9

Press release 848 dated December 9

The President of the United States, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, has just paid a visit to Afghanistan where he met with His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, other members of the royal family and members of the Afghan Government. President Eisenhower was accompanied by Ambassador Robert Murphy, Major and Mrs. John Eisenhower, and members of the Presidential staff. President Eisenhower conveyed the warm and friendly greetings of the people of the United States to the people of Afghanistan and expressed his deep appreciation for the reception accorded him and his party.

While the President's visit was primarily an expression of good will, talks on questions of mutual interest were carried on. These talks were held in an atmosphere of cordiality. His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, explained Afghanistan's policy of independence and neutrality. Both sides agreed to work unstintingly and patiently toward the elimination of international frictions and tensions.

Note was taken of the strides that Afghanistan is making in economic development and social progress. President Eisenhower gave assurances of the American desire to continue to assist Afghanistan in its task of strengthening its economic and social structure.

Both sides also agreed that in the present day, it is imperative that international disputes be settled by peaceful means and further concurred in the need for world peace, especially to enable the energies of mankind to be channeled into the con-

structive pursuits of development and human fulfillment. They endorsed unqualifiedly the principles of the United Nations Charter as standards for international behavior.

His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, expressed high hopes for concrete results from the prospective summit meeting of President Eisenhower with other heads of government and from his forthcoming visit to the Soviet Union.

Both sides further expressed hopes that a workable and enforceable basis for disarmament can soon be found. Both sides agreed that the visit of President Eisenhower to Afghanistan had strengthened the already warm and friendly relations between Afghanistan and the United States.

Secretary Herter Leaves for Meetings at Paris

DEPARTURE STATEMENT, DECEMBER 12

Press release 854 dated December 11, for release December 12

Secretary Anderson, Secretary Gates, and I are leaving for Paris to participate in the regular semiannual NATO Ministerial Meeting. On December 18 I will meet the President in Toulon and accompany him to Paris for the heads-of-government meeting beginning the following day.

At the NATO Ministerial Meeting we will discuss the regular business of our Alliance, including the state of our defenses and means of improving them.

While there appears to have been some easing of the atmosphere of crisis recently, the Soviet Union's willingness to take concrete action toward equitable settlements of major international problems remains to be demonstrated. Certainly nothing has happened to date to justify lowering our guard.

The maintenance and further improvement of the defensive strength of the NATO Alliance continues to be of the greatest importance.

We will also discuss in NATO plans for the summit meeting with the Soviet Union. On December 19 the four Western heads of government will have the benefit of these discussions. The

NATO foreign ministers meet again on December 22 and will have an opportunity to review the discussions between the four heads of government.

The fundamental unity of purpose of the NATO Alliance, its defensive strength, and the means it provides for frank discussion among 15 free nations have served us well in the past. I am confident they will continue to do so in the future.

DELEGATION TO NATO MEETING

The Department of State announced on December 9 (press release 846) the following principal members of the U.S. delegation to the Ministerial Meeting of the North Atlantic Council at Paris, December 15 to 17 and December 22, 1959:

U.S. Representatives

Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, *chairman of the delegation*

Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson

Secretary of Defense Thomas S. Gates, Jr.

U.S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and European Regional Organizations

Ambassador W. Randolph Burgess

Senior Advisers

Livingston T. Merchant, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Andrew H. Berding, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs

Charles E. Bohlen, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State

Philip J. Farley, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Disarmament and Atomic Energy

Amory Houghton, U.S. Ambassador to France

John N. Irwin II, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Foy D. Kohler, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs

John B. Macauley, Deputy Director, Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense

William B. Macomber, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations

Frederick E. Nolting, Jr., Alternate Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council and European Regional Organizations

G. Frederick Reinhardt, Counselor, Department of State

Gerard C. Smith, Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning

Gen. Nathan F. Twining, United States Air Force, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

Germany Sets Deadline for Filing Claims Under War Sequel Law

Press release 843 dated December 7

The Finance Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany has announced that the final deadline for filing nonbonded claims under the General War Sequel Law is December 31, 1959.

The General War Sequel Law deals with claims of foreign creditors against the former German Reich (including the Reichsbahn, the Reichspost, the Reichsautobahnen, and the former State of Prussia) arising from capital investments expressed in reichsmarks and certain other reichsmark claims against these debtors. The law does not deal with claims arising from racial, religious, or political persecution or with claims arising out of World War II.

Detailed information concerning this law and concerning the filing of claims under it will be found in an information sheet which is available at the Securities Settlement Advisory Agency of the Federal Republic of Germany, 30 Broad St., suite 3601, New York 4, N.Y., at the German Embassy at Washington, D.C., and at all German consulates general and consulates in the United States.

ITU Elects Gerald Gross as Secretary General

The Department of State announced on December 11 (press release 853) that it had been informed by the U.S. delegation to the plenipotentiary conference of the International Telecommunication Union currently meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, of the election on December 9 of Gerald C. Gross of the United States as Secretary General of the ITU.

Claims Commission Appointment

The White House announced on December 1 that the President had on that day made the following recess appointment: Thomas W. S. Davis to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, vice Whitney Gillilland, resigned.

Secretary Herter's News Conference of December 10

Press release 850 dated December 10

Secretary Herter: I might open this meeting this morning with a very brief impression on our part with respect to the President's trip.¹ As it has developed so far I can say categorically that it has exceeded our greatest expectations very considerably from two points of view. First, the public acceptance of the President as an individual and as a symbol of this country. The turnout has been tremendous, and the genuine enthusiasm there, indicating a depth of feeling for this country, certainly must have been tremendously gratifying to the President.

The second point of view is that of his discussions with the heads of state whom he has visited. Those discussions, while they did not necessarily go into matters of detailed substance of outstanding questions between ourselves and those countries, did cover our general philosophy, our attitude toward world problems, and they have been extremely satisfactory in every instance.

We are hoping that the remainder of the trip can carry on in the very fine way in which the opening days of the trip have developed.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in that connection is there any plan to follow up these diplomatic openings that have been made in these various capitals? Mr. Murphy is leaving the Government, and there are no assistant secretaries with him. What do we propose to do to follow up these discussions with different countries?

A. Well, it depends, of course, on the nature of the discussions. Mr. Murphy is keeping us filled in very fully with respect to the discussions so that we know what is happening. In addition to that, our ambassadors have been present, I think, in every case; so we have the usual continuity that exists when an ambassador is fully informed on

any event within his own country. I don't think there need be any gap because Mr. Murphy is leaving, and I think the followup will continue.

NATO and Summit Meetings

Q. Mr. Secretary, you will be going to Paris shortly to attend the NATO meeting and Western summit next week. Could you tell us what problems you expect to arise in these conferences and what hopes of accomplishment you have?

A. That covers a pretty broad field. Insofar as the NATO meetings are concerned, we will be having the usual review that takes place at the ministerial conferences each year, in which there will be an exchange of views as to developments throughout the world, in regard to the NATO posture itself, consultations within NATO on problems of importance to all the members, and a review of progress in the course of the year with respect to technological changes that have taken place in the military establishment—discussions of that sort.

The matter of consultation with NATO has been one which has been developing over the years. All the NATO members are naturally very much interested in the bilateral talks that have been taking place between heads of state separately and also the prospective summit meetings, both Western and East-West.

The NATO members of course have more than idle curiosity. Certainly, insofar as the matter of our relationship with Germany and Berlin is concerned, they have a very direct interest in that the NATO members in the guarantee clause with respect to Berlin have agreed among themselves that an attack on the Allied troops in Berlin is an attack on all members of NATO, so that they themselves have a direct interest and of course have every right to be fully informed as to any plans which one might have or one might discuss with respect to the whole German situation.

¹ See p. 931.

In addition to that, the smaller nations of NATO sometimes feel that discussions go on at levels in which they do not participate. We have felt very strongly they should be kept fully advised of all those discussions, and I think our British and French and German allies feel the same way. The NATO meetings offer that opportunity. They offer an opportunity for review of any items in connection with the NATO programs or policies that any individual nation wishes to bring up.

There have been some difficulties in NATO, not insuperable but nonetheless difficulties, that will be discussed. We ourselves, as very staunch allies, who certainly are going to fulfill our share of the NATO commitments in full, are very much interested in the changed economic situation in Europe whereby our allies, who until recently were unable to undertake a larger share of the cost of the operation, might today in consultation with each other take a larger share of the overall burden. Those items will be discussed.

Insofar as the Western summit is concerned, there has been some preparatory work merely by way of isolating the problems that would be more fruitful for the heads of state to discuss among themselves. Those things are still being discussed, and no specific agenda has been put forward nor will it be until the meetings take place. Obviously, of course, any head of state can raise any question he wishes to in those meetings, but presumably the major part of their conversations will be to help bring together the Allied position in preparation for the East-West summit meeting.

How much will be decided in Paris I couldn't say, but inasmuch as the East-West summit meeting will not take place for at least 3 months—probably not until the end of April or sometime in there—there will undoubtedly be continuing preparatory talks and consultations prior to that meeting.

Cuba

Q. Mr. Secretary, Senator [Homer E.] Capehart came back from Latin America last week quite critical of the administration's policy in that area. He said that he felt the administration failed to act quickly to forestall the various crises that had developed in our relations with Latin America. Would you care to comment on that?

A. I am a little puzzled as to just what crises he is talking about. I presume he was talking about Cuba and Panama. In the case of Cuba I think that when the revolution took place in Cuba we were all very hopeful that it would bring to Cuba a new and badly needed regime inspired naturally by the very best interests of Cuba. I think we have been unhappy in our relationships with Cuba in that they have deteriorated.² We have tried to discuss with the Cuban Government a number of the problems that have caused that deterioration and have found that the present Cuban Government is not anxious to talk with us, so that we have had great difficulty in communication and very great difficulty in doing what we would like to be able to do in alleviating that situation.

Q. On that point, Mr. Secretary, has Ambassador [Philip W.] Bonsal made any progress at all on the compensation for expropriated American property under the agrarian reform?

A. I think he has made very little progress. I think that the standard answer that he receives is that they do not have money and hence must make compensation in terms of long-term bonds. And that has been the standard form of compensation that has been offered.

The Panamanian Situation

Q. Mr. Secretary—

A. If I might go on for a moment. With respect to the Panamanian situation, we are having conversations now with the Panamanian Government³ covering four main subjects, three of which were matters of complaint on the part of the Panamanian Government, two of these arising out of treaty interpretation.

The first has to do with the question of equal wages for equal work, in which the Panamanians felt that through various devices we had reserved for the American employees the majority of the higher paid jobs and had not given the Panamanians sufficient opportunity to share in those higher paid jobs. We have studied that situation over a period of time very carefully, and we are

² For background, see BULLETIN of Nov. 16, 1959, p. 715.

³ For background, see *ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1959, p. 827, and Dec. 14, 1959, p. 859.

making certain adjustments that I think will be very helpful. In addition to removing some of the security provisions which assured to American citizens a great many of the jobs, we have talked of apprentice training courses there for Panamanians, which would allow Panamanians to increase their skills and qualify for many of the higher paid jobs.

The second has to do with the question of the purchases by the zonal authorities of certain products. Under the treaty it says, "wherever feasible" those products should be purchased in Panama or the United States. We have, in the past, sometimes gone afield particularly on meats and have purchased for the Canal Zone outside the United States and Panama. I think that that situation is being remedied so that there will be no question; if anything, we are leaning over backward on the interpretation of the treaty there, so that we can remove that cause of complaint.

The third has to do with the selling of luxury goods in the PX stores. And there we are re-examining the whole list of things that PX's sell so as to avoid as far as possible direct competition with Panamanian merchants.

The fourth subject is one that we raised ourselves. We are projecting a very large housing development for Panamanian employees who work in the zone, but the housing development would be outside or on the outskirts of the city of Panamá itself. We haven't, as yet, concluded the financing arrangements for this, but it ought to be a very large, low-cost, individual-house development, whereby Panamanians over a period of years could become the owners of their own homes in this new development.

Those discussions, I think, are going reasonably satisfactorily. The flag issue, of course, is still an issue. There we are considering with considerable sympathy the question of whether or how to raise the flag in the Canal Zone. It is still a matter of discussion and study here in the Department and in the Department of the Army, where, of course, the authority for the Canal Zone rests.

Q. Mr. Secretary, you said earlier that the Allies now are able to take a larger share of responsibility in NATO. Is there going to be a specific United States proposal at Paris on shifting some of this responsibility in terms of financing our troops or in the aid to underdeveloped countries?

A. No, I doubt if it would come in terms of specific dollars-and-cents proposals. It is possible that we shall propose a method by which this matter in consultation can be studied at once by the NATO countries.

Q. Mr. Secretary, on this apprentice training program in Panama, Army officials said last week there are 7 Panamanians in this apprentice program at present in the Canal Government and the intention was to raise this to 20 places. Do you understand that that is all it is, or is it more extensive than that?

A. I think it will be more extensive than that.

Removal of Army Forces From Iceland

Q. Mr. Secretary, is there any effect on the adequacy of the NATO defense system due to the removal of Army forces from Iceland, and was this matter consulted about with the State Department and with NATO?

A. These troops are not part of the NATO set-up at all. They are not part of the NATO commitment. In 1951 we made a separate agreement with Iceland with regard to the defense of Iceland, and the withdrawal of this particular combat unit is merely a redeployment or a reassessment of what is essential or desirable from the point of view of the defense of Iceland. This is a matter that has been under consideration for a long period of time, having in mind the maintaining of our responsibilities in the defense of Iceland.

Q. Mr. Secretary, President Eisenhower said he will keep very much in mind a visit to Latin America. Could you indicate for us some of the problems involved in timing such a trip and how extensive it might be if it finally is decided upon?

A. I think I would rather not speculate on that at this time. I know that the matter is very much in the President's mind.

Q. Mr. Secretary, the President has announced that Prime Minister Kishi is coming next month to this country.⁴ Does that mean that all the issues regarding the mutual defense treaty and the administrative agreement have been settled now, or are they still pending?

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1959, p. 907.

A. No. They have not all been settled. We have made a great deal of progress. We are very far along. There are a few still remaining unsettled, but we have every expectation that they will be settled before that time, and so we have every hope that Mr. Kishi will come here—I think it's around the 20th of January—for the signing of the agreement.

Q. On that point, Mr. Secretary, are the unsettled points—do they concern only the administrative agreement? Isn't the security treaty practically agreed?

A. I think I would rather not go into the details of the unsettled points now. I am hoping that they will not prove to be major in any respect and that we will be able to get them adjusted in the very near future. I may add that we consider this treaty of very great importance. I tried to emphasize that at the last conference.⁵ It's an indication of our continuing wish in the free world to maintain our agreements with our various friends, and this, of course, is a new look at our relationship with the Japanese from the point of view of two equals and friends making a treaty together.

Q. Mr. Secretary, regarding the Cuban question, would the State Department recommend that the Congress, in the reconsideration of the sugar quotas, perhaps take punitive action against the Castro government to bring them into line?

A. Well, I would not discuss "punitive action" at the present time. The whole question of the drawing of the new sugar agreement, which lapses this year, is going to pose a great many problems. There are a great many claimants for a larger share in the quota, and this undoubtedly will be something that has got to be threshed out between the administration and the Congress and I'd rather not speculate on the way in which it will go at the present time.

Question of U.S. Support for "Outer Seven"

Q. Mr. Secretary, when the trade agreement of the Outer Seven⁶ comes before GATT, will the United States support it?

A. I am not quite certain that I agree with your original premise that it will necessarily come before GATT. We, as you know, have been strongly in favor of the Six.⁷ We have certainly not done

anything to discourage the Seven. We feel that, if they should turn into rival organizations, it might be a serious thing in Europe. This is a matter that Mr. Dillon is now in Europe discussing with the leaders.⁸ I will be meeting with him on Sunday, and I think it would be inappropriate for me to make any general comments on it now until I have had a chance to consult with him.

Q. Mr. Secretary, what position does the United States take on a pending World Bank loan of \$56 million to the United Arab Republic to expand the Suez Canal at a time when there is an unresolved blockade issue involving Israeli shipping?

A. Well, that is an issue, as you probably know, that has been discussed with Israeli leaders and diplomats here in this country. I think that this is an answer that Mr. Black⁹ should himself probably give. As far as I know, the matter has not yet been voted on by the Board, and I don't know when it's going to come up before the Board. But, in general, we have taken the position that the Bank was essentially an economic medium and not a political medium, and that the less it used its facilities for diplomatic pressures, the greater its utility would be, and that the question of diplomatic pressures is something that governments ought to engage in and not the Bank.

Q. Mr. Secretary, in discussing with the NATO countries the parts of NATO which they could spend more money on, and perhaps we less, what are you thinking of specifically in this? You mentioned that you probably won't get down to dollars and cents with them, but could you give some indication as to just where this could be?

A. Well, there are a great many areas that one could discuss. Take the question of the division of costs on the whole infrastructure. I am merely

⁵ For transcript of the Secretary's news conference of Nov. 24, see *ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1959, p. 860.

⁶ The term "Outer Seven" refers to Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, which have agreed to establish the European Free Trade Association.

⁷ The six members of the European Economic Community [Common Market] are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands.

⁸ For an announcement of Under Secretary Dillon's itinerary, see *BULLETIN* of Dec. 14, 1959, p. 862.

⁹ Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

using that as an illustration, and I am not saying that that should necessarily be the one that should be discussed. We don't want to be dogmatic about this. We want to do this in consultation with our allies, all of whom, I think, recognize the appropriateness of the position that we are taking.

Q. Thank you, sir.

A. Merry Christmas to you.

Q. Merry Christmas to you.

Regulations on Allowances to Certain U.S. Personnel Abroad

White House press release dated November 27

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

The President on November 27 issued an Executive order providing regulations and delegations of authority to prescribe further regulations governing the payment of certain allowances and benefits to teachers, certain school officers, and other employees of the Dependents Schools of the Department of Defense in foreign countries and to personnel of the Veterans' Administration who are U.S. citizens and are assigned to the Veterans' Administration office in the Republic of the Philippines.

The payment of certain allowances and benefits to these groups was authorized in two acts recently passed: Public Law 86-91, the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act, and Public Law 86-116, which provides for Veterans' Administration U.S. citizen employees in the Republic of the Philippines many of the benefits currently authorized for employees of the Foreign Service.

The new system for personnel administration for employees of the Dependents Schools of the Department of Defense in foreign areas was proposed in legislation prepared by the administration and passed in the recent session of the Congress. It is comparable to the type of system found in the majority of the public primary and secondary school jurisdictions in the United States and in the District of Columbia. The allowances and benefits provided for teaching personnel under the new system are the same as those author-

ized for other Department of Defense civilian personnel in foreign areas.

To provide uniformity of treatment among Federal employees, the current authority of the Secretary of State to regulate payment of allowances and benefits is extended by this order to the new authorizations.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10853¹

DELEGATING THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRESIDENT WITH
RESPECT TO VARIOUS ALLOWANCES TO CERTAIN GOV-
ERNMENT PERSONNEL ON FOREIGN DUTY

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 7(a) and 8(a) of the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act (73 Stat. 216) and by section 235(a) of title 38 of the United States Code, and as President of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

SECTION 1. The regulations contained in Executive Order No. 10000 of September 16, 1948, as now or hereafter amended, which govern the payment of additional compensation in foreign areas (referred to as foreign post differential) shall govern the payment of the additional compensation authorized by section 8(a) (2) of the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act of 1959, subject to the provisions of section 8(b) of that act (73 Stat. 216).

SEC. 2. Paragraph 1 of Executive Order No. 10011 of October 22, 1948, as amended, is hereby further amended by adding the following subsections (e) and (f) at the end thereof:

"(e) The authority vested in the President by section 7(a) of the Defense Department Overseas Teachers Pay and Personnel Practices Act (73 Stat. 216) to prescribe regulations relating to quarters, quarters allowance, and storage, and the authority vested in the President by section 8(a) (1) of that act to prescribe regulations relating to cost-of-living allowances.

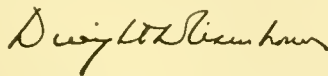
"(f) The authority vested in the President by section 235(a) of title 38 of the United States Code to prescribe rules and regulations with respect to allowances and benefits similar to those provided by those sections of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 designated in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), and (8) of section 235(a)."

SEC. 3. The Administrator of Veterans' Affairs is hereby authorized to exercise the authority vested in the President by section 235(a) of title 38 of the United States Code to prescribe rules and regulations with respect to allowances and benefits similar to those provided by those sections of the Foreign Service Act of 1946 designated in paragraphs (4) and (7) of section 235(a).

SEC. 4. The rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of State or the Administrator of Veterans'

¹ 24 Fed. Reg. 9565.

Affairs pursuant to section 2 or section 3 of this order shall become effective on such dates as those officials shall, respectively, determine, but not in any case earlier than July 28, 1959.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
November 27, 1959.

Application of Aviation Act Extended

White House press release dated November 27

WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENT

President Eisenhower on November 27 signed an Executive order extending the application of titles III and XII of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to areas outside the United States in which the Federal Government has appropriate jurisdiction or control under international treaty or agreement.

Title III empowers the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to prescribe air-traffic rules with respect to the use of the navigable airspace. Title XII authorizes him to establish security provisions permitting the maximum use of the airspace by civil aircraft consistent with national security. However, section 1202 under title XII only contains specific authority to establish security zones and operating rules with respect to the "airspace of the United States."

Presidential action was taken under authority of section 1110 of the act, which permits the President to extend the geographical application of the act to areas which he deems necessary in the national interest.

Under the new Presidential authority the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency may establish security zones or areas in the airspace outside of the United States when he determines, in consultation with the Secretaries of State and Defense, that such action would be in the national interest and would not conflict with U.S. foreign relations policies or with national defense requirements. He may also adopt, extend, or modify the Nation's presently designated security zones and security operating rules applicable to such areas.

In addition he is empowered to restrict the

flight of civil aircraft which he cannot identify and control within such zones or areas. The filing of flight plans and the making of position reports are mandatory for aircraft flying into or within these security zones.

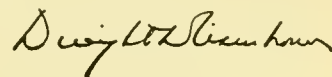
A security zone is an airspace area of defined dimensions within which the ready identification, location, and control of U.S. and foreign aircraft are required in the interest of national security. The FAA sets forth operating rules for the security control of air traffic operating within those areas. With certain exceptions, most of the security zones extend outward over the high seas surrounding the continental United States, Hawaii, and Guam, thereby increasing perimeter defense capabilities.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10854¹

EXTENSION OF THE APPLICATION OF THE FEDERAL AVIATION ACT OF 1958

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 1110 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (72 Stat. 800; 49 U.S.C. 1510), and as President of the United States, and having determined that such action would be in the national interest, I hereby order as follows:

The application of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 (72 Stat. 731; 49 U.S.C. 1301 *et seq.*), to the extent necessary to permit the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to accomplish the purposes and objectives of Titles III and XII thereof (49 U.S.C. 1341-1355 and 1521-1523), is hereby extended to those areas of land or water outside the United States and the overlying airspace thereof over or in which the Federal Government of the United States, under international treaty, agreement or other lawful arrangement, has appropriate jurisdiction or control: *Provided*, that the Administrator, prior to taking any action under the authority hereby conferred, shall first consult with the Secretary of State on matters affecting foreign relations, and with the Secretary of Defense on matters affecting national-defense interests, and shall not take any action which the Secretary of State determines to be in conflict with any international treaty or agreement to which the United States is a party, or to be inconsistent with the successful conduct of the foreign relations of the United States, or which the Secretary of Defense determines to be inconsistent with the requirements of national defense.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
November 27, 1959.

¹ 24 Fed. Reg. 9565.

U.N. General Assembly To Continue Efforts on Hungary

*Statement by Henry Cabot Lodge
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly*¹

No delegation here regrets more profoundly than the United States the tragic circumstances which oblige the General Assembly to consider once again the question of Hungary.

Last year in its resolution on this subject² the General Assembly declared that the United Nations would continue to concern itself with this situation because the Government of the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary were disregarding the Assembly's resolutions on Hungary. The Assembly decided to appoint Sir Leslie Munro as its Special Representative for the purpose of reporting on how the Assembly's resolutions were being carried out.

The report of the Special Representative³ is now before us. It is a thorough and a sobering document. It includes this statement:

In the course of the past year, no evidence has been forthcoming of any basic change in the Hungarian situation which would warrant relaxation by the United Nations of its continued attention to the problem.

There have been hopeful developments on the international scene since the 13th General Assembly—developments in which the United States played a part and which we welcome. But the report of the United Nations Special Representative on Hungary brings home to us a hard and bitter fact: that on one of the important sources of tension in the world—and that is the injustice done to Hungary—the past year has brought no progress whatever.

¹ Made in plenary session on Dec. 8 (U.S. delegation press release 3338).

² U.N. doc. A/RES/1312 (XIII); for text, see BULLETIN of Jan. 12, 1959, p. 62.

³ U.N. doc. A/4304.

Soviets Turning Truth Upside Down

The delegate of the Soviet Union has charged that to debate the question of Hungary this year will interfere with the relaxation of international tension and would be contrary to what he called "the spirit of Camp David."⁴ I dealt with this point in the General Committee,⁵ but Mr. [V. V.] Kuznetsov raised it here again on November 25: "Every unbiased person will understand," said Mr. Kuznetsov, "that any attempt to interfere rudely in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state with a view to establishing an antipeople's regime there by violence cannot but be at variance with and contrary to the spirit of Camp David."

Mr. President, the United States can accept every word of that sentence. If the spirit of Camp David is a spirit of promoting peace, then surely the country which continues "to interfere . . . in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state"—namely Hungary—"with a view to establishing an antipeople's regime there by violence" is acting contrary to that peaceful spirit. The United Nations long ago, as a result of an impartial investigation and by an overwhelming vote, found that it was the Soviet Union which had interfered in the domestic affairs of Hungary and had imposed a regime there by armed force. Not surprisingly, that regime is so unpopular that the term "anti-people's" could have been literally invented to describe it. This is proved by the fact that it has

⁴ For text of a communique released on Sept. 27 at the conclusion of talks between President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev at Camp David, Md., see BULLETIN of Oct. 12, 1959, p. 499.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1959, p. 875.

never dared to test its popularity in a really free election.

And yet we who wish the United Nations to continue its concern with the question of Hungary are accused by the Soviet representatives here of "prosecuting the cold war." That really is turning the truth upside down and inside out. It is like saying that it is quite consistent with the United Nations Charter for a large nation to force injustice upon a small nation but that it is wrong for the United Nations to talk about it.

But that is not what the charter says, and that is not what was said at Camp David. Indeed nothing was said at Camp David which would require us to ignore or condone the situation which still exists in Hungary.

No one in this hall would be more relieved than we of the United States if the report of the Special Representative had been positive rather than negative and if our debate could have taken place in an atmosphere of cooperation. The fact that this is not the case is the fault of the Soviet Union and of the present Hungarian regime. They have thus imposed upon us a duty which we cannot shirk.

Origin of Hungarian Situation

Now, Mr. President, before we come to the situation which now exists in Hungary let us recall briefly the essential facts about its origin in the events of October and November 1956. For this we do not have to rely on the Soviet and Hungarian authorities, whose version the United Nations Special Representative correctly calls "fanciful." The General Assembly took the trouble to find out the facts when it created the Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary. On September 14, 1957, the Assembly, after receiving the detailed and authoritative report of that committee,⁶ adopted a resolution⁷ among whose findings were these:

that

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of

⁶ U.N. doc. A/3592; available as supplement 18 to the *Official Records of the Eleventh Session of the General Assembly*, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.; price \$2.00. For text of final chapter of the report, see *BULLETIN* of July 8, 1957, p. 62.

⁷ U.N. doc. A/RES/1133 (XI); for background and text of resolution, see *ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1957, p. 515.

the charter of the United Nations, has deprived Hungary of its liberty and political independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental human rights;

that

The present Hungarian régime has been imposed on the Hungarian people by the armed intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

that

The present authorities in Hungary have violated the human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Treaty of Peace with Hungary.

These, Mr. President, were among the acts which the General Assembly in that same resolution condemned by a vote of 60 to 10.

Repeatedly, in that resolution and in others before and since, the General Assembly has expressed its desire that Hungary may regain her independence and the Hungarian people may again enjoy the liberties for which they fought so heroically. To that end the General Assembly has repeatedly called on the Soviet Union and the Hungarian authorities to cease their violations of the charter. But they have persisted in their violations.

Repeatedly, also, the General Assembly has called upon the Soviet Union to cooperate with its appointed representatives—first with the Secretary-General, then with the five distinguished members of the Special Committee, then with Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, and then with Sir Leslie Munro. In every case they have refused and have denounced these representatives of the Assembly in terms which were actually abusive. By their refusals the Soviet and Hungarian authorities have denied themselves the opportunity to prove whatever truth lay in their own assertions. The world can hardly be blamed for not believing what they say.

Repeatedly, also, we have called attention here to acts of repression and persecution against Hungarians who were involved in the 1956 national uprising—acts committed despite promises of amnesty and lenience. In spite of repeated appeals by the General Assembly for an end to the repression, the world was grieved again in 1958 by the news of the secret executions of Prime Minister Imre Nagy and General [Pal] Maleter and their companions. The United Nations Special Committee further recorded, on the basis of official Hungarian Communist sources, the names of 30 individuals put to death and 110 imprisoned for so-

called "counterrevolutionary crimes" between June 1957 and June 1958. As recently as December 1958 the General Assembly called upon the Soviet Union and the Hungarian regime "to desist from repressive measures against the Hungarian people."

Yet always the claim from Moscow and Budapest was either that the reports were untrue or, if they could not be denied, that this was an internal matter and therefore none of our business in the United Nations.

Events of the Past Year

Now, Mr. President, against that background let us review in more detail the events of the past year. To begin with, the Soviet army of occupation remains in Hungary. Sir Leslie Munro pointed out in his report:

Soviet forces have remained in the country, contrary to the requests of the General Assembly for their withdrawal.

This statement of fact was confirmed by the head of the Hungarian Communist Party, Janos Kadar, on November 30. He said that,

... certain reactionary elements pinned their hopes on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary. These troops are stationed in Hungary, not for domestic political reasons, but solely for reasons connected with yet unsolved international questions.

So the question presents itself: What "unsolved international question" requires the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary? Hungary has common frontiers with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Austria. Mr. Kadar does not complain of any danger to his country from the Soviet Union, from Czechoslovakia, or from Rumania. As to Yugoslavia, he himself said on November 30 that Hungarian relations with Yugoslavia had returned to normal.

By process of elimination we therefore come to Austria, a country which is neutral and unarmed. Certainly nobody will claim that Austria is such a threat to Hungary or to peace and security in central Europe as to require at least 50,000 Soviet soldiers to stand guard in Hungary. The idea is absurd on its face. We must look elsewhere for the true explanation.

Now Mr. Kadar offered a vague sort of explanation when he spoke ominously about "certain reactionary elements" which, as he put it, "pinned

their hopes on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary." We have heard that sort of talk many times. It reminds us of the charge which was made at the time of the national uprising in 1956, that that patriotic movement by virtually the whole Hungarian people was somehow instigated and directed by the United States. Mr. Kuznetsov followed that version when he said here on November 25 that "counterrevolutionary elements," to use his phrase—as though the Communist revolution was the last revolution ever to come—were to blame for the events of 1956 and that the plotters were "supported from the outside" and that the Soviet forces intervened "at the request of the Hungarian government."

Mr. President, that fictitious version of history was repudiated long ago by the General Assembly. The truth is that the Hungarian freedom fighters were the true revolutionaries; the Communist agents were the true tools of reaction. Let's call things by their proper names. Indeed, neither the Soviet Union nor its Hungarian associates insist on the old version any more. If we examine what they now say, we may find some clues to the real reason why Soviet troops are in Hungary today.

There were some noteworthy moments of candor at the recent Communist meeting in Budapest. Neither Mr. Khrushchev nor Mr. Kadar, both of whom spoke there, was satisfied any more simply to blame the "Fascists" and "Horthyites" for the uprising of 1956—which always was an absurd claim, because there were neither Fascists nor Horthyites in the Imre Nagy government which was overthrown by Soviet troops. Instead they have shifted the principal blame to [Matyas] Rakosi, who had been the Communist ruler of Hungary for years before 1956 and had made himself thoroughly hated by all segments of the Hungarian people.

But now the world is asked to believe that the evil Rakosi days are over and that all has changed for better in Hungary. We are even told that the Hungarian elections prove this. But the fact that 98.6 percent of the Hungarian electorate went to the polls in 1958 and voted "yes" for the only list of candidates on the ballot—in a country where there is no free press and no right of free opposition, and all power is concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party—cannot prove anything except the devotion of the regime to a thoroughly empty and meaningless ritual.

If we really want clues to the present state of affairs in Hungary, we can find them in other official admissions of the Hungarian Communist leadership. They have admitted that Communist Party membership is only about half of what it was before the events of 1956 and that "several hundreds of thousands of well-meaning, sympathizing, but not sufficiently staunch former party members stay outside of the party."

They admit that "an important part of the intellectuals, many scientists and scholars, have not yet adopted the Marxist-Leninist principles," and Mr. Kadar went so far as to warn these intellectuals that they could no longer remain aloof "because the people expect them to give clear answers, mostly in their works, on which side they stand in the class struggle." Such, Mr. President, is the fate of the creative mind in Hungary today.

Then the Communist leadership also admits that the farmers do not take to the program of collective farms, and Mr. Kadar suggested that they must be "guided" into the right path by what he called "strength of persuasion," a phrase which, coming from the chief of a police state, is an ugly phrase indeed.

Mr. President, that is a true picture of the situation in Hungary today. Neither the former Communist Party members nor the intellectuals nor the farmers have rallied to this Soviet-imposed regime. Mr. Khrushchev said of Rakosi that he "became estranged from the masses" and that he "began to order the masses about." But it is perfectly clear that the present regime in Hungary is every bit as "estranged from the masses" as was that of Rakosi and every bit as dependent on foreign troops to maintain its grip.

And there we have the only true and plausible reason for the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary today. It does indeed stem, as Mr. Kadar said, from an "unsolved international question"—namely, how to make the Hungarian people accept a regime which was imposed from the outside and which they thoroughly hate. That's the unsolved international question. That question is not only unsolved; it is absolutely insoluble as long as it is approached in this way.

The United States hopes, as surely as many other nations hope, that as a result of the encouraging developments which have recently taken place in international relations the Soviet Union will

eventually recognize that it is to its own advantage to eliminate an important source of tension by complying with the United Nations resolutions on Hungary. These resolutions are designed solely to enable the Hungarian people to enjoy their fundamental human rights and to attain real national independence.

Until that day comes, Mr. President, the Soviet Union will remain responsible for the injustices which are visited on the Hungarian people.

The General Assembly is already familiar with most of these injustices. We have examined before in this forum the denial of a multiparty system, the refusal to permit free elections, the suppression of the workingman's right to strike, the suppression of facts about Soviet economic exploitation in Hungary, the denial of literary and artistic freedom and of all freedom of expression, and the encroachments on freedom of religion. All of this is in contrast with the liberal promises the Kadar regime made in 1956 and early 1957, when it was trying to get the confidence of the people—promises which were, without one single exception, broken.

Continuing Reprisals

Mr. President, as distressing as the facts which I have just related are, there are unfortunately grounds for even more serious concern. I refer to the evidence presented in Sir Leslie Munro's report that reprisals against individuals who participated in the 1956 revolution are still continuing. In the past year, in spite of repeated promises that there would be no more reprisals, the roll of political executions and imprisonments has grown steadily longer.

It is well to recall the promises which were made to the Hungarian people and to the world on this score. On the very day Prime Minister Imre Nagy was deposed—that is, on November 4, 1956—while Soviet troops were shooting down freedom fighters in Budapest, the new Soviet-installed regime issued an appeal to the people in which it said: "The Government will not tolerate the persecution of workers under any pretext for having taken part in the most recent events." That is what they said.

Then on November 26, 3 weeks later, Mr. Kadar said in a radio broadcast:

I repeatedly and unequivocally declare that we will

24-Nation Resolution on Hungary¹

The General Assembly,

Having considered the report of the United Nations Representative on Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, who was appointed by General Assembly resolution 1312 (XIII) of 12 December 1958 for the purpose of reporting to Member States or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary.

1. *Deplores* the continued disregard by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present Hungarian régime of the General Assembly resolutions dealing with the situation in Hungary;

2. *Calls upon* the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present authorities in Hungary to co-operate with the United Nations Representative on Hungary;

3. *Requests* the United Nations Representative on Hungary to continue his efforts.

¹ U.N. doc. A/RES/1454 (XIV) (A/L. 273); adopted in plenary session on Dec. 9 by a vote of 53 to 10 (Soviet bloc and Yugoslavia), with 17 abstentions (Afghanistan, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, and Yemen). Haiti and Morocco were absent.

adhere to, and make everyone adhere to, the solemn promise made in our government's appeal of November 4, that no worker will come to harm as a result of his participation in the mass movement which began on October 23.

In the face of those promises Imre Nagy and many others were put to death and thousands were imprisoned.

Then, beginning a year ago, we heard more assurances—some of them right here in this very building.

First, there was Mr. [Endre] Sik, the Foreign Minister, who told us here on November 22, 1958, that court proceedings against the revolutionaries "have been wound up and terminated."

Then Mr. Sik's deputy, Mr. [Janos] Peter, came before the Assembly on December 12, 1958, and said: "All these investigations and procedures were completed a long time ago."

Then the Prime Minister, Mr. [Ferenc] Muenich, said in Budapest last February 18 that the judicial authorities "had completed the investi-

gation of counterrevolutionary crimes and the calling to account of counterrevolutionaries."

Then Mr. [Ferenc] Nezval, who bears the title of Minister of Justice in the Hungarian regime, said on February 27: "The courts have completely finished the trials of counterrevolutionary cases."

Now let's see how much these assurances were worth.

Beginning in April of this year reports began to circulate that 35 young people had been secretly tried in Ujpest, an industrial suburb of Budapest, for having taken part in the revolution. It was rumored that 10 were sentenced to death and that the rest had received lengthy prison sentences. Later, in the face of official denials, there were reports that eight of the death sentences had been confirmed and carried out.

Finally, on October 17, after months of silence, the Hungarian authorities admitted that the executions ordered as a result of the secret trials at Ujpest had been carried out. The admission was made by Laszlo Gyaros, who is described as a Hungarian government spokesman, in response to questions by a foreign newspaper reporter. Mr. Gyaros also confirmed the fact—and it is an important and highly damaging fact—that these trials had resulted from activities of the defendants during the national revolution of 1956.

Reports are still coming out of Hungary that even more acts of vengeance are impending. One such report gives the names and birth dates of 31 Hungarians between the ages of 20 and 25 who are said to have been put to death in Hungary between June 15 and September 1, 1959. That is just a little while ago.

Mr. President, it is clear that no segment of the Hungarian people—writers, workers, artists, or farmers—have escaped the repressive measures. Sir Leslie Munro has reminded us in his report that some of the great names in Hungarian literature, including Tibor Dery, Gyula Hay, Domonkos Kosary, Jozsef Galy, and Gyula Obersovsky, are serving prison sentences ranging from 6 years to life imprisonment.

On April 12, 1959, the Czechoslovak Communist newspaper *Rude Pravo* stated that Sandor Racz and Sandor Bali, both of whom had been prominent in the Budapest Central Workers' Council set up by the revolutionaries in 1956, had been sentenced to life imprisonment and to 12 years' imprisonment respectively. It is hard to believe that

this was not also an act of vengeance for their part in the events of 1956.

That is the record, up to the present time, of reprisals for what took place in Hungary in 1956—insofar as secrecy in that country makes it possible to compile a record at all.

Hungary Becoming a House Without Windows

As to the future, we see little reason for confidence, that is, in the short future. On November 30 Mr. Kadar said ominously that the Hungarian people, whose representative he claims to be, “still have a score to settle with the counterrevolutionaries.”

To be sure, the Hungarian authorities still deny the truth of some of the reports which the world has received. Mr. Kadar denounced them recently as “vile and dastardly provocations.” But world opinion is not going to be satisfied with such denials in the face of all the evidence.

If the Hungarian authorities want to make themselves believed by world opinion, there are a number of steps they could have taken long ago, and could still take, which would certainly be effective.

The most modest step would be to admit to Hungary the Representative of the United Nations and to give him full freedom to learn the facts. This course is still open to the Hungarian authorities. If they have been maligned, as they assert, they could by this one means clear their good name and clear it for good.

Then they could long ago have proved their assertion that Hungary is a sovereign state by requesting, as they claim the right to do, the withdrawal of Soviet troops. But after 3 years that long-promised withdrawal has still not taken place. The belief naturally exists, therefore, that the Hungarian authorities want to keep the Soviet garrison to guard them against the people whom they oppress.

Another way to establish the truth would be to lift the Iron Curtain which cuts off the Hungarian people from the outside world. Immediately after the revolution of 1956 was crushed the Western borders of Hungary were sealed by Soviet troops, who shot down many of the Hungarians then trying to escape from the country. Later this duty was handed over to reconstituted Hungarian border guard units. Since then the regime has spent

large sums on what it hoped would be an escape-proof barrier. For 360 miles along Hungary's borders with Austria and Yugoslavia it has built a mile-wide belt of barbed wire, minefields, watchtowers, searchlights, and armed patrols.

Last August 20 the Prime Minister, Mr. Kadar, confirmed the strengthening of this barrier in these words:

Recently there have been again many articles in the press of certain capitalist countries that we have reinforced our frontier deficiencies and that there are barbed wire barriers on the frontier . . . What we say is this: We have strengthened our frontier defenses in the light of the 1956 experiences, and we shall keep the frontier strong for some time more.

By this means the Hungarian authorities have reduced the flow of refugees into Austria to a trickle.

But that is not the only result of the Iron Curtain surrounding Hungary. The border patrols, the secret police, and the rigid censorship have cast doubt on all the claims of the Hungarian authorities. They leave the world in doubt as to the fate of countless Hungarians whose crime was having resisted the subjugation of their country by Soviet armed forces. They are converting Hungary into an enormous house without windows. No wonder their credibility has fallen so low.

24-Nation Draft Resolution

Mr. President, it is clear from this review of events that there is every reason for the United Nations to continue its concern for the Hungarian question. To that end the United States has joined with 23 other member states in submitting a draft resolution which is now before the Assembly.⁸

This resolution is simple and comprehensive. It acknowledges the report of the United Nations Special Representative, Sir Leslie Munro, a report which records the continued persecutions, the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, and the continued defiance of the United Nations by the Soviet and Hungarian authorities.

Then the resolution deplores the continued disregard by the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian regime of the General Assembly's resolutions dealing with the situation in Hungary. If these resolutions had been lived up to, Hungary

⁸ U.N. doc. A/L. 273.

today would be a truly independent country and its people would be enjoying the freedom for which they fought so bravely.

Next the resolution calls upon the Soviet Union and the present authorities in Hungary to cooperate with the United Nations Representative. They can cooperate with him by admitting him to Hungary and by helping him in his task "of reporting to Member States or to the General Assembly on significant developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary." That is the task which we gave to our Representative—and I stress the words "developments relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the General Assembly on Hungary."

Finally, the resolution requests the United Nations Representative on Hungary to continue his efforts.

Behind these words about procedure, Mr. President, this resolution carries in words of stark simplicity a straightforward message.

To the Soviet Union and to the authorities in Hungary it says: Obey the charter and restore the independence and liberty of Hungary, and—with particular urgency—stop persecuting and executing Hungarians for what happened in 1956.

And to the brave and suffering people of Hungary this resolution says: You are not forgotten.

Peace and Justice Inseparable

Mr. President, I am reaching my conclusion. And I would like to do so by citing words that were uttered over a century ago by a man whose name in Hungary is a synonym for liberty, Louis Kossuth, and he said this:

I am a man of peace. God knows how I love peace; but I hope that I shall never be such a coward as to mistake oppression for peace.

Mr. President, Kossuth set a good example for us here in the United Nations. There is oppression today in Hungary—foreign oppression, introduced by foreign violence against the most fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. That oppression is not peace; indeed, it was imposed by war. Let us not mistake it for peace, whatever disguises may be put upon it or whatever secrecy may surround it.

The charter enjoins us all to settle our international disputes by peaceful means—and surely

we are using peaceful means here this morning. It also enjoins us to settle those disputes "in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

Thus the charter recognizes, as Kossuth recognized long ago, that peace and justice are inseparable. That is a hard truth, but nothing is to be gained by running away from it. Let us face that truth as steadfastly in our time as Kossuth did in his time. If we do, we will thereby increase the hope that Hungary, by peaceful means and in God's good time, will one day again be free.

The Policy of Apartheid in South Africa

*Statement by Harold Riegelman
U.S. Representative to the General Assembly¹*

The distinguished representatives who have spoken here have pointed out that this is the eighth year that the matter of the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of the Union of South Africa will have been discussed in this world forum. We hope that the consideration of this question will continue to be conducted with an appreciation of its complexities, its short-term obstacles, and long-range prospects.

Our joint pledges under the charter of the United Nations involve some obligations which are ideals toward which we must strive, rather than standards which can be immediately attained. The founding delegations that met at San Francisco did not represent perfect societies, and I doubt if any of us here today would presume seriously to claim he represents such a society. It was basically the realization that there was much imperfection in the world, a realization rendered agonizingly acute in the holocaust of the Second World War, that led mankind to band together in a passionate effort to bring order out of chaos, freedom out of tyranny, and a better life for all. It is this aim which inspires men today to seek solutions in moderation rather than extremes, in reason rather than emotion, in persuasion rather than coercion.

¹ Made in the Special Political Committee on Nov. 2 (U.S. delegation press release 3276).

In the field of human rights, progress has been uneven. Some nations have had centuries of experience in dealing with various sociological problems posed by differences in race, language, or religion. Some nations have had little such experience. Some nations earnestly seek to advance and conserve human rights, which add greatly to national strength and to international harmony. Other nations do not appear responsive to that appeal. Let us not forget that hundreds of millions of people in large and powerful nations are denied the human rights and fundamental freedoms contemplated by the charter.

I suggest that in expressing the desire to see this situation remedied we be mindful of the fact that most communities face one or more facets of the same problem. Article 56 of the charter contains a mutual pledge to work for the observance of certain basic rights and freedoms for all peoples regardless of race, sex, language, or religion. Within the scope of this challenge is this situation, now under discussion, which relates to one of the members of the United Nations. There are some who maintain that systematic infractions of universally recognized human rights are exclusively the domestic concern of the individual members of the United Nations and are not the concern of the U.N. Of course, as specified by article 2, paragraph 7, of the charter, each member rightly reserves to itself the regulation of its own internal affairs. There could be little genuine progress otherwise, for many broad problems of this world take widely varying forms indigenous to the countries where they appear and do not lend themselves to solution by pat and universally applicable formulae. The problems related to human rights, however, are universal, in that their continued existence is properly of increasing interest to us all. Since they normally arise within the borders of a nation, they are in one sense internal affairs. But article 56 and other articles and actions of the United Nations also stamp them indelibly and rightly as matters of great international impact and effect. This, in our opinion, justifies this discussion and places upon every member state the duty of acknowledging the propriety of United Nations concern and of responding to its appeals even if it is reluctant to comply with those appeals.

On its part, the United States of America approaches the question now before this commit-

tee with humility. We sincerely hope that all member states, as they discuss this issue, will objectively look over their own shoulders. In a number of nations affronts to the dignity of the individual are condoned or even practiced by the governments. There are instances, far away from South Africa, where peoples of certain races or nationalities are confined by government order to certain areas, or where groups are transported en masse from one area to another, and where certain naturally homogeneous elements are scattered far and wide in attempts to eradicate groups considered dangerous to monolithic totalitarianism. Currently the most glaring example of violation of human rights occurs on the high tablelands of Tibet, where a ruthless and systematic attempt is being made by the Chinese Communists to destroy an ancient religion and culture.

I have urged each of us as we speak to this item on our agenda to look over his own shoulder. My country has been doing this for many decades. While we cannot be content with the gains we have made, we are, I believe with good reason, satisfied that we are moving in a forward direction. In recent years our progress has been markedly accelerated. Measurable gains toward real equality of opportunity of all our citizens, representing as they do a multitude of different backgrounds, have been accomplished at Federal and State levels in employment, housing, and, as the last UNESCO report indicated, education.

Naturally, significant steps toward acceptance of the brotherhood of man always involve adjustments, and they sometimes face obstacles which, though surmountable, are difficult. We have never attempted to hide our difficulties in this area from the rest of the world. The process which commenced with the abolition of slavery in the United States of America less than a century ago is admittedly not completed. It is pertinent in this connection, however, to note that the advance in this field is fostered by the Government and is responsive to the will of the majority of our citizens. We in the United States are moving toward true equality of opportunity not only because we are convinced that this is right morally but also because we realize that it is the sensible thing when one considers the realities of contemporary society and the close relationship between respect for human rights and international good will. In very few lands are there minorities

which are not somewhere else majorities—majorities who are proud and sensitive and whose feeling of hurt can find expression in international relations. We believe, therefore, that a nation which is moving with determination toward a solution of its racial, religious, or related problems is meeting a crucial portion of its obligations under article 56 of the charter.

Mr. Chairman, nations committed to the recognition of the dignity of the human person without impairment of essential rights because of race, sex, language, or religion are fully aware that violations of that principle take many forms. We should not permit one kind of violation in one locality to blind us to different but equally objectionable practices in other localities. The discrimination is more frequently against a minority group by a majority of different race, language, or religion. But we are dealing presently in this form with discrimination by a potent minority against a majority. In considering this unhappy situation, let us remember that even this is not unique nor is it peculiar to one member state, though in its bad effect on international good will the violation does not greatly vary from the more frequent violation of human rights by a majority.

There is another point worth noting. Discriminatory conduct is usually a matter of mores rather than legislation. It is more often than not imbedded in community habit patterns stemming from tradition and long usage. In dealing with that kind of discrimination there is need for persistence, patience, and understanding. That which is rooted in the history of a people is altered mainly by time, wisdom, and education. The matter before us now, however, differs from the more typical situation in one significant respect. For here, as in some other countries, the violation of human rights is buttressed and sanctified by statute. The violation is crystallized into a principle which stops the clock, silences wisdom, and prevents the educational process toward respect for human rights from functioning at all. It elevates a practice which threatens good international relations to the level of official and legal sanction. And it is this kind of compulsion

whenever and wherever it occurs which should be the essential target of any resolution we adopt here.

The United States of America believes that unacceptable discriminatory practices, whatever form they take, are to be deplored especially when such practices are compelled, protected, and perpetuated by statute. In its concern with human rights everywhere, the United States of America sympathizes with all those who are directly confronted by the complex problems of intergroup relationships in a world where advances in the physical sciences and the humanities have given those problems impacts far beyond the boundaries of the countries where those problems exist.

We are reluctant to single out any one member state for special condemnation for failure to seek some improvement of its intergroup policies, though we note with genuine regret the refusal of the Union of South Africa to take cognizance of the proper interest in this matter on the part of the United Nations, of which the Union is a valued and respected member.

We devoutly hope that these deliberations will emphasize and reinforce a determination of each member state, the Union of South Africa included, to take a fresh look at its interracial, interreligious, and interethnic relations and to be increasingly vigilant against all diminutions of fundamental human rights wherever they may occur, whether the diminutions stem from tradition or statute, but especially when they involve statutory compulsion or even statutory sanction or acceptance.²

²The U.N. General Assembly in plenary session on Nov. 17 adopted a resolution (A/RES/1375(XIV)) calling upon all member states to "bring their policies into conformity with their obligation under the Charter of the United Nations to promote the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms" and expressing deep regret and concern that "the Government of the Union of South Africa has not yet responded to appeals of the General Assembly that it reconsider governmental policies which impair the right of all racial groups to enjoy the same fundamental rights and freedoms."

U.S. Releases Texts of Cultural Agreement With Soviet Union and Memorandum on Atomic Energy Cooperation

Following is the text of the agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R. for cooperation in exchanges in the scientific, technical, and cultural fields in 1960-61 which was signed at Moscow on November 21, 1959,¹ together with, as an addendum, the text of the memorandum on cooperation in the field of the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes which was signed at Washington, D.C., on November 24, 1959.

Press release 828 dated December 1

TEXT OF AGREEMENT

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS FOR COOPERATION IN EXCHANGES IN THE SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FIELDS IN 1960-61

By agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, delegations headed on the United States side by Llewellyn E. Thompson, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and on the Soviet side by G. A. Zhukov, Chairman of the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, conducted negotiations in Moscow from November 6 to November 21, 1959, with regard to cooperation in exchanges between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the scientific, technical, educational and cultural fields in 1960-61. As a result of the negotiations the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to provide, during 1960 and 1961, for the specific exchanges which are set forth in the following Sections, in the hope that they will contribute significantly to the betterment of relations between the two countries, thereby contributing to a lessening of international tension.

¹ For text of a communique issued at the conclusion of negotiations and a Department statement, see BULLETIN of Dec. 7, 1959, p. 848.

SECTION I

General

(1) The exchanges provided for herein shall be subject to the Constitution and applicable laws and regulations in force in the respective countries. It is understood that both Parties will use their best efforts to have these exchanges effected in accordance with the following Sections.

(2) The visits and exchanges enumerated in the following Sections are not intended to be exclusive of others which may be arranged by the two countries or undertaken by their organizations or private citizens.

(3) Both parties, desirous of having the exchanges between them take place under favorable conditions and without delay, agree that:

(a) each of the Parties at its discretion shall have the right to include interpreters or members of its Embassy in delegations, who shall be considered as within the agreed total membership of exchange delegations;

(b) applications for visas for members of delegations or visiting groups shall be submitted, as a rule, twenty days before the estimated time of departure;

(c) the programs, lengths of stay, dates of arrival, financial and transportation arrangements and other details of the exchanges provided for in Sections III, IV, V, VI, and XII, shall be agreed upon as a rule not less than thirty days in advance through diplomatic channels or between organizations as approved by each party.

SECTION II

Scientific Exchanges

(1) The two Parties, attaching great significance to the development of scientific exchanges between both countries, will take all appropriate measures in order to achieve fulfillment of the agreement for exchanges in the field of science concluded July 9, 1959, between the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the National Academy of Sciences of the USA.²

(2) Additional visits by scientists of one country to the other country may also be agreed upon through diplomatic channels or between appropriate organizations as approved by each Party.

² For text, see *ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1959, p. 350.

Such visits, whether for the purpose of participating in scientific meetings, exchanges of experience, conducting studies or delivering lectures shall take place on a basis of reciprocity.

(3) *Cooperation in the field of utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.* Both Parties agree that in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy they will provide for reciprocal exchanges of information and visits of scientists and will explore the desirability of joint projects. To that end, specific proposals will be developed between the United States Atomic Energy Commission and the Main Administration for the Utilization of Atomic Energy under the Council of Ministers of the USSR which will be subject to approval by the two Governments in the usual manner, and which may be appended to this Agreement as an addendum.

(4) Both Parties are in favor of having the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the American Council of Learned Societies come to an agreement on exchanges, on a reciprocal basis, of scholars in the social sciences and the humanities, such as historians, economists, philosophers, specialists in literature and linguistics.

Both Parties are in favor of having the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the American Council of Learned Societies provide for participation, on a reciprocal basis, by scholars of both countries in joint seminars and symposia and consider joint research projects.

(5) Both Parties agree to provide for an exchange of delegations of geographers of four to six persons for three to four weeks with a program to be agreed upon by appropriate organizations.

SECTION III

Exchanges of Specialists in the Fields of Industry, Transport, Construction and Trade

Both parties agree to provide for the following exchanges:

(1) *Industry and Transport:* Delegations of five to ten persons each for a period of three-four weeks for familiarization and exchange of experience in the following fields:

(a) Automobile Industry: Technology, organization of production, and design of motor cars and buses.

(b) Aluminum Industry: Production of aluminum and its alloys, mechanization and automation of the electrolysis process, mining and processing of aluminous ores (bauxite and nepheline) and manufacture of alumina.

(c) Civil Air Transport: Organization of traffic, transport, technical servicing and overhaul of aircraft, as well as maintenance of airfields for commercial airlines.

(d) Shipping: Operation of seagoing vessels; organization of loading and unloading operations in ports; repair of ships in ports.

(e) Petroleum Industry: Refineries, oil and gas fields, including under-water drilling; having in mind in this connection a survey on a reciprocal basis of three to four oil and gas fields and three to four refineries.

(f) Highways: Construction of highways and related structures; administration, testing, and research related

to building highways, including the study of utilization of highways and methods of solving future problems of handling traffic.

(g) Liquefied Natural Gas: Production, storage, transport and utilization of liquefied natural gases.

(h) Railways: Diesel-electric and electric rolling stock; maintenance and operation.

(2) *Construction:* Delegations of five-eight persons each for a period of three-four weeks for familiarization and exchange of experience in the following fields:

(a) Cement Industry: General technology of production, including production of quick setting and high strength cement types as well as familiarization with work in large mechanized quarries in the production and processing of stone, crushed stone, gravel and sand.

(b) Mechanization in construction: Study of mechanization in construction-installation work, including the use of various types of construction, machines, equipment; installation of steel and reinforced concrete structures, techniques and equipment in tunnelling and mine-shaft sinking work.

(c) A Soviet delegation in the field of construction of large-span pillarless industrial buildings with the application of large blocks, large panels, aluminum structures, and structures of other light materials, will be accepted after an appropriate exchange for the US side is agreed upon.

(3) *Trade and Economics:* Delegations of five-six persons each for a period of three to four weeks for familiarization and exchange of experience in the following fields:

(a) Public nutrition, retail and wholesale trade, as well as the training of specialists in these fields.

(b) Questions of refrigeration techniques and construction as applied to trade (for Soviet side).

Management practices in the Soviet Union, selection and training of managers, management of industrial enterprises of various sizes (for the American side).

SECTION IV

Exchanges in the Field of Agriculture

(1) Both parties will provide for an exchange of delegations of specialists in agriculture, consisting of three-six persons each, for a period of three-four weeks in specific fields as follows:

Soviet Delegations to the USA:

(a) Food processing (meats, grains and canning crops). (Number of persons in the delegation as previously agreed upon).

(b) Fertilizers, insecticides and weed killers.

(c) Poultry-husbandry, study of broiler production and methods of hybridization.

(d) Agricultural science and information.

(e) The breeding and hybridization of cattle and pigs.

(f) Complex mechanization of cultivation and harvesting of sugar beets and potatoes.

US Delegations to the USSR:

(a) Handling, storage and transportation of grain.

- (h) Food processing.
- (c) Agricultural information and planning.
- (d) Soil salinity.
- (e) Poultry-husbandry.
- (f) Forage crops and range management.

(2) Both parties will continue to exchange appropriate films dealing with the subject of agriculture.

SECTION V

Educational Exchanges

(1) Both Parties agree to provide for the exchange of students, post graduate students, and young instructors or researchers between Soviet universities and other institutions of higher learning on the one hand and American universities and other institutions of higher learning on the other, of up to 35 persons on each side for the academic year 1960-61 and up to 50 persons for the academic year 1961-62. These exchanges will be carried out according to the Annex to this section on the basis of appropriate subsequent agreement between the educational authorities of both Parties, including the precise number of students and financial and other conditions. The educational authorities of each receiving side will undertake on the basis of reciprocity to place the students in scholarly institutions (including universities or other institutions of higher learning), appropriate to the specialty or scientific subject selected by them and to their scholarly attainments as required under paragraph 4 of the annex to this Section.

(2) The term "student" as used hereafter in this section of the Agreement and in the Annex shall be taken also to include post graduate students and young instructors or researchers. Composition of student groups shall be determined by the sending side.

(3) The regular period of sojourn in the host country for students identified by this Agreement shall be ten months. Shorter or longer periods of sojourn (five to fifteen months) may be provided for by prior agreement between the educational authorities on each side without effect on the total number of academic man-years specified.

(4) Further concrete details will be worked out by means of direct negotiations between representatives of both Parties in the field of education.

(5) The appropriate educational authorities of each Party will conduct negotiations prior to February 1, 1960, regarding the arrangement in their respective countries of study courses in the English and Russian languages, to which each Party will send up to 25 students, who may be accompanied by one or two language specialists, for sojourn in the country of up to twelve weeks during the period June-September.

If they do not come to an agreement prior to February 1, 1960, this exchange may be considered for 1961. If the exchange takes place in 1960, it may be repeated in 1961 by agreement between the appropriate educational authorities.

(6) The United States side will arrange to invite Soviet teachers of the Russian language to the United States in the academic year 1960-61 to occupy positions in Amer-

ican universities for teaching the Russian language. Arrangements with respect to positions to be occupied by Soviet teachers, transportation expenses, salaries, lodging and academic benefits as enjoyed by their American colleagues of similar standing will be the subject of negotiation between the appropriate institutions of each Party. The Soviet side will undertake to make similar arrangements to invite American teachers of English to Soviet universities.

(7) Both Parties agree to provide for exchanges in the years 1960-61 of professors, teachers and researchers in the approximate number of five persons each year from each university; the exchanges will take place between the following institutions: Moscow and Columbia Universities, Leningrad and Harvard, Kiev and Yale, Indiana and Tasbkent. The duration of the visits and the conditions of the exchanges will be determined by agreement between the aforementioned universities. Nothing in this paragraph excludes the conclusion of additional agreements between American universities and colleges and Soviet universities and other institutions of higher learning.

(8) Both Parties agree to provide for the following exchanges of specialists in education in the years 1960-61:

(a) Two delegations comprising five to six persons each for twenty to thirty days to study technical education and preparation of qualified workers in machine building, ore mining and food industry and in establishments for public services. The United States delegations will represent the American Association of Junior Colleges and The Engineers Joint Council and will be interested in aspects of technical education in USSR. The Soviet delegations will study training of skilled labor in aforementioned fields and, if they desire, may also study American technical education in general.

(b) One delegation comprising two to three persons from each side for a period of three to four weeks to study organization, sources and techniques of conducting educational research (Spring 1960).

(c) One delegation of three persons from each side for a period of three to four weeks to study methods and results in teaching of foreign languages (English, Russian, and other Western as well as Eastern languages) at the primary and secondary school as well as teacher college and university levels (Spring 1960).

(d) The Soviet side will receive one American delegation of two to three persons for four weeks to study education in arts (choreography, music, painting, graphics, plastic art, etc.) at different levels. They will visit schools and out of school institutions (Spring 1960).

The American side will receive one Soviet delegation of two to three persons for four weeks to study school construction and the production of training equipment for schools.

(e) One delegation from each side comprising five to seven persons for up to four weeks between the American Library Association and appropriate Soviet organization to visit libraries and bibliographic centers and also to study (1) bibliographic techniques, compilation of indices and other techniques of library documentation and anal-

ogous processes; (2) methods of reproduction and dissemination including the operation of specialized libraries and centers; and (3) methods of training library personnel, establishment of the level and organization of technical processes.

(9) Both sides recognize the desirability of continuing the exchange of literature in the methodology of teaching, educational films and other pedagogical materials.

SECTION VI

Cooperation in the Field of Public Health and Medical Science

(1) Both Parties affirm their interest in intensifying the struggle against serious diseases which are the enemy of all mankind. As a step toward the achievement of this goal both Parties will make efforts to put into effect the agreed program for cooperation in public health and medical science, which for the years 1960-61 contemplates, in particular, the measures described below.

Details of specific exchanges will be agreed upon by direct negotiations between the USSR Ministry of Health and the US Public Health Service.

(2) The USSR Ministry of Health and the US Public Health Service will facilitate cooperation between scientific-research institutes of the USSR and corresponding governmental and the below specified and other mutually agreed upon non-governmental research organizations of the United States conducting studies on the problems of cancer, cardio-vascular illnesses, poliomyelitis and on other important problems of medicine.

First of all both Parties will facilitate the establishment and development of contacts and cooperation between the following Soviet and American scientific institutions:

(a) For the Soviet side, the Institute of Experimental and Clinical Oncology, Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR and, for the US side, the Sloan-Kettering Institute and National Cancer Institute.

(b) For the Soviet side, the Institute of Therapy, Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR and through it other Soviet scientific institutions engaged in the study of cardio-vascular diseases; and, for the US side, the National Heart Institute and through it other American scientific institutions engaged in the study of cardio-vascular diseases.

(c) For the Soviet side, the Institute for the Study of Poliomyelitis, Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR and, for the US side, the Research Foundation, Children's Hospital, Cincinnati, and the National Institute of Health (Division of Biological Standards).

The aforementioned organizations shall be encouraged by both Parties to exchange plans of scientific-research work and information about research conducted, to organize joint scientific studies, to exchange specialists, and to participate in yearly joint scientific meetings which shall be convened by the aforementioned institutes, or the USSR Ministry of Health, or the US Public Health Service, alternately in the US and the USSR.

In 1960 such meetings shall take place at the Sloan-

Kettering Institute (USA), the National Heart Institute (USA) and the Institute for the Study of Poliomyelitis, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

(3) Both Parties shall facilitate an exchange of high level specialists and junior scientific workers numbering up to 20 persons on each side for a period of up to one year on the basis of general reciprocity for familiarization with the work of scientific-research institutes and establishments of the USSR and USA enumerated in paragraph (2) of the present section, and also other scientific establishments of both Parties for the exchange of experience, or for the conduct of jointly agreed upon research.

Scientists sent to the yearly joint scientific meetings of the institutes conducted in accordance with paragraph (2) and members of delegations provided for in paragraph (4) of this section of the Agreement are not included in the above specified number (twenty persons).

(4) Both Parties will provide for an exchange in 1960-1961 of five delegations of three to six persons each for a period of three to four weeks.

Delegations of the Soviet Union will study the following subjects in the USA:

(a) Malignant neoplasms (Etiology, Pathogenesis and the therapy of tumors), and also biochemical and histochemical research on tumors;

(b) The pathology of cardio-vascular systems (hypertension, athero-sclerosis, coronary insufficiency);

(c) Thoracic surgery (cardiology, artificial circulation of the blood);

(d) Virology (the genetics of viruses);

(e) Industrial medicine and hygiene (organization of scientific research on labor hygiene and occupational diseases, familiarization with scientific research on important problems of labor hygiene such as silicosis, industrial toxicology, physiology of labor, and occupational disease).

US Delegations will study the following subjects in the USSR:

(a) Infectious diseases and microbiology;

(b) Neuro-physiology and pathology;

(c) Metabolism and genetics;

(d) Medical ecology;

(e) Maternal and child care and related research.

(5) The local expenses of specialists including internal travel involved in the exchanges covered in this section shall, except as otherwise agreed in specific cases by the USSR Ministry of Health and the US Public Health Service, be met in the case of visits not exceeding six weeks by the sending side and in the case of visits exceeding six weeks by the receiving side on terms to be agreed upon in each case between the USSR Ministry of Health and the US Public Health Service.

(6) Both Parties shall facilitate the publication of works on the most important problems of medical science by American research workers in Soviet medical journals and by Soviet research workers in American medical journals.

(7) Both Parties shall facilitate the further develop-

ment of exchanges of medical journals and books between Soviet and American libraries and institutions, as well as the exchange of medical films.

(8) Both Parties agree to inform the World Health Organization of the activities carried out under this Section of this Agreement.

SECTION VII

Exchanges in Performing Arts

Both Parties, recognizing that broad exchanges in the field of performing arts contribute to the mutual understanding of both peoples, agree on the desirability of providing on a reciprocal basis for an increase in the number of performances of artistic, theatrical, choral and choreographic groups; orchestras and individual artists.

Both Parties agree, in particular, that in 1960-1961 the United States will receive the USSR State Symphony Orchestra, the Moscow Art Theatre and the Ensemble of Folk Dances of the Georgian SSR. The Soviet Union will receive a musical comedy group presenting "My Fair Lady" ("Pygmalion"), an American ballet troupe and the United States Marine Band.

In addition, in 1960-61 both sides will provide for an exchange of four-five individual performers each year from each side and will provide for an exchange of one quartet, the Komitas Quartet on the Soviet side and the Julliard Quartet on the United States side.

The above exchanges do not exclude the arranging of additional exchanges in the field of performing arts provided there is an interest on the part of corresponding organizations on both sides (the American impresarios and the Soviet concert organizations) and on condition that such exchanges are agreed upon in principle through diplomatic channels before final determinations are made. On the basis of reciprocity, the duration of the trips and the number of cities to be visited will be agreed upon in the same manner.

SECTION VIII

Cooperation in the Field of Cinematography

Both Parties consider it desirable that the Standing Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Cinematography established in 1958 in accordance with paragraph 8, Section VII of the Agreement of January 27, 1958,³ continue its assigned activity in 1960-61 and do all in its power to review the measures which were provided for in Section VII of the Agreement of January 27, 1958, and Section 8 of the present Agreement, and also to make recommendations concerning problems which may arise in connection with the implementation of the provisions of said sections of these agreements.

The period of operation of the Standing Committee may be continued beyond 1961 by mutual agreement.

(1) Both Parties will make provisions for the sale and purchase of motion pictures by the film industries of both

countries on the principles of equality and on mutually acceptable financial terms.

Toward this end Sovexportfilm will enter contact with representatives of the motion picture industry in the United States to be approved by the Department of State in the United States for the purpose of the sale and purchase of mutually acceptable films in 1960-1961.

Both Parties will take all appropriate steps to assist in the widest distribution of these films.

(2) Both Parties will undertake to arrange for the holding from time to time of film premieres by appropriate organizations on the basis of reciprocity.

(3) Both Parties will provide for an exchange of 15 to 20 documentary films in the fields of science, culture, technology, education, etc., in accordance with a list to be mutually agreed upon between the two Parties. Further discussions will be conducted between the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries on the Soviet side and the United States Information Agency on the United States side with the view to expanding the number of films and the subject matter and with the understanding that each side will provide for the distribution of the acquired films in its country.

(4) Both Parties will study the practical possibilities of arranging the joint production of entertainment, popular science and educational shorts and feature length films. The subject matter of the films and the companies involved will be mutually agreed upon by the two Parties.

(5) Both Parties agree to provide for an exchange of two delegations of specialists from each side for the purpose of becoming acquainted with technical questions of the film industry. Each of the delegations will consist of three-four persons for a period of three weeks.

SECTION IX

Exchanges of Radio-Television Programs

(1) Both Parties will assist in exchanges agreed upon between themselves of radio and television programs between Soviet organizations engaged in radio broadcasting and television and American radio and television companies, in particular:

(a) Two radio broadcasts per month of 10-20 minutes each, including musical recordings and also materials on subjects pertaining to science and technology, industry, agriculture, education, public health and sports.

(b) At least one documentary, popular science, educational or entertainment film for broadcast on television per month lasting up to thirty minutes.

(c) Two newsreel films for broadcast on television per month lasting five-seven minutes.

(d) Personal appearances over radio and television by governmental figures, artists and public figures of the other country.

(e) The elucidation of important non-political events in both countries, which deserve attention, will be organized on a reciprocal basis in the following manner: the Government of the United States of America will provide for Soviet correspondents, equipment, studios and means for the broadcast of materials, and the State Committee for Radio and Television will provide equipment, studios and

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1958, p. 243.

means for broadcast to correspondents of the radio networks of the United States of America.

(2) Both Parties agree to organize periodic exchanges of radio broadcasts on specific international problems, which will further the strengthening of mutual understanding and the development of friendly relations between the USSR and the USA. The texts of such broadcasts, which will be subject to agreement between the Parties, shall be exchanged in advance and discussed at the working level. In the event that either Party shall consider that the effect of any such broadcast will not contribute to a betterment of relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America, the exchange of that broadcast shall not take place.

(3) Both Parties shall provide for an exchange of one delegation each of specialists for studying problems of radio broadcasting and television, consisting of three-four persons, for a period of up to three weeks.

SECTION X

Exchange of Publications

(1) Both Parties, having exchanged their views on the problems of distributing the magazines *Amerika* in the Soviet Union and the USSR in the United States, have agreed on the desirability of facilitating the distribution of these magazines on the basis of reciprocity. Examination of measures taken by both Parties to achieve this end will continue with the aim of increasing the distribution of these magazines to 77,000 copies each.

(2) Both Parties agree to assist in the exchange of books, magazines, and other publications devoted to scientific, cultural, technical and educational subjects by encouraging exchanges of books and publications between universities and public libraries of the US and USSR.

SECTION XI

Exchange of Exhibitions

(1) Both Parties will provide for the exchange of exhibitions during 1960-1961;

Soviet Exhibitions in the USA

- (a) Medicine and medical services.
- (b) Children's books and illustrations.
- (c) Children's artistic and technical work (drawings, models and toys made by children).

United States Exhibits in the USSR

- (a) Medicine and medical services.
- (b) Plastics.
- (c) Transport.

(2) Other exhibitions, as well as participation in international exhibitions which take place in each country during 1960-61, will be determined by mutual agreement. The Parties will likewise discuss in the near future the possibility of exchanging national exhibitions in subsequent years.

SECTION XII

Travels of Representatives of Cultural, Civic, Youth and Social Groups

(1) In order to establish contacts, exchange experience and better understand each other's social and cultural life, both Parties agree to provide for exchanges during the years 1960 and 1961 of the following delegations for tours of up to 30 days: writers (three-four persons); artists and sculptors (three-four persons); musicologists (three-four persons); and specialists in the field of law (five-eight persons).

(2) Recognizing the special importance for the youth of both countries to know and to understand each other better, both Parties agree to provide in 1960 and 1961 for the expansion of trips and exchanges of delegations and tourist groups of young people aged 20 to 33 (students, workers and farmers, leaders of youth organizations, etc.).

Both Parties also agree to do everything in their power to give the young visitors an opportunity to meet the young people of the receiving country and to visit them in their social, cultural and sports establishments for youth, youth hostels, schools and summer camps, etc.

(3) Both Parties will encourage exchanges as may be agreed between them of delegations representing organizations devoted to friendship and cultural ties, labor, trade union, youth and other non-governmental organizations in the Soviet Union and the United States for the purpose of exchanging experience and knowledge of the cultural and social life of both countries, it being recognized that the decision to carry out such exchanges remains a concern of the organizations themselves. In particular, recognizing the important role of women in the cultural and economic life of the United States and the USSR, both Parties agree to provide for exchanges of delegations of women in various professions.

(4) Both Parties agree to provide for reciprocal visits in 1960-1961 of two or three individual artists for periods of two-three months each for the purpose of sketching and painting and giving lectures in the art academies and to groups of artists in several major cities of each country. Similarly, both Parties agree to provide for reciprocal visits in 1960-1961 of two or three individual musicians for periods of two-three months each for the purpose of studying musical composition and performances.

(5) Both Parties agree to provide for an exchange in 1960 of theater directors for a period of six-eight weeks.

SECTION XIII

Exchanges of Athletes

Both Parties will provide for an exchange of athletes and athletic teams and for the holding of the following contests in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in the United States:

(1) Track and field meets between representative teams to be held in the Soviet Union in 1961.

Entry into Force

The present Agreement shall enter into force on January 1, 1960.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed the present agreement and have affixed their seals thereto.

DONE, in duplicate, in the English and Russian languages, both equally authentic, at Moscow this twenty-first day of November, one thousand nine hundred fifty-nine.

For the Government of the United States of America	For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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LLEWELLYN E. THOMPSON

G. A. ZHUKOV

Annex to Section V

ANNEX TO SECTION V, EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES

1. Both sides agree to provide access for each student to all scholarly and scientific materials necessary in his field of study on the basis of a mutually agreed study plan.

In case of necessity, this plan can, where appropriate and possible, include work in research institutions and contacts with scientists in other research institutions which are outside the system of higher education establishments.

2. Both sides agree to provide for living quarters for a wife of any married student who may desire to remain with him during the school year; and to permit the wives of other married students at least one 30-day visit to their husbands during the school year or at its termination. The receiving side will bear no expenses for the travel or sojourn of visiting wives.

3. Each receiving side will bear, through appropriate agencies or organizations which it may select, the following expenses: tuition and fees for training in institutions of higher learning and for living quarters and monthly stipend in an amount to be subject to an agreement in advance by both sides.

In the case of a student's illness or accident, the receiving side will bear all medical costs, including hospital expenses, within limits established by each side.

All other expenses including travel to the country, to the place of study within the country, and return to the home country at the end of the school year will be borne by the sending side with the exception of situations to be mutually agreed upon in advance.

4. The sending side will submit to the appropriate educational authorities of the receiving side at least five months before the beginning of the academic year a list of its students together with information on the course of study of each student.

Notification of final acceptances and placement of the students must be given at least two months before the beginning of the academic year.

(2) Track and field meets between representative teams to be held in the United States in 1962.

(3) Weightlifting matches between representative teams to be held in the Soviet Union in 1961.

(4) Weightlifting matches between representative teams to be held in the United States in 1962.

(5) Basketball games between representative men's and women's teams in the Soviet Union in 1961.

(6) Basketball games between representative men's and women's teams in the United States in 1962.

(7) Ice hockey games between teams from the USA and the USSR to be held in the United States during the 1960-61 season.

(8) Ice hockey games between teams from the USA and the USSR to be held in the Soviet Union during the 1961-62 season.

(9) Swimming meets (including diving) between representative teams to be held in the Soviet Union in 1961.

(10) Swimming meets (including diving) between representative teams to be held in the United States in 1962.

(11) Table tennis matches between junior teams (two boys, two girls) in the Soviet Union in the first half of 1960.

(12) Table tennis matches between junior teams (two boys, two girls) in the United States in the fall of 1960.

(13) Gymnastic meets between representative men's and women's teams in the United States in October-November 1960.

(14) Gymnastic meets between representative men's and women's teams in the Soviet Union in October-November 1961.

Details of the exchanges listed in Section XIII, including financial arrangements, will be discussed between the appropriate Soviet and American sports organizations.

SECTION XIV

Development of Tourism

(1) Both Parties agree to do everything possible to promote the development of tourism and to take all possible measures, on a reciprocal basis, to better satisfy the requests of tourists to acquaint themselves with the way of life, work, and culture of the peoples. Each Party also agrees to enable tourists to travel more widely and visit more places in those areas of its country that are open to travel by citizens of the other country.

(2) Both Parties agree to provide for the exchange in 1960 of groups of tourist agency executives and tourist experts. Each group is to consist of five persons, and the length of their stay in the country is not to exceed two weeks.

SECTION XV

Establishment of Direct Air Flights

Both Parties agree in principle to establish on the basis of reciprocity direct air flights between the United States and the Soviet Union. Negotiations on terms and conditions satisfactory to both Parties will be conducted by appropriate representatives of each Government at a mutually convenient date to be determined later.

5. Each side may send, at its expense, its representatives to the host country to familiarize themselves with the conditions of study and sojourn of their students.

TEXT OF ADDENDUM

MEMORANDUM

COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS IN THE FIELD OF THE UTILIZATION OF ATOMIC ENERGY FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES

Unclassified exchanges between the United States and the USSR in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy will be implemented under the framework of the relevant provision of Section II, "Scientific Exchanges," of the 1960-61 US-USSR Exchange Agreement in the scientific, technical, educational and cultural fields.

The basic Exchange Agreement for 1960-61 provides for reciprocal unclassified exchanges of information and of visits of scientists. In addition, the parties will explore the desirability of unclassified joint projects. This Memorandum outlines areas for initial exchanges and the procedures to be followed in implementing these and future exchanges. Additional proposals may be developed from time to time between the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the USSR Main Administration for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, and will be subject to approval by both governments. These exchange arrangements are subject to termination on thirty days' notice by either party.

In order that the International Atomic Energy Agency and its interested members will benefit to the fullest from this effort for further development of the peaceful uses of the atom, the Agency will be given all reports and the results of the exchanges and, to the extent possible, the Agency will be asked to assist in the consideration of possible joint projects by sponsoring meetings, symposia or studies considered necessary for such planning.

Exchange of Visits

For the purpose of exchanging information on further scientific and technical development on peaceful uses of atomic energy in their respective countries, the parties agree to the following exchanges of visits of specialized personnel composed of groups of three to five persons for periods of ten to fifteen days on an agreed and reciprocal basis.

1. Delegations of scientists specializing in the field of thermonuclear research for visits primarily to the Institute of Atomic Energy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Princeton Project of the USA, but including short visits to additional facilities engaged in thermonuclear research in the USSR and the USA.

2. Delegations of scientists specializing in the field of nuclear power reactors, including breeder reactors, for visits to facilities in the USA and the USSR.

3. Delegations of scientists in the field of high energy physics, for visits to facilities in the USA and the USSR.

4. Delegations of scientists working in the field of nuclear physics, neutron physics, and the structure of the nucleus, for visits to facilities in the USA and the USSR.

The above visits, as well as additional exchanges of visits which may be developed in these and other fields of the peaceful uses of atomic energy, shall be carried out in accordance with the following procedures:

1. The specific dates and duration of visits, the specific numbers and identification of scientists and facilities involved, and the specific field of activity contemplated by each side for each of the visit exchanges, will be developed between the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the USSR Main Administration for Utilization of Atomic Energy and confirmed through diplomatic channels. At the same time, the respective governments will specify the permissive travel to be afforded beyond the location of the facility involved.

2. In all cases the sending country will pay the salary, subsistence, travel costs and other expenses of their own scientists and personnel both to and from their main destination and within the host country. The host country will be responsible for making suitable arrangements such as hotel accommodations and travel and to provide necessary interpreters.

Exchange of Information

The Parties agree to exchange information on a reciprocal basis through the exchange of documents, reports and abstracts. Conferences may be held as agreed.

The Parties agree to:

1. The exchange of abstracts of unclassified work in peaceful uses of atomic energy being conducted in their countries. This would include abstracts of both formal reports which are published in the technical literature as well as informal and progress reports which are normally only circulated within the atomic energy programs of their respective countries.

2. In the research reactor and power reactor field, the provision of full-size copies of such unclassified reports as are listed in the abstracts and as are requested by the other party.

3. The exchange of information on radio-isotope production and processing development, techniques of application and high intensity sources.

4. Abstracts and reports exchanged by the Parties shall also be made available to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Joint Enterprises

The Parties agree initially to examine separately the feasibility of engaging in joint projects in various unclassified areas.

Included in the initial exploration are joint facilities and undertakings in controlled thermonuclear reactions; the design and construction of an accelerator of large and novel type; approaches to waste disposal problems; nuclear data evaluation and compilation; and the development of nuclear standards.

Representatives of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the USSR Main Administration for the Utili-

zation of Atomic Energy will meet in the first half of 1960 to consider what enterprises merit further study and will request the International Atomic Energy Agency to assist in arranging such meetings.

Instruments

The parties agree to consider the possibility of making available new scientific instruments under agreed terms and on a reciprocal basis. Such arrangements will proceed only to the extent mutually agreed and permissible under the laws and export policies of the respective countries.

JOHN A. McCONE, Chairman
U.S. Atomic Energy Commission

V. S. EMEL'YANOV, Director
USSR Main Administration for the
Utilization of Atomic Energy

WASHINGTON, D.C.
24 November 1959

U.S. and India Sign Supplement to Investment Agreement

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release S40 dated December 7

The United States and India on December 7 signed at Washington, D.C., an agreement which provides additional encouragement for investment of private American capital in business enterprises in India.

The agreement, which was signed by G. Lewis Jones, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, and D. N. Chatterjee, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Indian Embassy, amends the convertibility guaranty agreement of September 19, 1957.¹ This amendment provides that American investors for a premium will be able to receive insurance for reimbursement in dollars by the U.S. Government of losses which may be incurred because of expropriation.

The Government of India has long had laws for compensation to investors in event of expropriation of property. American investors will now be able also to obtain U.S. Government guaranties of compensation in dollars.

The U.S. investment guaranty program in In-

dia has been in effect since the signing of the original agreement of September 19, 1957. Before the December 7 agreement the program was limited to guaranties that capital invested and Indian receipts (rupees) from new or expanded American private enterprises in India could be converted into dollars.

Since the convertibility agreement has been in effect in India, the United States has issued guaranties covering private American investments in India totaling \$6.5 million. To date, no guaranty contracts have been invoked.

U.S. investment guaranties are available for new American investments of cash, commodities, patents, or services made by U.S. individuals or firms in any country which has accepted the program.

The investment guaranty program is administered by the International Cooperation Administration as part of the Mutual Security Program and is designed to encourage the investment of private American capital in cooperating countries.

REMARKS MADE ON OCCASION OF SIGNING

Press release S42 dated December 7

Assistant Secretary Jones

A little more than 2 years ago—on September 19, 1957, to be exact—the Governments of the United States and India signed a convertibility guaranty agreement. This agreement gave assurance against currency inconvertibility to Americans who make new investments in private business enterprises in India.

Today I have just had the pleasure of signing, on behalf of my Government, a supplement to this convertibility guaranty agreement. This supplement adds a new inducement for investors of American private capital in India by providing that American investors, for a premium, will be able to receive insurance for reimbursement in dollars by the United States Government of losses which may be incurred because of expropriation.

This is another step on the part of my Government, in cooperation with the Government of India, to encourage further investment of private American capital in private-sector projects which will add to the economic development in India.

¹ Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3900.

We also believe that it further demonstrates to us the interest of the Government of India in encouraging new investments in their country by private American investors.

D. N. Chatterjee, Indian Charge

It is a privilege to sign, on behalf of the Government of India, the investment guaranty program agreement under which the Government of the United States joins with India in assuring the safety of American private capital investment in India, which is now increasing rapidly. We regard this agreement as another affirmation of our longstanding policy of encouraging private initiative at home and attracting private investment from abroad to assist in the development of our economy.

The principles embodied in the agreement signed today by both our countries are the same as those embodied in our Constitution. This states that, should at any time, for any reasons, an industrial enterprise be nationalized, appropriate compensation will be paid. We are pleased that we can say that the procedures called for in this agreement have in fact been followed by our Government in the very rare cases that Government assumption of responsibility for the operation of a private activity became necessary in the period since we became an independent nation 12 years ago. With the signing of this agreement American investment in India will have the same guarantee of safety from the American Government that it has always had from the Indian Government.

As we have repeatedly said, we do not believe in nationalization for its own sake. A few days ago our Prime Minister [Jawaharlal Nehru] declared at a press conference: "We are driven not by ideological considerations but by compulsion of facts," and "I want to give the widest possible scope for development of private enterprise. There is an enormous field in India untapped."

This fundamental Indian policy with regard to private investment, from both Indian and foreign sources in suitable industrial fields, is set forth in our Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956. Further, may I point out that it was because we have always welcomed such investment from the United States that we signed in 1957 the U.S.-

India currency convertibility agreement. That guarantees the American investor full convertibility into dollars of his investment and income from this investment. Our record for permitting this convertibility remains unbroken even though we are passing through a period when the amounts of foreign exchange available to us have been critically low.

As another step to encourage U.S. private investment we have recently signed with the United States an income tax convention which, when ratified by the Senate, will eliminate double taxation by the U.S. and India on income.² It is interesting to note in this connection that our tax structure is generally recognized as being very liberal in its treatment of new industries. Among a number of investment incentives, we permit a "tax holiday" of 5 years for investment not returning more than 6 percent income; tax allowance of 25 percent on the cost of new plant and machinery; and a "tax holiday" for the first 2 years' income for foreign technicians involved in new enterprise. As a result of the double taxation agreement the benefit of these concessions will be available to the American investor.

To encourage and facilitate further private investment, plans are now being developed for an All-India Investment Centre which will bring together the diverse facilities for locating and attracting foreign capital and assisting foreign capital in locating and participating in investment opportunities in India.

During the past 10 or 12 years foreign private investment in India has almost doubled, and it now stands at a total of about \$1.2 billion. For various historical reasons the bulk of these total investments has been from the United Kingdom. In 1957 for the first time the inflow of capital from the United States—about \$21 million—was larger than the inflow from any other country. However, the total of U.S. investments in India is still relatively small—about \$120 million. It is our hope that with increasing contacts between India and the United States and the various measures which we have taken, including the agreement which we are signing today, there would be a considerable increase in the flow of private capital from the United States into India.

Thank you very much, sir.

² BULLETIN of Nov. 30, 1959, p. S13.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Automotive Traffic

Convention on the regulation of inter-American automotive traffic. Opened for signature at Washington December 15, 1943. Entered into force July 25, 1944. TIAS 1567. *Signature:* Venezuela, December 7, 1959.

Genocide

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide. Done at Paris December 9, 1948. Entered into force January 12, 1951.¹ *Ratification deposited:* Colombia, October 27, 1959.

Trade and Commerce

Sixth protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva April 11, 1957.² *Signature:* Ghana (subject to ratification), October 13, 1959.

Seventh protocol of rectifications and modifications to texts of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva November 30, 1957.² *Signature:* Ghana (subject to ratification), October 13, 1959.

Declaration extending standstill provisions of article XVI:4 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva November 30, 1957. Entered into force May 11, 1959. TIAS 4345. *Signature:* Ghana (subject to ratification), October 13, 1959.

Procès-verbal extending the validity of the declaration extending the standstill provisions of article XVI:4 of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva November 22, 1958. Entered into force May 11, 1959. TIAS 4345. *Signature:* Ghana (subject to ratification), October 13, 1959.

Protocol relating to negotiations for the establishment of new schedule III—Brazil—to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Done at Geneva December 31, 1958.² *Signature:* Ghana (subject to ratification), October 13, 1959.

BILATERAL

China

Agreement providing for a grant to the Government of China to assist in the acquisition of nuclear research and training equipment and materials. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington October 16 and December 2, 1959. Entered into force December 2, 1959.

India

Agreement supplementing the investment guaranty agreement of September 19, 1957 (TIAS 3900), so as to cover loss by reason of expropriation. Effected by exchange of notes at Washington December 7, 1959. Entered into force December 7, 1959.

¹ Not in force for the United States.

² Not in force.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Recess Appointments

Foy David Kohler to be Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, effective December 11. (For biographic details, see Department of State press release 852 dated December 11.)

Resignations

William H. G. FitzGerald as Deputy Director for Management, International Cooperation Administration, effective January 1, 1960. (For an exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Mr. FitzGerald, see White House press release dated December 7.)

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—Amendments to the Constitution. TIAS 4230. 19 pp. 15¢.

Adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, at the Second through the Seventh and the Tenth Sessions, at México, December 1, 1947; at Beirut, December 10, 1948; at Paris, October 5, 1949; at Florence, June 15, 1950; at Paris, July 11, 1951, December 11, 1952, and December 3, 1958.

Special Economic Assistance—Transportation of Wheat in Yemen. TIAS 4286. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yemen. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taiz June 29 and 30, 1959. Entered into force June 30, 1959.

Air Transport Services. TIAS 4287. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Indonesia. Exchange of notes—Dated at Djakarta February 2 and March 2, 1959. Entered into force March 2, 1959.

Termination of Military and Economic Assistance Agreements of April 21, 1954; July 25, 1955; and May 22, 1957—Continued Application of Certain Provisions. TIAS 4289. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Iraq. Exchange of notes—Dated at Baghdad May 30 and July 7, 1959. Entered into force July 21, 1959.

Technical Cooperation—Program in British Guiana. TIAS 4290. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, extending agreement of June 29 and July 12, 1954. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington June 22 and 30, 1959. Entered into force June 30, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation in Peaceful Application. TIAS 4291. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the International Atomic Energy Agency—Signed at Vienna May 11, 1959. Entered into force August 7, 1959.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Mutual Defense Purposes. TIAS 4292. 15 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Greece. Exchange of notes—Signed at Athens May 6, 1959. Entered into force August 11, 1959.

Telecommunications—Voice of America Radio Relay Facilities. TIAS 4293. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Liberia—Signed at Monrovia August 13, 1959. Entered into force August 13, 1959.

Army and Air Force Missions to Nicaragua. TIAS 4294. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Nicaragua, amending agreements of November 19, 1953, and November 19, 1952, as extended. Exchange of notes—Dated at Managua March 25 and May 22, 1959. Entered into force May 22, 1959.

Radio Communications Between Amateur Stations on Behalf of Third Parties. TIAS 4295. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico. Exchange of notes—Signed at Mexico July 31, 1959. Entered into force August 30, 1959.

Bahamas Long Range Proving Ground—Administrative Arrangements Regarding Sites in Ascension Island. TIAS 4296. 5 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Exchange of notes—Signed at Washington August 24 and 25, 1959. Entered into force August 25, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance. TIAS 4297. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Belgium, amending annex B of the agreement of January 27, 1950. Exchange of notes—Signed at Brussels October 4 and 15, 1957. Entered into force October 15, 1957.

Weather Stations—Cooperative Program on Guadeloupe Island. TIAS 4298. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and France, supplementing the agreement of March 23, 1956. Exchange of notes—Signed at Paris July 21 and September 3, 1958. Entered into force September 3, 1958.

Mutual Defense Assistance. TIAS 4299. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Belgium, amending annex B to agreement of January 27, 1950. Exchange of notes—Signed at Brussels April 21 and 29, 1959. Entered into force April 29, 1959.

Termination of Military Assistance Furnished on Grant Basis—Continuance of Certain Obligations. TIAS 4300. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yugoslavia, amending the memorandum of understanding of October 18, 1954, and terminating the agreements of November 20 and 21, 1950, April 17, 1951, November 14,

1951, May 19 and 22, 1955, and September 30, 1955. Exchange of notes—Signed at Belgrade August 25, 1959. Entered into force August 25, 1959.

Sale of Military Equipment, Materials, and Services. TIAS 4301. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yugoslavia. Exchange of notes—Signed at Belgrade August 25, 1959. Entered into force August 25, 1959.

International Wheat Agreement, 1959. TIAS 4302. 121 pp. 40¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Other Governments. Formulated at the United Nations Wheat Conference March 10, 1959. Open for signature at Washington April 6–24, inclusive, 1959. Entered into force July 16, 1959, with respect to Part I and Parts III to VIII; entered into force August 1, 1959, with respect to Part II.

Cooperation. TIAS 4303. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Liberia. Signed at Washington July 8, 1959. Entered into force July 8, 1959.

Grant for Procurement of Nuclear Research and Training Equipment and Materials. TIAS 4304. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Peru. Exchange of notes—Signed at Lima July 16 and August 22, 1959. Entered into force August 22, 1959.

Military Assistance—Grant of United States Vessels to Japan. TIAS 4305. 10 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Japan. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tokyo July 31, 1959. Entered into force July 31, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Cash Contribution by Japan. TIAS 4306. 6 pp. 5¢.

Arrangement between the United States of America and Japan, relating to agreement of March 8, 1954. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tokyo August 11, 1959. Entered into force August 11, 1959.

Technical Cooperation—Training School in Mexico. TIAS 4307. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Mexico, extending the agreement of April 6, 1954, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at México June 22, 1959. Entered into force June 22, 1959. Operative retroactively December 31, 1958.

Defense—Loan of Vessels. TIAS 4308. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Greece. Exchange of notes—Signed at Athens December 15, 1958, and January 15, 1959. Entered into force January 15, 1959. And supplementary agreement effected by exchange of notes—Signed at Athens August 20, 1959. Entered into force August 20, 1959.

Loans of Submarines to Turkey. TIAS 4309. 2 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey, amending agreement of February 16 and July 1, 1954. Exchange of notes—Signed at Ankara August 28, 1959. Entered into force August 28, 1959.

Mexican Agricultural Workers. TIAS 4310. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreements between the United States of America and Mexico, extending agreement of August 11, 1951, as amended and extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at México August 31, 1959. Entered into force August 31, 1959. And exchange of notes—Signed at México July 28 and 30, 1959. Entered into force July 30, 1959. And exchange of notes—Signed at México June 24 and 27, 1959. Entered into force June 27, 1959.

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Press releases may be obtained from the Office of News, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Release issued prior to December 7 which appears in this issue of the BULLETIN is No. 828 of December 1.

No.	Date	Subject
840	12/7	Investment guaranty program, India.
*841	12/7	Recess appointment: Merchant (biographic details).
842	12/7	Jones, Chatterjee: investment guaranty program, India.
843	12/7	Deadline for filing claims under German General War Sequel Law.
844	12/8	U.S.-Italy joint communique.
845	12/8	U.S.-Turkey joint communique.
846	12/9	Delegation to NATO ministerial meeting (rewrite).
*847	12/9	International Educational Exchange Day, Pennsylvania.
848	12/9	U.S.-Afghanistan joint communique.
*849	12/10	Adair designated Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs (biographic details).
850	12/10	Herter: news conference.
851	12/10	U.S.-Pakistan joint communique.
*852	12/11	Recess appointment: Kohler (biographic details).
853	12/11	Gross elected ITU Secretary General (rewrite).
854	12/11	Herter: departure for Paris meetings.

* Not printed.



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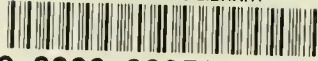
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